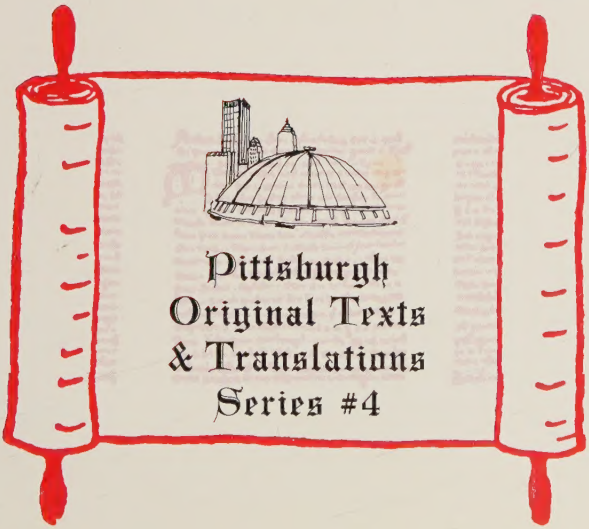
REFORMED AND CATHOLIC

Selected Historical and Theological Writings of Philip Schaff

Edited by
Charles Yrigoyen, Jr.
and
George M. Bricker




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General Editor

Dikran Y. Hadidian

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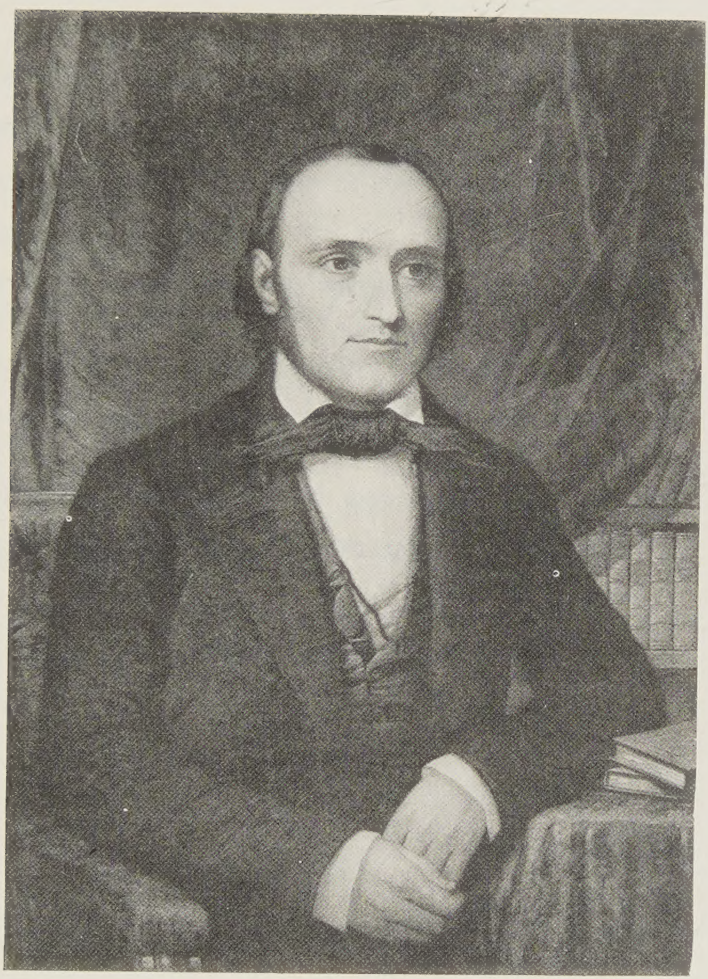
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PHILIP SCHAFF (about 1854)

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FOREWORD

We are pleased to participate in the publication of this selection of Philip Schaff's writings. Not only were his views important in the development of American religious thought in the 19th century, but we believe that many of his insights are worthy of study in light of the present situation of the American churches. It is our hope that the selections included will be historically informative and theologically stimulating.

Dikran Y. Hadidian, General Editor, deserves our thanks for his encouragement and his willingness to accept the volume as part of this series. We also wish to express our gratitude to Mrs. Jane Vandevort who has carefully typed the manuscript and to Mrs. Jean Yrigoyen who has prepared the material for publication.

Charles Yrigoyen, Jr.
Albright College

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Lancaster Theological Seminary

INTRODUCTION

Philip Schaff was probably the most influential Protestant church historian in America in the 19th century. Arriving from Europe in 1844 he began his scholarly career in this country at the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church in the small town of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. He was one of two faculty members at the young institution. Through sermons, lectures, books, pamphlets, articles, and participation in various phases of American church life, Schaff endeavored to help American Protestants understand and appreciate the historical development of Christianity.

There was virtually no place for church history as a theological discipline in an American seminary curriculum prior to Schaff. Historical studies were relatively unimportant. Why? Americans were not generally disposed to pay much attention to historical perspective in any area of thought. In theological education, for example, many felt that historical studies added few, if any, significant insights to the biblical and theological disciplines. Furthermore, in an era largely dominated by the revivalism of the Second Great Awakening thoughtful reflection on the history of the church was often not considered of much worth in the salvation of souls.[1] Nevertheless, Schaff relentlessly advanced his contention that the serious study of ecclesiastical history was indispensable for comprehending, appreciating, and cultivating Christian faith. In the preface to *What is Church History?* the entire text of which appears in this volume, he wrote:

> How shall we labour with any effect to build up the Church, if we have no thorough knowledge of her history, or fail to apprehend it from the proper point of observation? History is, and must ever continue to be, next to God's word, the richest fountain of wisdom, and the surest guide to all successful prac-

> tical activity. To reject her voice is to rob ourselves of our own right to exist, or, at least, to condemn our own life; since we owe to her, in fact, whether we choose to do so or not, all that we are and all that we can become.

Later in the same work he warned that:

> . . . the man who undertakes to work for the future without the knowledge of the past and constant regard to it, will build most certainly a castle in the air, which the lightest wind will be sufficient to blow down again--as many striking examples in our American Church life serve clearly to show.

Though he must have often felt as though he were a "voice crying in the wilderness," Philip Schaff lived to see his hope realized as church history took its place among the major disciplines of Christian thought. One of the significant fruits of his labor was the founding of the American Society of Church History in 1888. He was its chief architect and its first president.

Philip Schaff was born January 1, 1819 in Chur, a Swiss town in the canton of Graubuendten. His father, a carpenter by trade, died while Philip was a young child. Consequently, he was raised by a devoted and influential mother. His earliest education was provided by the schools in Chur. During this period the chief pastor of the town recognized Philip's intellectual gifts and arranged for him to enroll in the academy for boys at Kornthal in Würtemburg, Germany. One year later he transferred to the Stuttgart gymnasium where he prepared for entrance into university studies. In 1837 he matriculated at the University of Tübingen. He later studied at the universities of Halle and Berlin. Since the whole of his formal education after leaving Chur took place in Germany he considered it his "second fatherland."

The university years in Tübingen, Halle, and Berlin brought Schaff into contact with many of the outstanding and controversial theologians, philosophers, and historians of the time. Among the faculty at Tübingen who impressed him were Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860), David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874), Isaac August Dorner (1809-1884), and Christian Friedrich Schmid (1794-1852). At Halle he studied under Julius Müller (1801-1878) and with Friedrich A. G. Tholuck (1799-1877) in whose home he also lived for a brief time. In Berlin he sat under the lectures of Johann A. W. Neander (1789-1850), Ernest Wilhelm Hengstenberg (1802-1869), Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), August D. C. Twesten (1789-1876), and Friedrich W. J. von Schelling (1775-1854). These men, among the leading minds in Europe, contributed to Schaff's maturity as an extraordinary scholar in his own right.[2]

Following the successful completion of his examinations at Berlin in 1841 Schaff spent a year traveling in the Mediterranean. He returned to the University of Berlin in 1842 as a *Privatdocent*. He offered courses in the Catholic epistles and on the theology of F. D. E. Schleiermacher. Near the end of his second term at Berlin in 1843 Schaff was visited by the Rev. Theodore L. Hoffeditz and the Rev. Benjamin S. Schneck, representatives of the Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States of America. They had come to Europe to offer the professorship of Church History and Biblical Literature in their denomination's seminary at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania to Frederick W. Krummacher, a popular German scholar and preacher. Krummacher, unable to accept the invitation, recommended Schaff as an outstanding prospect for the position. Excellent recommendations on Schaff's behalf were also presented by the theological faculties at Halle and Berlin. Hoffeditz and Schneck were greatly impressed by these recommendations and their ensuing interview with the candidate. Schaff was likewise ex-

cited by the potential which the vacant post held as described by the Americans. Before the official invitation could be tendered, however, the Synod had to examine his credentials and the recommendations. These were carried back to America by the Synod's two emissaries along with copies of Schaff's book Die Sünde wider den Heilegen Geist.[3] After careful review of the credentials and the book the Synod unanimously elected Schaff to the faculty of the seminary.

In December, 1843 Schaff accepted the call and made plans to travel to America. He left Berlin in the spring of 1844 and before leaving Europe he was ordained at Elberfeld on April 12, 1844. After his ordination he spent several weeks in London and Oxford conversing with English church leaders, especially those associated with the Tractarian Movement.[4]

Following the lengthy trans-Atlantic journey and the trip inland from New York, Schaff arrived at Mercersburg on August 12, 1844. He was overwhelmed by the warm reception which had been prepared for him. He expressed his profound joy concerning the opportunity to teach at the Mercersburg seminary. He believed that the type of German learning which he represented when allied with American practicality and experience would yield great advantage for the church.

Schaff's teaching companion at Mercersburg was John Williamson Nevin (1803-1886), a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary. Nevin possessed a very high regard for the type of German philosophical, historical, and theological scholarship on which Schaff had been raised.. Nevin proved to be a thoughtful, cooperative, and sympathetic co-worker. Schaff observed in his journal:

> I think I could not have a better colleague than Dr. Nevin. I feared I might not find any sympathy in him for my views of the Church; but I discovered that he occupies essentially the same ground that I do and

> confirms me in my position. He is filled with the ideas of German theology.[5]

The partnership of Nevin and Schaff at the seminary was productive. Together they became the progenitors of a distinctive school of American religious thought which has been termed the "Mercersburg Theology."[6] They challenged many of the prevailing theological ideas and practices of American Protestantism during their age. They despised the revivalistic and sectarian spirit of the time which they believed was rooted in an inadequate Christology and a faulty view of the church, its history, and its sacraments. The correctives which they proposed included a Christocentric theology based upon the Incarnation as "being necessarily itself the essence of Christianity, the sum and substance of the whole Christian redemption."[7] A proper Christology would yield a legitimate ecclesiology, an appropriate interpretation of the sacraments, and a sound liturgy. Since Nevin and Schaff boldly criticized popular views and customs within the German Reformed Church and in other denominations it is not difficult to understand why they were likewise attacked.

Shortly after Schaff took up residence in Mercersburg the Synod of the German Reformed Church convened in Allentown, Pennsylvania and formally elected him to membership. On October 24, 1844 his inaugural address, "The Principle of Protestantism," was delivered to the Synod meeting in Reading, Pennsylvania. The address included an exposition of continental theological and historical themes unfamiliar and suspect to many of its hearers. It caused a furor in the denomination. Many alleged that it was "Romanizing" and "Tractarian" in its approach to theology and church history. Nevin praised it. His endorsement, however, did not allay the opposition, for he, too, was believed to be a "romanizer" and anti-revivalist since

the publication of his tract *The Anxious Bench* in 1843.[9]

Charges of heresy were brought against Schaff in 1845 for the views he expressed in his inaugural. One of his chief opponents and the instigator of the accusations was Joseph F. Berg, pastor of the Race Street German Reformed congregation in Philadelphia. Ironically, Berg was the man who had issued the Synod's official invitation to Schaff to become a professor in the seminary at Mercersburg. Berg was also an advocate of the type of "sectarian revivalism" which Schaff and Nevin abhorred. A second set of charges was leveled against the church historian in 1846. In both cases Schaff's views were not found to be departures from true Protestant theology.[10]

Schaff's career at Mercersburg was noteworthy. He became known as an excellent teacher, outstanding church leader, and perceptive writer. His pen was rarely still. He published a number of books and articles in addition to those included in this volume. Among the key books were *America: A Sketch of the Political, Social, and Religious Character of the United States*,[11] *Germany: Its Universities, Theology, and Religion*,[12] *The Moral Character of Christ, or, The Perfection of Christ's Humanity, A Proof of His Divinity*,[13] and *Slavery and The Bible*.[14] His editorship of *Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund*, a journal he founded in 1848, also furnished Schaff a major medium for circulating his views. Furthermore, on occasion he used the *Mercersburg Review* and the denominational publications of the German Reformed Church, as did Nevin, for conveying his ideas.

One of the major themes of Schaff's thought, derived from European sources and developed in his lectures and writings at Mercersburg, was his conviction that the best way of viewing church history was as an organism. Several important studies have examined this basic theme.[15] The historical development of the church was comparable to the growth of a plant, Schaff

affirmed. The essential components of the maturing plant are present in its seed. Its growth and subsequent change are merely the natural extension of the seed's potential. So it is with the church. It must be seen as a living organism, each stage of its development connected to a preceding and a succeeding stage. Schaff strongly disagreed with American Protestants, like Berg, who claimed that Protestantism had no historic relation to medieval Catholicism. The church of the 19th century was organically related to every epoch which preceded it back to its origin in Christ Himself. No era of the life of the church could be ignored as unrelated to the whole scope of its life. Furthermore, Schaff held, God was at work in the total history of the church and world. History was not a collection of random events, but the unfolding of an "eternal, unchangeable plan of infinite wisdom" which tended toward a definite end. He wrote: "The recognition of God in history is the first principle of all sound philosophy of history. . . . He who denies the hand of Providence in the affairs of the world and the church is intellectually or spiritually blind."[16] No era was devoid of God's presence and activity. All were connected and, therefore, the proper task of the church historian was to discern the evolution of God's plan of redemption.

In 1863 Schaff moved from Mercersburg to New York City to become Secretary of the New York Sabbath Association, a post he held until 1870. Concerning the move George W. Richards wrote:

> The distractions of the Civil War, the location of Mercersburg in the war zone tranversed by both armies, the lack of theological students, and the widening of Dr. Schaff's field of service from denominational to national and international scope, justified his removal from Mercersburg to the American metropolis, which furnished room and resources for the development of his cosmopolitan mind and projects. Henceforth he belonged not to a denomination, though formally he joined the Presbyterian Church, but to American Protestantism.[17]

In 1870 Schaff was elected Professor of Theological Encyclopedia and Christian Symbolics at Union Theological Seminary, New York. He occupied that position until the time of his death in 1893.

Philip Schaff was an extraordinary man. We have not mentioned his wide travel in Europe and America, his concern for social reform, the ecumenical dimensions of his thought, his concern for biblical translation, or his deep love for America.[18] All of these aspects of his life and thought are also reflected in his writings. We have included in this volume a selection of materials from the Mercersburg period of his career with the exception of the first piece, his "Farewell Address" to the German Reformed Church which met in Lancaster in 1892. It presents in his own words the affection he held for the church initially responsible for his American sojourn. Their insight brought to this country the scholar who helped to establish church history as a respected and vital discipline of theological study.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. See Henry Warner Bowden, *Church History in the Age of Science* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1971), pp. 36-42.

2. For more detail on the views of these men see Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century: Volume I, 1799-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), James H. Nichols, *Romanticism in American Theology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 64-72, Luther J. Binkley, *The Mercersburg Theology* (Manheim, PA: Sentinel Printing House, 1953), pp. 23-38, and Klaus Penzel, "Church History and the Ecumenical Quest: A Study of the German Background and Thought of Philip Schaff" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1962).

3. (Halle: Johann Friedrick Lippert, 1841).

4. See Nichols, *Romanticism in American Theology*, pp. 77-83.

5. Quoted in George W. Richards, *History of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1825-1934, Evangelical and Reformed, 1934-1952* (Lancaster: Rudisill and Company, 1952), p. 559.

6. See James H. Nichols, ed., *The Mercersburg Theology* New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

7. John Williamson Nevin, "Letter to Dr. Henry Harbaugh," in *Catholic and Reformed: Selected Theological Writings of John Williamson Nevin,* ed. by Charles Yrigoyen, Jr. and George H. Bricker (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1978), p. 408.

8. Philip Schaff, *The Principle of Protestantism*, ed. by Bard Thompson and George H. Bricker (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1964).

9. John Williamson Nevin, *The Anxious Bench* in *Catholic and Reformed: Selected Theological Writings of John Williamson Nevin,* pp. 9-126.

10. An interesting account of Schaff's alleged heresy is found in George H. Shriver, *American Religious Heretics* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), chapter 1.

11. (New York: Scribner, 1855).

12. (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857).

13. (Chambersburg: Kieffer, 1861).

14. (Chambersburg: Kieffer, 1861).

15. E. g., John Charles Meyer, "Philip Schaff's Concept of Organic Historiography as Related to the Development of Doctrine: A Catholic Appraisal" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1968), George H. Shriver, "Philip Schaff's Concept of Organic Historiography Interpreted in Relation to the Realization of an 'Evangelical Catholicism' within the Christian Community" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1960), and Theodore L. Trost, "Philip Schaff's Concept of the Church, with Special Reference to His Role in The Mercersburg Movement, 1844-1864" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New College, Edinburgh, 1958).

16. Quoted in Bowden, *Church History in the Age of Science*, p. 52.

17. *History of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1825-1934, Evangelical and Reformed, 1934-1952*, p. 562.

18. A complete biographical account of Schaff's life is found in David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff* (New York: Scribner, 1897).

Dr. Schaff's Farewell Address

TO THE SYNOD OF THE

German Reformed Church,

LANCASTER, PA., OCTOBER 24, 1892.

Your address touches the springs of my heart, and revives the memories of my youth connected with my call to America. I see before me your two delegates, Drs. Hoffeditz and Schneck, calling at my study in Berlin in the summer of 1843, and informing me that the Theological Professors of Halle and Berlin had unanimously directed them to me as a suitable person to fill the Professorship in your Theological Seminary at Mercersburg. Their mission excited considerable attention by its novelty and boldness, and the prospect it seemed to open for the transplantation of German theology to America. King Frederick William IV. invited your delegates to the palace, and showed his interest in your Seminary by the liberal gift of fifteen hundred dollars. In December I received your call from Winchester, Va., signed by the Rev. Dr. Berg, who was to be my chief opponent. In the spring of 1844 I left Berlin, was ordained at Elberfeld, in the church of Dr. Krummacher [who had declined your call], and spent seven weeks in London and Oxford. What I saw and heard in England was to me a revelation, and prepared me for my work in America. I met the leaders of the Tractarian movement (Pusey, Newman, Marri t, etc.), and formed in Oxford personal friend-

ship with rising young scholars, as Stanley, Jowett, etc., who afterwards took leading positions in the Church of England.

After a voyage of forty days in a sailing vessel, I safely reached New York, in July, 1844. There Dr. Wolf, the model of a courteous, kind-hearted, Christian gentleman, who afterwards became my colleague, met me, and accompanied me to Easton, where he was then pastor. The next day Dr. Hoffeditz took charge of me, on my leisurely journey through East Pennsylvania, stopping at Kutztown, Reading and Tulpehocken with Rev. Dr. Leinbach, the father of three ministers, among my dear pupils. The manners and customs of the people and the Pennsylvania German dialect were exceedingly interesting to me. At Harrisburg I met the delegates of a convention between the German and Dutch Reformed Churches, and for the first time saw Dr. Nevin, with whom I was to be so intimately connected as colleague. I was most cordially received and hospitably entertained by Judge Bucher. On arriving at Mercersburg on the evening of the 12th of August, the students of the College and Seminary, in vague expectation of great things to come, surprised me, who had done nothing as yet, with a torchlight procession and speeches of welcome in German and English.

In October I was received into your Synod at Allentown and delivered my inaugural address on the "Principle of Protestantism" in Dr. Bucher's church at Reading in the German language, which some hearers misunderstood for Latin or Greek. This address, which Dr. Nevin translated into English with an introduction of his own, became the innocent occasion of a long theological controversy. A year after its delivery I was accused of heresy before the Synod of York, which was occupied for several days with hearing the charges and defenses. Dr. Berg, who denied the validity of Roman Catholic ordinances and had shortly before re-baptized an Irish monk, occupied fully half a day in an eloquent popular argument to convict me of Roman-

izing tendency. Dr. Nevin took another half day to disprove the charges. I made a German address in self-defense, but as it was not generally understood I had to make another speech in broken English, which was much shorter but more effective. So much for being brief and for speaking English. The Synod, after every delegate had given his opinion, acquitted me with an overwhelming majority. With such a record I thought I ought to venture upon the honorable estate of matrimony, and married a Mary from Maryland, but this is a private matter.

Then followed the development of Mercersburg Theology, so called, mainly by Dr. Nevin in books and through the Mercersburg *Review*. In 1850 the removal of the institutions from Mercersburg to the more eligible location at Lancaster began to be agitated and resulted in the union of Franklin and Marshall Colleges of this city (1853). The Seminary unfortunately was left behind in lonely isolation. I served it ten years longer, hoping in vain for the removal to Lancaster, which was not effected till 1870. During the Civil War Mercersburg was constantly exposed to ravaging raids of the Confederate cavalry. After the battle of Gettysburg in July, 1863, the Seminary building was turned into a military hospital, for a thousand wounded Confederate soldiers.

At this juncture I felt at liberty to remove temporarily to New York to carry out literary enterprises projected in Mercersburg. In the providence of God I was soon afterwards assigned a larger field of usefulness in the Union Theological Seminary of that city.

But my affections remained with you undiminished. I followed with interest your growth and prosperity. And now, when I appear before you, I heartily rejoice in your bright prospects. The Seminary and College are once more united, never to be separated again, and are steadily increasing in efficiency. When I arrived in Mercersburg I found but few theological students; now you have sixty-four. Then you had but two professors, who had to

divide their time between the Seminary and the College; now you have five professors wholly devoted to the Seminary. Then there was but one Seminary; now you have four. Then there was but one Reformed church in Lancaster, one in Reading and two in Philadelphia; now their number there is sixfold and tenfold. Your Synod, which is the mother synod, has given birth to half a dozen daughters in the South and the West. Under such favorable auspices it is my rare privilege to meet your synodical assembly once more, and probably for the last time. I thank you for your kind sympathy with my severe illness, which interrupted me in the midst of work. In the kind providence of God I am so far restored as to be able just now to read the last proofs of the third volume of my church history, which is devoted to the story of the Reformation in my native Switzerland, and the great labors of Zwingli and Calvin, on which the Reformed Churches are based. I may look forward yet to an Indian summer, brief, but sunny and balmy, and I trust not unfruitful. But whether one year or ten years may be granted to me yet, I shall never forget the memories of this day, and it is with profound gratitude that I bid you, my old and dear friends and pupils, an affectionate farewell till we meet again (to use the lines of my departed friend, Dr. William A. Muhlenberg, written in this very city, where he was then rector of the Episcopal church) in that land—

> Where the saints of all ages in harmony meet,
> Their Saviour and brethren transported to greet;
> While anthems of rapture unceasingly roll,
> And the smile of the Lord is the feast of the soul!

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION TO *WHAT IS CHURCH HISTORY?*

The essay which follows, published in 1846, grew out of lectures delivered in German by Schaff shortly after his teaching began at Mercersburg. It is important for several reasons.

First, it reveals Schaff's assessment of the importance of church history and its role in theological study. Second, it indicates his conviction that the best church history is written in faith. God's presence and redemptive activity must be discerned in the unfolding life of the church. Third, the essay provided Schaff the opportunity to outline and evaluate various historiographical patterns, Protestant and Roman Catholic, "orthodox" and "rationalistic." He treated some of these more extensively in the "General Introduction" of his *History of the Apostolic Church*, the next selection in this volume. Fourth, this treatise contains the first major statement of his sympathy for the methodology of "organic development" as a way of interpreting the history of the church. Finally, it discloses Schaff's vision of the evolution of an "evangelical Catholicity or churchly Protestantism," which was a form of ecumenical thinking uncommon in America at the time.

WHAT IS CHURCH HISTORY?

A

VINDICATION

OF THE IDEA OF

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

BY

PHILIP SCHAF.

Translated from the German.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT AND CO.

1846.

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PREFACE.

The essay which is here presented to the theological public, has grown out of an introductory address delivered at the opening of my lectures on church history, last fall, in the seminary with which it is my privilege to be connected as an instructor. From various quarters, a wish has been repeatedly expressed, to have the discourse more extensively made known in a printed form. In complying with this request, it has seemed to me proper and necessary to enlarge it, and to throw it also in some measure into a new shape; so that the address has become a tract.

An exposition of the true nature of church history is undoubtedly needed among us at this time; and might be expected, if at all successful, to be attended with no small practical benefit. There is reason to apprehend, that very few of our theologians in this country have any thing like a thorough acquaintance with the history of the church, through all its periods. It is too common, to rest satisfied with that part of it which each one may find to be of immediate practical concern in his own case. The late convert to Popery, *Mr. Newman*, who must be allowed at least to possess some amount of learn-

ing, openly acknowledges the great ignorance that prevails in England in relation to the church history in particular of the middle ages; "Our popular religion," he tells us,* "scarcely recognises the fact of the twelve long ages which lie between the councils of Nicæa and Trent, except as affording one or two passages to illustrate its wild interpretations of certain prophecies of St. Paul and St. John. It is melancholy to say it, but the chief, perhaps the only English writer, who has any claim to be considered an ecclesiastical historian is the infidel Gibbon." The same may be affirmed of course with equal or with still greater right, of our America. As a general thing, we are too much taken up with the present, to trouble ourselves much about the past. Our religious relations and views are pervaded with the spirit of Puritanism, which is unhistorical in its very constitution, and with which, in fact, a low esteem for history and tradition has itself stiffened long since into as tyrannical a tradition as is to be met with in any other quarter.

The dry, lifeless style too, in which the study of Church History is conducted in our theological seminaries, must necessarily tend to destroy all satisfaction or interest in its pursuit. *Mosheim* still holds his place as the infallible authority; though German diligence and learning have long since left him far in the rear. History is still regarded and treated as a mere conglomeration of notices, more or less interesting, thrown together in a perfectly outward way. The body, the outward appearance simply,

* An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, by John Henry Newman, New York, Appleton, Introd., p. 14.

is considered to be enough. That which constitutes the main thing in history, the ideas which rule it and reveal themselves in the process, imparting to it its only true significance and importance, are too generally disregarded altogether. The conception of an organic development is wanting almost entirely; and yet without this it is not possible ever to come to any right understanding, especially of the history of the church.

This defect in our theology carries with it the most unhappy consequences for our church life, and works powerfully in favour of that ever extending curse of sectarianism under which it has come so deplorably to labour. How shall we labour with any effect to build up the Church, if we have no thorough knowledge of her history, or fail to apprehend it from the proper point of observation? History is, and must ever continue to be, next to God's word, the richest fountain of wisdom, and the surest guide to all successful practical activity. To reject her voice is to rob ourselves of our own right to exist, or, at least, to condemn our own life; since we owe to her, in fact, whether we choose to do so or not, all that we are and all that we can become.

Beyond all question the German theology stands here vastly in advance of the American; and it has seemed to be a matter of some account accordingly, to direct the attention of the inquiring and studious, as I have attempted to do in the first part of my essay, to the mighty achievements in Church History which have taken place latterly in this quarter, the more especially as they are as yet so little known, and the whole subject is so much exposed to all sorts of

prejudice and misrepresentation. Even *Newman* shows a wretched want of acquaintance with the better productions of modern German historical inquiry, when he allows himself as he does to involve the whole in a summary charge of unbelief.*

If I might only succeed in placing the historical theology of my native land in a more favourable light, and in recommending it to more earnest study, I should feel that an important purpose had been served by the present publication.

I must add here one other remark. The essay is designed only for readers who have some theological culture and an inquiring spirit. This is implied in the very nature of the case; and I should not think it necessary to make the remark, were it not for the experience I have had in the case of my small work on the *Principle of Protestantism.* We live indeed in a glorious land of liberty and equality. But still this can by no means justify the presumption, with which it is often pretended in this country, in off-hand newspaper articles, to pronounce judgment on scientific works, which the self-constituted critics show themselves, by their own enormous superficiality and poverty of mind, utterly disqualified for understanding. There are subjects in theology, which

* He goes on, namely, in the passage of which a part has already been quoted, to say: "German Protestantism on the other hand has been of a bolder character; it has calmly faced and carefully surveyed the Christianity of eighteen hundred years, and it frankly avows that it is a mere religion of man, and the accident of a period. It considers it a syncretism of various opinions springing up in time and place, and forming such combinations one with another as their respective characters admitted; it considers it as the religion of the childhood of the human mind, and curious to the philosopher as a phenomenon."

the unscientific divine even, has no right to meddle with in this way. Let all things be tried indeed, in order that we may hold fast that which is good; but let it not be, in such a case, at the bar of the common understanding, where empty self-conceit may feel itself authorized to pass off its smattering of knowledge for true learning, and affect to proscribe as heretical all that may not happen to fit the measure of its own contractedness, with an intolerance equal to any ever exhibited by popery in its darkest period. I ask for readers, at home in some measure in the subject, loving the truth and free from prejudice, who may be willing, to take the trouble of *studying* a book *through*, before they seat themselves on the critic's chair. This methinks is a demand which does no wrong to our republican constitution. The theme on which I have chosen to write is very difficult; and, in spite of all the pains I have taken to treat it in a clear as well as thorough way, it is quite likely that I shall again be subjected to frequent misunderstanding. Even the great *Melancthon* found occasion, from his own painful experience for the remark: Nihil tam simpliciter, tam plane dictum est, unde acuti homines non possint, velut ex eadem cera, mille formas ducere. Still, however, truth cannot fail in the end, to work itself into view from the midst of all perversions, whether well intentioned or malicious; and a storm of opposition even has this good effect among others, that the chaff at times, from which the present tract is by no means supposed to be free, is blown away by its means.

May the small publication contribute something at least, under the blessing of the Lord, towards the

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solution of one of the most weighty theological questions; and serve especially to encourage and assist my pupils, to whom it is dedicated with heart-felt love, in the prosecution of their studies already commenced in the department of Church History!

THE AUTHOR.

Mercersburg, April, 1846.

INTRODUCTION.

THE great central theme of the Present, around which all religious and theological movements revolve, is the *Church Question.* This is admitted by the most intelligent and learned men of the age, in the old world as well as in the new. No one can deny it without showing, either that he is destitute of the gift of historical observation, or that he trembles for the existence of his own unchurchly position, and would fain quiet his well grounded fear by a self-illusion.

In proportion, however, as the Church is thus brought into prominent and principal view, her *History* must also become for theologians an object of attention and inquiry. Church and History altogether, since the introduction of Christianity, are so closely united, that respect and love towards the first, may be said to be essentially the same with a proper sense of what is comprised in the other. The Christian Church is itself the greatest fact in the history of the world, by which the ancient order of life both Jewish and Heathen has been overturned, and the way opened for a new course of existence altogether. It has formed, for eighteen hundred years past, the main stream of the world's history. Almost nothing has since occurred that can be counted great and important, which is not found to stand in nearer or more remote, friendly or hostile, connexion with the Church, and to acquire its true historical significance precisely from this relation. History, on the other hand, is the bearer of the Church; by whose means this last is made to possess a real existence, whereas, under any other form it could be nothing better than

a baseless, fantastic abstraction, which for us who are ourselves the product of history, and draw from it all the vigour of our lives, would have no meaning or value whatever.

Whether we look then to the present or the past, we shall find always that true churchmen are ever characterized by their respect for history and a due regard to its authority; while the unchurchly sectarian and rationalist, in their contracted subjectivity, look down with contempt on all that has been wrought out by an earlier time, and make no conscience of profanely dashing it to pieces, as soon as it is found unsuitable to the purposes of their own small trade. The whole destructional process to which the Church has been subjected by Rationalism and Sectarianism, particularly since the beginning of the last century, the classical period of political and religious revolutions, is found joined with the overthrow of all previous History at the same time. So, on the other hand, the glorious work of building up the Church, to which the noblest and best powers of our own age are coming, to be more and more devoted, stands strikingly associated with a disposition fondly to look after and collect the treasures of past centuries. Interest in the Church and a true reverential regard for History, every where and at all times go hand and hand together.

Hence it appears how important it is, in our time especially, to come to a right conception of Church History. It is proposed to contribute something if possible towards this object in the present essay, with a view of recommending the study in a thorough way. We will, in the *first* place, cast a glance over the latest achievements of German theology in this sphere. This will serve to confirm what has been already said of the close connexion of the church tendency with historical studies, and may perhaps help to open the eyes of some to the wealth and value of the literature of Germany. In the *next*

place, we will endeavour to develope more particularly the modern conception of Church History, as it lies at the ground of the literature to be noticed in the first section. This is the most important part of our task, to which consequently the most room must be allowed. *Finally*, we propose to bring into view the practical bearings of the whole subject on church life and church action.

SECTION I.

SURVEY OF THE MORE IMPORTANT RECENT PERFORMANCES OF GERMAN THEOLOGY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

In all the deeper movements of the world of mind, Germany for three hundred years past has taken and led the way for other nations. She is the land that gave birth to those world-embracing ideas, which introduced the Protestant period of the Church, and have wrought such mighty changes in State, Science and Art, and the entire social life of the modern world. In the Reformation, she set in motion the whole course of Protestant history, as it has developed itself from that time to the present. But as Rome was twice the centre of the world's life, while the sword of the Capitol, transplanted with broken point to the dome of St. Peter, ruled western Christendom for a full thousand years; so Germany would appear to be called also to act the second time a world-historical part, in the fact that the spirit of the Reformation, resuscitated under a new form, is just at this time actively engaged on all sides with the work of a vast revolution in theology and the church; a revolution, whose power may be expected in the end, to rule the life of the world, as before, for whole centuries to come.

No reference is had here to the so called "German Catholic movement," which the Protestant religious

press of this country, with a most marvellous want of critical discernment, has already trumpeted as a second Reformation. We will not deny that this movement is one of more than common interest, and that it may serve to open the way, in the character of a mere negative condition, to important results. But in itself considered, it is by no means promising. Thus far, in the form it carries at least as connected with the person of Ronge, it has shown itself to be idea-less, destructive and rationalistic; to be regarded as a catholic counterpart to the noise of the Protestant "*Friends of Light*," as they call themselves, the last straggling remnant of the old Rationalism, instead of being associated in any way with the faith and power of the Reformation. Germany has minds of immeasurably greater depth than any that are connected with this new Catholic movement, although they make immeasurably less noise on the market place of public life. We have here in our eye rather the exploits, as they may be styled, of the later *Protestant Theology* of Germany. These must make their way in time over the whole cultivated world, and exert a mighty influence on the form and shape that shall be given hereafter to church relations.

Those who measure the importance of all things by their immediately apparent outward consequences, and in whose view nothing is counted eventful but what fills the general popular consciousness with its sound, will be ready, no doubt, to smile at this declaration. Such, however, would do well to consider how they are to get along with Christianity itself, which was present in history as the great regenerating principle of dying humanity, working silently but powerfully like leaven, long before the central power of the world as it then stood, so much as thought of bestowing upon it the least notice. It has always been peculiar to truly world-historical principles, that they have in the first place dwelt re-

tired in the secret chamber of earnest and profound thought, working from within, from the hidden birth-place of spiritual life, and only after reaching a certain measure of ripeness in this way, have begun to exert a new organizing power on the theatre of the public world. So it must ever hold. Not outward power, not superficial talk, not the off-hand oracles of the common popular press, but *ideas* only, (that is actual single emanations from the primal Truth, which is God himself,) rule in the last instance the History of the World. Shame on the man who dare deny it, and still hold himself for a Christian, that is a believer in an all-comprehending providence. True, ideas may be obstructed and restrained in every sort of way, by rude force. But it is equally certain that the truth at the last will rise again, purified and victorious through martyrdom itself, no more to die, but to see even her bitter foes prostrate at her feet.

From this point of view, our high expectations of the weighty results of German Evangelical Theology and German Philosophy, ought not to be considered fanciful. No one who is thoroughly acquainted with the extended exegetical, critical and historical inquiries, as well as with the philosophical and dogmatic struggles of the last twenty or thirty years, (reaching as they do, to the inmost ground of all things,) can possibly yield to the discouraging thought, that such an extraordinary mass of acuteness, intellect and learning should have been all to no purpose; that the sore spiritual toil of the most gifted and most excellent men of the age should have been absolutely thrown away. It is true that the German theology, in the last century, became more estranged from its proper life-element of religion and the Church, than was the case in other lands. Whilst the Deism of England and the Naturalism of France failed to rise in general above the lowest and most shallow popular free-thinking, the

unbelief of Germany formed itself into a scientific system, fortified with a fearful bulwark of learning and philosophy, which became thus immensely more difficult to overcome than in the other case. The German takes so deep an interest in science and religion as such, and is possessed at the same time of such inexhaustible energy and perseverance of mind, that this character proclaims itself even under a false, perverse tendency, and he cannot rest till he has pushed a principle out to its most extreme consequences. But for this very reason again he alone could produce a *scientific* remedy for the disease in question. A large shadow indicates always the presence of a large body. The process could not stop of course content with rationalism. For the Church of God must bid defiance even to the gates of hell. There arose accordingly with the beginning of the present century, and more particularly since the Jubilee of the Reformation, celebrated in the year 1817, in connexion with the false theology of Rationalism, in its different forms, still retaining some portion of its old life, a powerful reaction, which with the keen weapons of the latest scientific cultivation, and the force of a newly resuscitated religious feeling, carried breach after breach into the system of unbelief, and began once more to build up again the ancient faith with the most diligent zeal. This, however, is not a direct unconditioned return to the earlier stand-point of church theology, over against which rationalism must be allowed to have a certain kind of right; but a living reproduction rather, and for this very reason at the same time an advance. The pure negation of a particular tendency, is never a true victory over it. Only such an opposition can be so considered, which recognises also and saves the element of truth in which the tendency has its life. Thus Christ abolished the law, not by destroying but fulfilling it. So in the case before us, Ra-

tionalism was not to be simply ignored, but in the hand of that Providence which allows nothing to take place in vain, must serve the purpose of bringing to a new form the old, which in its contracted sphere, (that of the mere understanding,) it had profanely demolished; by which means this might come to a more free activity and full development, and satisfy also what may be called the want that lies at the ground of all rationalism; this, namely, that religious truth shall not be confronted with the subjective spirit in the form of mere outward authority, but become fully reconciled to it in an inward way in the form of conviction and certainty.

Since the different branches of theology form an organic whole, through which streams always one and the same blood, this new spirit must of course make itself felt on all these branches. The Exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, with its various forms of preparatory discipline, Introduction, Archæology, Hermeneutics and Criticism, has gone forward with huge strides, and seeks now in connexion with religious church interests to satisfy at the same time the requisitions of grammatical and historical knowledge, so one-sidedly regarded by Rationalism, and thus to place the practical object also on a more solid scientific basis. Systematic and Philosophical Theology, including Apologetik, Symbolik, Dogmatik and Ethics, has been raised mainly through the influence of the school of Schleiermacher and that of Schelling and Hegel, into a higher stadium of development, in which the speculative spirit struggles to grasp the contents of faith at every point as identical at the same time with the absolute reason. Of the practical disciplines, Homiletics, Liturgik and Church Polity, have been most particularly influenced by this new spirit.

The greatest activity, however, has been expended on Historical Theology, with which alone we are here immediately concerned. The ground of this

has been already mentioned. Theology proceeds ever hand in hand with church life. In the classic period of the Greek Church, the great object was to fix in the way of creed the ground doctrines of Christianity, in opposition to the Judaizing and paganizing errors which might be said to reflect the outward persecutions of the church on the part of the State. Hence this period was mainly dogmatic, and the pride of the Greek Church was to be known as orthodox. In the age of the Reformation, the return of the religious spirit to the sacred scriptures, in the way of protest against the authority of tradition which had come to be a fetter upon all free thought, imposed on theologians the duty above all of cultivating biblical exegesis; which accordingly was prosecuted with wonderful interest and success, while historical and church theology fell into the shade. The theology of the Reformation was more exegetical than speculative. In *our* days, it is the growing significance of the Church, the interest which is coming to be taken more and more in the Body of Christ as a visible organization, which has called forth such a vast activity in Church History and its several connexions. True, there have been several separate causes which have been felt in the case; such as the jubilee of the Reformation, the "Union," the call for improvement in the psalmody and church service generally, Möhler's assault on Protestantism, the affair of Cologne, the Anglo-Germanic episcopate of Jerusalem, &c.; but these all refer back continually to the deep and ultimate ground now mentioned, and are joined with it in the closest connexion. The church-historical literature of Germany has produced, within the last thirty years, ten times as many volumes as the dogmatic. Winer, in the first supplement to his Manual of Theological Literature, which covers a period of only two years (1839—1841,) notices more than five hundred historical works. If we substract from this statement one-

half, as being either insignificant or destitute of a genuine historical character, there will still remain a very large number. Almost every theologian of any name has devoted a portion at least of his strength to some department of Church History. Besides this, however, it is found to receive the homage of all other departments, Exegesis, Introduction, Ethics, Practical Theology, &c., in this respect at least; that for any work to be complete, it is felt necessary that it should, in the way of introduction, present a history of the subject with which it is employed, and have due regard moreover throughout to views different from its own. Let any one look into any of the later commentaries, by *Bleek*, *Harless*, *Lücke*, *Tholuck*, *Steiger*, *Hengstenberg*, *Fritzsche*, *Rückert*, or among dogmatic works into the systems of *Twesten*, *Nitzsch*, *Hase*, the monograph of *Julius Müller* on Sin, &c., and he will soon learn how entirely the whole present theology is pervaded with historical material from beginning to end.

It is now our business to take a general survey of the latest performances of German Theology in the sphere of Church History, and then to set forth their character. We must here distinguish between works that stretch themselves over the whole field, and monographs which devote themselves to particular persons, doctrines or events.

Prominent among the first class, laid out on a large plan, and not yet complete, are the works of *Neander* and *Gieseler;* both distinguished for their comprehensive and profound learning, but widely different in the spirit by which they are ruled. Giesler in his own theological views belongs rather to the rationalistic school. The main value of his work also consists not at all in the text; which is indeed concise and clear, but at the same time dry and without spirit. It lies in the full extracts from original sources, that are presented in the way of

notes. These are selections with great care, fine judgment, and impartial honesty; and make it possible for the reader who has no access to the sources, to construct a Church History for himself, at least in its leading features, as the truth may be felt to require. Neander on the other hand joins with the most thorough study of authorities, an uncommon religious amiability and goodness, and a peculiar method of grasping and setting forth his subject, that has won for him the honourable title, "Father of Church History."* We will notice him more particularly hereafter.

Of the other recent works covering the whole field of Church History, I will simply mention only the Manual of *Engelhardt*, in four volumes, which may be recommended for its independent research; and the brief compend of *Hase*, already in its fourth edition; the principal merits of which are lively representation, compact delineation and description, and a judicious regard to the history of Christian art —merits which only make it the more to be regretted, that the author, thus born to be a historian, should not be more deeply imbued with the element of positive faith and true spiritual earnestness.

We should have, however, a most inadequate conception of German diligence on this field, were we to judge of it solely from such general histories. A far greater activity is presented in the countless monographs, which accompany these works in a supplementary way, augment their material, and modify their method and plan. The general histories can notice particular personalities and tendencies, as they come forward, only as portions of a great whole; whereas the monographs give us a view of them from all sides, and introduce us into those retreats of private life, where the thoughts which have ruled the world were born and trained to maturity.

* An honour allowed him also by *Merle D'Aubigne, in his Disc. sur l'etude d'hist. du Christianisme et son utilite pour l'epoque actuelle. Par. et Geneve*, 1832. *Dedication.*

It would carry us much too far, to attempt here any thing like a full enumeration of the works that have appeared under this form recently in the different departments of Church History. The mere titles of books besides can be of no service. Here the word applies, *Come and see.* He who has come at all to know what these treasures are, must look down with pity on the noisy ignorance, which can allow itself—like the worthy editor of one of our most widely circulated religious journals lately—to deny to Germany a *living* theology; and what is still worse, is not ashamed to proclaim the poor, stale, reproductions of the worn out theology of New England, still appearing among us, as the culmination of modern science! A few hints on the direction which has been taken by this learned activity within the last twenty years, with some reference to its most prominent productions, will be sufficient for our present purpose.

The historical emulation of the German theologians has exhibited an admirable tact, in the choice of subjects. It has been directed mainly, for instance, to the creative epochs of the Church, and to those individuals in whom a whole age may be said to mirror itself, or rather to concentrate and corporealize its very life. Thus, accordingly, the Greek Church after the fifth century, when with its growing alienation from the Western Church it began to retire always more and more from the theatre of world-history; and again the transition period in the Latin Church between Gregory the Great and Charlemagne; the dark tenth century on to the reformation by Hildebrand; the scholastic period of the Protestant Church; and the time of dissolution embraced in the last century; have all been but little regarded in the way of historical research. Whereas, on the other hand, the age of the fathers, the brilliant period of the Romano-Germanic Catholicism, from the 12th to the 16th century, and the Reformation, have been illuminated, on all sides with the torch of investigation.

Almost all the more important Church fathers stand now embodied and living before our eyes. *Neander*, here also takes the first rank by his monographs on Tertullian and Chrysostom. With respect may be mentioned besides *Semisch's* Justin Martyr, the works of *Thomasius* and *Redepenning* on Origen, *Möhler's* Athanasius the Great, *Ullmann's* Gregory of Nyssa, *Klose's* Basil the Great, *Rittberg's* Cyprian, and the still unfinished work of *C. Biedermann* on the most gifted and influential of all the fathers, Augustine. Add the patristic biographies of *Böhringer*, also in progress. The heretical tendencies of this period also have been handled with immense research, and an impartiality previously unknown; so that it is only now they are coming to be understood, in their true significance especially as concerned with the development of the orthodox theology. We barely specify here the works of *Neander* and *Baur* on Gnosticism, which the older historians were accustomed to regard generally as nothing better than the play of a brainless fancy. In the church polity of the first centuries, *Richard Rothe* has furnished an admirable volume in his "Beginnings of the Christian Church;" a work distinguished for the amazing subtlety of its combinations, often indeed carried too far, and the learning which it brings to bear on the smallest particulars.

Passing on to the bloom period of the Middle Ages, we find, first, the two most important of the popes honoured with special histories; Gregory VII. by *Voigt*, and particularly Innocent III. by the late convert to the Roman Church, *Hurter;* each monograph, written with devotion to its subject and the most comprehensive knowledge of facts, and made to include also the whole time to which it belongs. The theology of this period, under its two-fold form of scholasticism and mysticism, related to each other like head and heart, could not of course escape the earnestness of German inquiry. *F. R. Hasse's* An-

selm of Canterbury especially deserves notice; of which only the first part has yet made its appearance; exhibiting, after a masterly introduction on the rise and progress of the monastic system, the rich life of the profound theologian and conscientious archbishop in the most attractive style, leaving far behind the previous works of *Möhler* and *Frank*. On the schoolmen of the thirteenth century, those *Doctors irrefragabiles, seraphici et subtiles*, who represent this tendency at its perfection, Alexander Hales, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, and Duns Scotus, we have yet unfortunately no works answerable to the present state of science; but doubtless we shall not be left now to wait for them much longer. With fond and special partiality on the other hand, has the Mystic School of the middle ages been explored, the native growth of Germany, and the most active agent in preparing the way for the Reformation. Here above all are to be reckoned *Neander's* Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liebner's* Hugo St. Victor, *Engelhardt's* Richard St. Victor and John Ruysbroek, *C. Schmidt's* John Tauler, *Martensen's* Master Eckart. Works on the principal fore-runners of the Reformation, belonging to the fermentation period of the 15th century, are multiplying themselves yearly. Savonarola alone was a few years since made the subject of three different biographies at once, by *Rudelbach*, *F. C. Meier*, and *G. Rapp*. Of Erasmus we have a very clear portrait, by joining to his Life by *Ad. Müller*, the admirable Review of *Ullmann* in the "Studien and Kritiken" for 1829. The last has exhibited besides, in clear order, all the different preparatory struggles which led the way to the great work of the 16th century, so far as Germany and the Netherlands are concerned, in his truly classic production, "The Reformers before the Reformation."

As for the glorious Reformation itself, the third centennial jubilee of 1817, formed naturally the most

powerful inducement and stimulus, to renewed inquiry into its history; calling forth as it did an affectionate yearning towards the pentecostal days of protestantism, and a desire for the restoration of the old faith; which *Claus Harms* with his 95 memorable theses, dared at this time to drag from the rubbish in which it had become buried, in the face of all sorts of prevailing error and unbelief. We have been furnished since that date accordingly with works of the highest value on the German and Swiss Reformation; particularly by *Marheinecke*, *Ranke* more recently and *Hagenbuch*, whose lectures are open to a wider public. Nor must we overlook *Ad. Menzel's* History of the Germans, and the Universal History of *Leo*, which notwithstanding their simply protestant stand-point, serve often to throw light also, on the opposite side of the great work and its consequences. *Förstemann*, by the publication of his Original Documents, *Hottinger* and *Vögeli* by giving to the world *H. Bullinger's* History of the Reformation, *Bretschneider* by his comprehensive Corpus Reformatorum, have laid the student of history under special obligations. As a matter of course, the Reformers themselves have been subjected to the most full representation. So we have within the last few years, *Henry's* Life of Calvin, *Herzog's* Œcolampadius, *Galle's* Characteristics of Melancthon, *Baum's* Theodore Beza, &c.; all works, which as a rich collection of materials at least, though somewhat defective it may be in historical skill, must take an honourable rank in modern theological literature. It is to be lamented that, with all this activity the Reformation in France, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland, has been handled thus far in a most step-motherly way. It may be trusted however that *Merle D'Aubigne*, who belongs properly as a historian to the German school, will be able to fill up here many a chasm by his learned investigations, for which such special advan-

tage is secured to him by the libraries of Geneva and Paris, and his personal acquaintance now, also, with England and Scotland.

On the Protestantism of the 17th and 18th centuries, as before intimated, fewer works have appeared. Still we have some right excellent monographs on single prominent persons; as on Valentine Andreae and Spener by *Hossbach*, on Paul Gerhardt, by *Wildenhahn*, on A. H. Franke by *Guericke*, on Zinzendorf by *Varnhagen von Ense*. The English Revolution has been recently handled by *Dahlmann*, though chiefly in a political point of view; the English deism thoroughly and completely by *Lechler*. The present church state of England and Scotland, through the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian Episcopate, the Scotch Secession, and the mission of the Russian preachers *Gerlach*, *Sydow*, *Uhden*, in 1842, has been brought, by means of several valuable publications, much nearer to the Germans than before. Among these may be mentioned in particular, "The state of the Anglican Church" by *Uhden;* "Church Affairs in Great Britain" by *Sydow*, the first volume of which contains a thorough view of the Secession in Scotland; and "The Church of Scotland" by *Sack* of Bonn. For the post-reformation history of Romanism finally, a new sense also has been awakened, and a new field thrown open, especially by *Ranke's* Popes of the 16th and 17th centuries, and *H. Reuchlin's* History of the Port Royal and Life of Pascal.

Along with historical persons and tendencies, the *doctrines* of the church are at this time also the object of special attention in the same way. Here again to works covering the whole field, such as those of *Münscher*, *Engelhardt*, *Baumgarten-Crusius* and *Hagenbach*, must be joined monographs that pursue a single dogma through the several stages of its development. In this line, the Hegelian school has undoubtedly done important service;

proceeding as it does throughout, on the view that all spiritual life is a process, always carried forward with immanent necessity; the only basis on which there can be any true force in the idea of dogmatic history. *Baur* of Tübingen has handled in this way the doctrine of the Atonement in one volume, and the doctrine of the Trinity, together with that of the Incarnation, in three volumes of large size. His splendid learning and boundless power of combination would be of more value for theology, if he were less enslaved to the Hegelian formalism; which finds no meaning in doctrines except in their scientific relations, and runs them out continually into more and more attenuated forms, till at last they are made to dissolve into sheer abstractions. Of a different character is *Dorner's* excellent Christology, and the History of the Doctrine of the Trinity by *G. A. Meier*, which has only quite lately appeared. With the Hegelian theory of development, which needs essential modification in various respects to satisfy the Christian consciousness, is found conjoined in these works a living sense of religion, and a true church spirit, which govern the scientific investigation at all points, and thus conduct it to much more satisfactory results, than any that are possible on mere Hegelian ground.

As before said, this survey is necessarily very incomplete. Several sections of historical theology, such as the history of missions, the history of worship, &c., I have left altogether untouched; nor has any notice been taken of the almost countless essays, many of them for the professional theologian invaluable, which have appeared simply in theological Journals, such as *Ilgen's* Zeitschrift for historical theology, and the "Studien und Kritiken" by *Ullmann* and *Umbreit*. Enough has been said, however, to give some notion of the wonderful zeal, with which the German mind of the present day is exploring the gold and silver mines of the past. There

are scribblers possibly in this country, where such a tendency prevails to look selfishly to the present, and to weigh all things by the standard of immediate utility, to whom all this may seem no better than labour thrown away, an occasion for ridicule rather than respect. We leave such to their humour; reminding them simply that the man who undertakes to work for the future without the knowledge of the past and constant regard to it, will build most certainly a castle in the air, which the lightest wind will be sufficient to blow down again—as many striking examples in our American Church life serve clearly to show.

When now we consider these performances only in an outward way, we must be struck immediately by the spirit of *catholicity* they display; which rising high above the interest of a mere party or confession, spreads itself out with almost equal love over all spheres of Church History, from the days of the apostles down to our own time, and recognises the traces of the divine Spirit, the footsteps of the Lord of the Church, in all climes and among all nations. History is no longer handled in that merely apologetic style, that requires it to lend itself as an instrument to the service of an established system, and to take always such cut and shape as this object may require. It presents itself to the inquiring mind as a region full of wealth and attraction, that deserves to be explored for its own sake. It carries in itself such a weight of truth and experience, that it is only by means of it, in the first place, the subjective spirit can raise itself at all to an independent stand-point; and must have need, always afterwards also, to enlarge and correct its views from the lessons here exhibited, instead of making them bend to its own pleasure.

With this catholicity is joined of course an *impartiality* and *freedom from prejudice*, of which the merely apologetic style of history is not capable. This can see only light and truth on its own side;

on the side of its opponent, darkness and falsehood. The truly catholic historian, on the other hand, has too exalted an idea of truth, to think of confining it to the narrow horizon of an individual or a party. He sees light and darkness every where distributed over the vast picture which he unrolls to our view, and measures every time and every character, not by a foreign standard, but by one that is drawn from its own nature and its own relations. Even heretical and schismatic tendencies are not set down by him as of purely arbitrary growth. He allows to them rather, so soon as they are found to have become, in fact, world-historical, by some determining influence on the course of the church, a certain sort of right, an element of truth and necessity, the traces of which are to be discerned in the development of the orthodox church itself. Aiming at truth only, he will not shrink from uttering censure, even where it falls upon himself and the stand-point of his own confession; and will be equally ready to speak well of an opposite interest, where the right may happen to be on its side. For this very reason, such impartiality is not to be confounded with mere indifferentism. This is absolutely unjustifiable, and disqualifies a man for writing history altogether. He that begins by holding all religions and confessions in like value, will soon end by holding them to be alike without any value. In opposition to such indifference, the true church historian must have a decided character and take a decided stand; but only for the truth, honouring this whenever and wherever it may come in his way.

A further peculiarity of the modern Church History discloses itself to us, on a close consideration of the foregoing literature, in the purely *scientific* spirit with which it is conducted. It is something more than an outward mechanical weaving together of facts and figures, without regard to the inward life, the proper world-pulse, so to speak, which alone

gives meaning and worth to the whole. Happily, too, that poor pragmatism of the last century is surmounted, which had come in the end to make account only of subjective factors in history, the affections and passions, namely, of the human heart; and supposed itself to be on the inmost track of events, when it could refer them to motives and springs of this sort. Now, the historical material is taken as a fluid mass pervaded with spirit. Investigation is carried back to the most remote and scarcely perceptible beginnings of the object contemplated; which is then allowed to unfold itself from within according to the law of its own nature and constitution, on to its proper maturity. The forms of the past are invoked from their graves, and made to walk and act before us in flesh and blood: events are reproduced, and all is brought in this way to put on the character of a true breathing life. And what is thus made to pass before our eyes, is not the play of unmeaning blind forces. All is conducted by a higher spirit, which urges forward the wheel of history, turns even the passions and errors of men to its own service, and through all events bears the world on continually towards the glorious end established for it in the eternal counsel of God. Only in this way plainly can Church History come to its true interest and significance. Only in this way can it ever be rightly studied or fairly understood.

All this, and much that might be mentioned besides, in the character of the modern literature now under consideration, indicates that the whole theological stand-point of Church History has been changed. The science plainly has advanced to a new position. Into the nature of this, after the preliminary sketch just given, it is our business now more closely to inquire.

SECTION II.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF CHURCH HISTORY.

Christian Theology is the scientific knowledge of the Triune God, as he has revealed himself in Christ, and still continues to manifest his presence in the church. This revelation is deposited for all times and for every people, pure and perfect, in the covenant records of our religion, the Old and New Testaments. Theology must begin then by being exegetical. *Exegesis*, or as it is sometimes styled *Biblical Literature*, may be called also *Fundamental Theology*. It has to do with the incipient form of Christianity, and comprehends the exposition of the sacred scriptures as a whole. Its way is prepared by the precursory studies, Biblical Hermeneutics, Criticism, Archæology, and Introduction to the Old and New Testaments. It finds its natural conclusion in Biblical Theology, according to the technical sense of this term; that is, in the reduction of the collective results of exegesis, to a connected, logically arranged system of Biblical history, doctrine and morality. This forms the natural starting point for the second great theological discipline. The revelation of the Triune God remains not bound in the mere letter of the Bible, but passes over continually more and more into the form of spirit and life, communicating itself like leaven to the mass of humanity, and gradually transforming it into its own image. This process from the close of the New Testament canon on to the present time, it is the business of *Historical Theology*, or *Church History*, faithfully to represent. It has respect throughout only to the past. Having reached the present, it makes room for *Systematic* or *Philosophical Theology;* to which must be reckoned particularly Dogmatik and Ethics, and as some will have it Apologe-

tik also, and Polemik, and Statistik. This unfolds for the understanding the present posture of the church, with her faith and life, and exhibits always her latest scientific self-consciousness, or in other words the religious spirit of the age. Here it is not enough to furnish an objective representation simply, as in the case of exegetical and historical theology; the subjective conviction, the entire religious faith and judgment of the theologian himself, and his church connexion, must come into view. Systematic theology has no sooner come to exist, than it becomes itself again an object of historical theology; as the present is always falling over to the past. Out of the knowledge of the past and present, however, a church future also comes now into view. Hence a fourth discipline, in which theology as *Practical* has for its object the proper application of this knowledge to the further advancement of the church; so that what has been learned may be wrought again into new life. This is to be done, partly by the preaching of the gospel; partly by the religious instruction of the young; partly by the administration of the liturgical portions of divine worship, psalmody, prayer, confession and the sacraments; partly by the pastoral care strictly so called; and partly also by the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs on the part of those to whom this trust may belong. To these different methods of advancing and extending the life of the church, are found answering the particular branches of practical theology, Homiletik, Catechetik, Liturgik, Pastoral Care, and Church Government. Arrived at this point, the science has returned again to its beginning; since the main instrument of its practical activity in the church, must be the same divine scriptures that form the object of exegetical inquiry at the start.

Thus have we assigned to Church History its proper organic place, in the general system of theology. Admitting the superior importance of exe-

gesis, it is found to be by far the most comprehensive of all theological studies. The birth-day of its subject, the Christian Church, on the first Pentecost (Acts ii. 1,) forms its starting point; or if it be preferred, the incarnation itself, so as to include the life of Jesus also in its range. The present, at any given time, constitutes its relative end. Its material, however, must go on to increase unceasingly, till all historical development shall come to a close with the end of the world or last judgment. Within these two poles, it comprehends all that can occur, of any importance for the kingdom of God, whether of an internal or external character.

Before proceeding to a more particular exposition of the idea of Church History, it may be well to bestow a preliminary glance first upon the nature of the Church itself, and then upon history in general.

The Church, in its broad sense, and as manifested in the world, is composed of all who have been baptized into Christ, whether they be nominal Christians only or real. This, according to long traditional Protestant designation, is the *visible*, or, better, the *mixed* Church. In a narrower sense, however, and according to its inward and true character, the Church is the religious, spiritual and real communion of all true believers in Christ. This is the *invisible* or more correctly the *pure* Church; for it may also be seen and recognised in distinct expressions of life; only no one can know of particular individuals with absolute certainty, whether they are truly united to Christ or not. The visible Church is made up of different confessions, which in part hold a perfectly hostile relation to each other, as Catholics, Greeks, Protestants, &c. The invisible or true Church, on the other hand, is always one only; although her members are scattered in different sections of the visible Church. She is the truth, the pure substance, the quintessence as it were of all visible organizations. She exists thus, as long as she continues militant upon

the earth, always within the visible Church;* is for this reason constantly associated with unworthy, openly unbelieving or hypocritical members; and cannot be delivered from this connexion before the end of the world. The two communions act together and influence each other continually; so that history must always keep both in view. Only an infallible man would be prepared to write the history of the pure Church; and even such a one must still have respect to the Church in a wider sense, to make his work a true and *faithful* life representation of its subject.

The true, pure, or invisible Church is made up of men, and bears throughout a true human character. It is not, however, for this reason the product of men, but, as indicated even by its name,† stands before us as a purely supernatural organization. Viewed under this objective ideal aspect, it may be defined, according to its origin and end, as an institution established by God through Christ for the glory of his own name and the salvation of men. It is the bearer of all God's revelations, the channel of Chris

* Single instances of such as have died in faith before they could be baptized, and so received into the visible Church, as the thief upon the cross, are to be counted exceptions merely, that as such serve to establish the rule. The old Church maxim holds here: Non defectus, sed contemptus sacramenti damnat.

† From κυριακον sc. δωμα or κυριακη sc. οικια, Dominica, as *Basilica* from βασιλευς, *Regia* from rex. The word has passed from the Greek, by means of the Gothic, into all the German dialects, the Swedish *Kyrka*, the Danish *Kyrke*, the English *Church*, &c. Others with less probability derive it from the old German *kisen* or *kieren*, in which case it would correspond with the Greek εκκλησια, in the sense of the *called* or *chosen* (of the Lord) *electa*. The name denotes sometimes the edifice, sometimes the assembled congregation, sometimes, as we take it here, the organic complex of all congregations. It involves always, however, a reference to the divine origin and divine intention of the Church.

tianity, the depository of all the life powers of the Redeemer, the habitation of the Holy Ghost. The apostle Paul styles it in several places the body of Jesus Christ, and calls believers the members of this body.* His meaning in this is, that Christ dwells in the Church as an organic unity of different personalities and powers, as the soul in the body; and that he acts through it as his organ, just as our soul by means of the body shows itself active and exerts an influence upon the world.

Paul's doctrine of the Church, in this view, rests on the supposition of the real presence of Christ with his people. This was promised to his disciples, and so to the Church which they represented, by the Lord himself. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," (Matth. xxviii. 20:) "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," (xxviii. 20.) He says not simply, My Spirit, or My consolation, or My truth, is with you alway; but, *I*, that is, *my whole person, in which divinity and humanity are inseparably joined together.* We must admit then the presence of the Redeemer in the Church—invisible and supernatural of course, but none the less real and efficient on this account—in his whole undivided and indivisible glorified personality, with all the powers that belong to it, whether as human or divine.

But does not Christ then, since his ascension to heaven, sit at the right hand of God, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead? Over against a rude contracted exegesis, which unhappily is too often to be met with still even on the part of educated theologians, especially on the sacramental question, it might be enough to answer simply, By all means! The right hand of God, however, is not bound to a particular place; and in any case is not to

* Rom. xii. 5. 1 Cor. vi. 15; xii. 27. Ephes. iv. 12; v. 30. Coloss. i. 24.

be taken literally, but denotes his Almighty power, as it upholds and fills the whole universe. When we pray to our Father in heaven, we do not hereby deny his presence upon the earth, nor conceive of him as in the strict sense seated upon a throne in some definite locality above us. This would be indeed a most crass and fleshly notion of God, the omnipresent absolute Spirit. At the same time, however, as it regards Christ, we have to make a distinction psychologically allowable, between his individual and generic character; in order to harmonize different scriptural statements, and to solve especially the difficulties, which connect themselves for the understanding with the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, the standing seal and pledge of the real presence of Christ in the Church. We say, then, Christ as that particular human individual who formerly moved through Palestine, a man among other men, is no longer upon the earth certainly, not even in his glorified form, and will only appear again when he shall return to judge the world. Of course, there is no room, according to our view, to think of any participation of his individual body, as such, in the eucharist, or of any corporeal reception whatever, whether in the way of transubstantiation or consubstantiation. But Christ is not merely a single man among other men; he bears at the same time a universal character; as the Saviour of the world, he is the representative of the whole race. Hence, the evangelist says, (John i. 14) not ὁ λογος ανθρωπος εγενετο, which would denote merely a human individual, but σαρξ εγενετο; to show that he assumed humanity, or the general human nature. The designation, υιος του ανθρωπου, so frequently applied to himself by our Lord, involves probably the idea, that he was to be regarded as the ideal man, in whom the conception of the human race as a whole was fully actualized, and from whom as the source of a new creation all regenerated life among men was to spring. This

undoubtedly is the doctrine of the Apostle Paul, when at different times, (Rom. v. 12, ff; 1 Cor. xv. 21, ff; 45, ff,) he draws a parallel between Christ and the first man, and styles him the second Adam. Christ bears the same relation to regenerate humanity or the Church that is borne by Adam to humanity in its natural, fallen and as such dying character. They have both a typical significance; each standing as a head to the whole race. Sin and death came into the world by Adam, righteousness and life by Jesus Christ. Ὁ πρωτος ανθρωπος εκ γης χοικος, ὁ δευτερος ανθρωπος ὁ κυριος εξ ουρανου. Οιος ὁ χοικος, τοιουτοι και οι χοικοι και οιος ὁ επουρανιος, τοιουτοι και οι επουρανιοι και καθως εφορεσαμεν την εικονα του χοικου, φορεσομεν και την εικονα του επουρανιου, (1 Cor. xv. 47—49.)

We partake thus of the spiritual and corporeal nature of Adam, truly and properly, although his individual being, as a particular body and particular soul, passes not over into our persons. We are of his race, we have part in the general qualities of his being, as well as in his sinfulness and mortality. His individual person has been withdrawn from the world; but his generic existence is still present really and substantially, though not under a specific local form, perpetuates itself from generation to generation, and forms, so to speak, the root of the natural tree of humanity, from which the vital sap flows continually into all its particular branches. Only on the ground of such an organic conception of the relation of Adam to his posterity, can the church doctrine of Original Sin and its Imputation have any rational sense.* And so also it is only on the sup-

* Dr. Nevin has done well to press this parallel of Paul, in his well known articles on *Pseudo-protestantism*, for his view of the Lord's Supper. There can be no doubt for one properly acquainted with the history of the Reformation, that Calvin, and the whole Reformed Church in its most important symbols, which were all formed under the influence of Calvin, much more than that of Zuingli, held a real participation in the eucharist by faith, not only of the merit,

position of the indwelling of the incarnate Word in the Church, a like intimate, or rather far more intimate mystical life union of Christ with believers,

but of the flesh and blood, that is of the human nature of Christ. To the known passages from Calvin's Institutes, and his Controversy with Westphal, I will here add one less familiar, which is particularly clear. It is to be found in the *Confessio fidei de Eucharistia*, signed by Calvin, Farel, Viret, Bucer, and Capito, in the year 1537. It is there said: Vitam spiritualem, quam nobis Christus largitur *non in eo duntaxat* sitam esse confitemur, quod Spiritu suo nos vivificat, sed quod Spiritus etiam sui virtute *carnis suæ vivificæ nos facit participes, qua participatione in vitam æternam pascamur*. Itaque cum de communione, quam cum Christo fideles habent, loquimur, *non minus carni et sanguini ejus communicare ipsos* intelligimus quam spiritui, ut ita *totum* Christum possideant. At the same time, the Reformed symbols decidedly reject the idea of a local presence of Christ's body, which in this form is in heaven only; and Calvin endeavours to solve the contradiction that seems to lie in the idea of communicating with an absent object, by assuming that through the supernatural power of the Holy Ghost, in the case of believers, the soul is so raised by faith to heaven as to come within the life-giving influence of the Saviour's body. This however is not properly to remove the difficulty, but only to transfer it to another place; yea it is made worse, since it is easier to conceive of the power of Christ's body extending itself by the Holy Ghost down to the earth; than that our souls should be in two places at the same time. Plainly, the Reformers were not willing on the one hand to let go the exegetical significance of the Lord's supper, and it must be allowed they preserved it in substance; while, on the other hand, they were anxious not to wrong the Biblical declarations with regard to Christ's ascension, sitting at the right hand of God, and returning to judge the world, by assuming any such presence as might seem to overthrow these for the understanding. The scientific union of these two points they did not reach; and it is just here accordingly that the eucharistic doctrine of the Reformers needs to be carried forward to a more complete form. This seems to me to be secured by the distinction, which both scripture and philosophy sanction, between the individual body of Christ now enthroned in heaven, and the generic virtue of his human nature as actively present by the Holy Ghost in the entire church.

that the cardinal doctrines of the Atonement, the Imputation of Christ's merit, and Justification through faith, can be successfully maintained against Socinian and Rationalistic objections. The Son of God became man, not for his own sake, but for ours; and for us he still continues man in eternity. His humanity then must avail to our advantage: only by means of it, can we be permanently united with the divine nature. Only through our participation in its imperishable vitality, is the power of sin and death within us gradually eradicated, and a new glorified body, which shall be like his own, prepared for our use. All other religions aim at the reconciliation of man with God. But they either fail to reach this object altogether, or at most it is secured imperfectly, as in the case of Judaism, in the way of prolepsis or shadowy anticipation of Christianity itself. The relation which holds in them between founder and follower is merely moral, such as we acknowledge towards the Reformers and Church Fathers. The specific character of Christianity, on the contrary, consists in this, that it is the full reconciliation and enduring life union of man with God, centring in the person of Jesus Christ. The life of Christ, which is neither simply divine nor simply human, but divine-human, flows over by the different means of grace to believers, so that, as far as their new nature reaches, they do not live themselves, but Christ lives in them, (comp. Gal. ii. 20.) The Old Testament saints could not be said to be *in* Moses, or *in* Elias. Of believers under the new dispensation, however, Paul says, continually, they are *in* Christ, that is in living union with him.

All this involves the uninterrupted presence of Christ, the God-man, in and among his people. His absence would rob us of the root of our religious existence from which all living sap is derived into the branches. The branch would be separated from the vine, and must of necessity wither (John xv. 6;) the

stream would be cut off from its fountain, and must accordingly fail. Only as the Church has part in the life of the God-man, does she stand upon a rock against which the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail (Matt. xvi. 18.) "Because I live, ye shall live also. At that day, ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you" (John xiv. 19, 20.) In the Church, Christ carries forward, so to speak, his divine human life, heals the sick, wakes the dead to a new existence, takes even young children into his arms by baptism, gives believers his atoning flesh and blood to partake of in the Lord's supper, speaks by his word and ministers comfort, peace and blessing to all that seek his grace, is crucified anew by the hostile world in the persecutions of his people, but still repeats also his glorious resurrection and ascension, and continues evermore to visit his little flock, assembled with one accord for prayer, with the fulness of light and life by his Holy Spirit.

A right conception of the Church is indispensable for a living apprehension and satisfactory exhibition of its history. This is itself indeed, in one respect, the product of a thorough insight into its actual development, the result of deep exegetical and historical study; but in another respect, it is the *spiritus rector*, the conducting genius of the Church historian. The relation here is that of reciprocal light and confirmation. Only the art which has wrought with master hand the wondrous dome of Church history, furnishes at the same time the key for understanding it. Without its guidance, we see indeed the solemn earnest halls, the lofty walls, and gigantic towers; but we cannot understand their deep symbolic meaning, the high and vast ideas that have taken body in their external forms. Hence it is that such works on Church History as those of *Engelhardt* and *Gieseler*, for instance, however distinguished and valuable for their thorough learning, still leave the deepest

theological want unsatisfied, as having no true idea of the Church.* It is to be regretted that with *Neander*, also, this idea comes less clearly and distinctly into view, than one could wish, especially now when the Church forms the life question of the time. *Guericke*, who borrows so slavishly and for a man of learning so very unbecomingly from *Neander* in other respects, shows himself independent of him here at least, that he is possessed of a strong church feeling; though under a very one-sided and exclusive form, since the idea of the true Church is for him identical with Lutheranism and the Form of Concord.

Let us now come to some right understanding, before we go further, on the nature of *History*. The term denotes in its objective sense the general course of events; subjectively, the representation of these events. This definition, however, requires to be made more particular, so soon as History comes to be handled as a science. Only that can be called *historical*, strictly speaking, which has exercised a determining influence upon the progress of humanity, and which has become incorporated with the image of its life at any given time. Thus, for example, the appearance of Luther at Worms is in an eminent sense historical, and in truth world-historical; while his domestic and private movements, though having the character of events, are only so far historical, as they may serve to illustrate and explain his importance for the Church, his character as a Reformer.

As every single individual has his history, so has humanity also as a whole. Its biography is Universal or World History. Revelation and enlightened reason teach us, to look upon the human race as a single family, which has sprung from one and the same common ancestor, and tends towards the same end, the exhibition of God's glory. Hence the history of

* Comp. R. Hasse's Review of Engelhardt's Manual of Church History, in the *Berl. Jahrb. für wissensch Kritik*, 1835, *Bd. I. S.* 543.

the world must be conducted also as a living organism, in which the irresistible onward movement of humanity towards this end, the struggle of centuries to actualize in full the deep meaning of life, may be fairly represented. The histories of particular nations form the members of this organic body; through which, under all difference of character, and calling, and position, and circumstances, one life blood still flows, and in which the idea of humanity, as formed from God and for God, dwells as a single soul. All nations however are not historical, any more than all individuals; but only such as have made themselves felt in a living way upon the actual development, inward and outward, of the world's life as a whole. The Hottentots, Caffrarians, Negroes and New Zealanders, for instance, have thus far played no part whatever in the grand drama of history. Paganism in general, since the introduction of Christianity, is to be regarded as material merely, which must be Christianized in the first place, before it can fall into the stream of historical development; like the child, which has not yet come to years of responsibility, and can take no position of its own accordingly in human society.

As nations which have come to free action, and individuals that reciprocally complete one another, form thus the factors of world-history, so we are to recognise in different periods the several stadia, inwardly connected and flowing necessarily one out of another, through which the idea of humanity must proceed, in order to come always to a more complete realization and exhibition of its own nature. Every period has a distinct character, which is impressed more or less on all its movements and tendencies. This is denominated the spirit of the age. It is nothing more than the world spirit, or the spirit of humanity itself, at a particular point of its age. For humanity, like the single man of which it is organically composed, passes through the stages

of childhood, earlier and later youth, and manhood, onwards to old age. In a general way, we may style the history of the Oriental world, where the nations still stand wholly under the rod of absolute power, the childhood and boyhood of our race; Greece, the land of freedom, sprightliness and fancy, its youth; Rome, full of calculation and action, its manhood; and the period since Christianity, its old age, as surpassing in reason and wisdom all its previous life.

At the same time, every period and every people has also its several ages of life through which to pass; and then we must say again that Christianity, as such, includes a new course of development, peculiar to itself and essentially different from all that went before. Religion in this form is not to be viewed as an advance simply upon the Jewish system, exalting it to a higher state. It must be regarded rather as a new creation, by which a new principle, a divine life is communicated to humanity itself. Christianity forms the turning point of the world's history; and Christ, the true pole star of the whole, is the centre also around which all revolves; the key, as the great historian John von Müller towards the close of his life expressed himself, which alone can unlock the sense of all that has taken place before his advent or since. In Christ, the ideal of humanity has been actualized. All history before him must be viewed as a preparation for his presence; a preparation, which in Judaism carried a positive character, in the way of progressive revelations and condescensions on the part of God, while in Paganism it was more negative, a helpless struggle upwards on the part of man. All history since Christ, finds its central movement in the development of the divine principle of life, which he has introduced into human nature, and which is destined gradually to take all up into its own element, as revealed in his person. In this view it becomes *Church History.*

We are now to consider more closely the idea of Church History itself. In this, there are very different views. The principal of these, as measured by their historical significance, we proceed to examine. Church history itself, like every other theological discipline, has its own history; having reached the high position it now occupies, only by degrees, and through a series of imperfect efforts, previously put forth for the purpose. We distinguish, in its course of development, three periods. The first two stand related to each other as extremes. By surmounting both, in the way of a true reconciliation, that higher view has come to prevail, which enters clearly into the ground of all the more important works of modern German science in this department.

I. THE ORTHODOX HISTORIOGRAPHY.

As the fact goes always before its representation, so it was necessary for the Church to act and form material, before there could be any history of it in the subjective sense. The first and most incomplete form of ecclesiastical history, was the simple record of the recollections, which the Church had of its past doings and fortunes—brought together usually in a mere outward way, in their chronological order.—Such chronicles and annals constitute, down to the time of the reformation, almost the only attempts that were made in the way of historical representation; of immense value, of course, as collections of material; but still no more than attempts at history, we may say, as consisting of such collections only. Church History as a science commences, where the Church comes to reflect upon herself; where the historian brings his own judgment into his work, and represents his matter, so as to put life into it spiritually, from some particular point of view. The first stand-point which presents itself to us here, is that of the earlier *orthodoxy*, as well Roman Catholic as

Protestant. We may style it the stand-point of *established orthodoxy*, (der fertigen orthodoxie,) and *exclusive ecclesiasticism*.* It consists in general, in this, that the Church, with her whole system of doctrine and life, is regarded as something complete from the start; and is thus made to stand, under some particular received visible form in abstract opposition to all diverging sects, as the absolute and only legitimate representative of the Christian faith. Outward changes in the fortunes of the Church, by its growth in the way of missionary activity and aggression upon the world, are of course admitted; but all idea of an inward development of the nature of the Church itself, is rejected. This general maxim, however, must assume practically, a different form in the Roman Catholic consciousness, from what is found to be in the Protestant.

The Roman Catholic Method of History.

If any system may be said to have *become* what it is historically, this must be affirmed of the Roman Catholic, both as it regards its outward form and its inward constitution. What an immense distance between the Galilean fisherman, who as a common presbyter (1 Peter, v. 1,) not as a lord over the flock but as its example (verse 3,) travels from place to place, in poor raiment, accompanied by his wife, (1 Cor. ix. 5,) to proclaim the simple word of the cross to the Jews and Gentiles: and a *Gregory VII.* with his unyielding hierarchic pride, and his inexorable anathemas directed against all married priests as whoremongers and adulterers; or an *Innocent III.* who arrayed in gorgeous pontifical attire, and bearing

* I may remark here, that I place no particular weight either on this designation, or on the designations employed in the case of the other two stand-points, as there is no authority, so far as my knowledge extends, requiring their use. If any can be furnished more significant and comprehensive, they will be cheerfully adopted.

the triple crown upon his head, reverently encompassed with different patriarchs, seventy-one metropolitans and superior prelates, four hundred and twelve bishops, nine hundred abbots and priors, the lights of learning, and the ambassadors of almost all the princes of Europe, at the fourth Lateran Council, as the holy and infallible father of the whole family of Christian nations, orders with dictatorial spirit all the affairs of the Church, whether outward or inward, decrees a crusade against the Saracens, and treats the most powerful kings of the earth as mere vassals, who hold their crowns in fief from him as the vicegerent of Christ upon the earth! How much labour of the deepest thinkers, what changes, yea, contradictions in opinion, what devices and circuitous courses of religious thought, lie between the extremely simple and indefinite doctrinal views of the apostolical fathers and apologists of the second and third centuries, and the wonderful scholastic system of the Middle Ages, carried out in the most insignificant subtleties in the way of question, distinction and division, or the symbolical settlement of its main results in the Concilium Tridentinum! Through what struggles of centuries, through what diseases, relapses and recoveries, was it not necessary for the monastic institution to pass, before it could work its way upwards from the renowned poverty of the hermit Anthony in the Lybian desert, to the mighty orders which embraced and ruled all Western Christendom, in the thirteenth century! What a chasm, what conflicts of the principle of image worship with the principle of image war, between the simple, almost puritanic worship of the time of the apostles, and the outwardly imposing, mysterious pomp of the mediæval religious service!

All this, for the unprejudiced view, is something more than merely outward change, in the case of which the interior state might be supposed to remain always the same. Notwithstanding this, how-

ever, the Roman Catholic historians down to the time of *Stolberg*, *Ritter*, and *Döllinger*, maintain in substance the principle of stability; with this difference only, that the more recent and liberal among them have been forced to yield more or less to the powerful pressure of Protestant criticism, at least in subordinate points, in the sphere particularly of the utterly untenable fables of the hierarchy. All that has come at any time to general authority in the papacy, having impressed upon it thus the seal of the infallible church, is referred to an immediately divine origin; found partly in the Bible, and partly in an oral tradition claiming to be derived from the apostles, on the maxim of Vincentius Lirinensis, understood in an outward and literal way: Teneamus, quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est. The Council of Trent expresses the fullest conviction, that all its decisions, doctrinal and moral, were drawn through the medium of an uninterrupted succession of bishops from the very time of the apostles.*

According to this assumption, for instance, the declaration of Christ to Peter, Matt. xvi. 18, and the delivery to him of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, contain in themselves the full idea of the papacy. When the Lord says, "He that eateth of this *bread* shall live for ever," (John vi. 51—58;) when Paul separates the cup from the bread by an *or*, (1 Cor. xi. 27;) when Luke mentions of the first Christians with approbation, that they continued steadfastly in

* Sacrosancta œcumenica et generalis Trid. Synodus, perspiciens, hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, quae ab ipsius Christo ore ab Apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis Apostolis Spiritu S. dictante quasi per manus traditæ ad nos usque pervenerunt—traditiones ipsas—tanquam vel oretenus a Christo vel a Sp. S. dictatas et continua successione in Ecclesia catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac venerantia suscipit et veneratur. Sess. iv. dec. 1. This principle is repeated often in the case of single doctrines, as, S. xii. c. 4, xiii. c. 8, xiv. c. 5, xxi. c. 9, &c.

"the breaking of bread," without any notice of the cup; this all is enough of itself to justify communion in one kind. In the imposition of hands by Paul and John, after previous baptism in the case of the Samaritan converts (Acts viii. 16, 17,) is found the actual sacrament of confirmation; in the remarkable passage (Eph. v. 25—32,) the sacrament of marriage; in the casual direction of James to anoint a sick brother with oil, (iv. 14,) the sacrament of extreme unction; in the remark of our Lord on voluntary eunuchs (Matt. xix. 12,) and Paul's wish that all might be like himself as regarded marriage (1 Cor. vii. 7,) the celibacy of the clergy as a divine ordinance. When historical testimonies are wanting altogether, the strict Romanists find a convenient refuge in the wilful assumption of a *disciplina arcani;* according to which, certain apostolical doctrines and practices, which are first mentioned and ecclesiastically established at a later period, are supposed for various reasons, the fear for example of profanation on the part of Jews and Pagans, or a tender regard to the weakness of catechumens, to have been originally kept secret. When, finally, clear testimonies speak directly against them; as, for instance, where pope *Gelasius,* of the fifth century, expressly affirms that the nature of the bread and wine remains in the eucharist, or where pope *Nicholas I.,* of the ninth century, in his second letter to the emperor Michael, teaches the true presence of Christ's body in this sacrament, *without* transmutation; these zealous historians and dogmatists do violence both to the subject and themselves, by calling in question the genuineness of the documents thus brought into view.

If the Roman Catholic doctrine and discipline have been at all times the same, they must remain the same also for all time to come. Were the entire structure of the Church regarded only as the product of a necessary historical process, having a right hu-

manly to be what it has been in its own time, it would not be so bad. But the *jus humanum* is made to pass here always for a *jus divinum*, the *jus historicum* for a *jus absolutum*. What has once been acknowledged by the Church, is constituted a law obligatory for all time.

So far as the *sects* are concerned, the historical theory now before us reserves to the Catholic, that is to the Roman Church, the *exclusive* possession of God's truth and Spirit, as being invested in fact with the attribute of infallibility. All tendencies that set themselves in opposition to its authority, including of course the whole interest of Protestantism with all its mighty achievements, are regarded as heretical and schismatical, the working of Satanic wickedness against the divine will itself. As such, they exclude all hope of salvation. Extra ecclesiam *Romanam*, nulla salus. They are not allowed even the merit of having assisted the orthodox Church, in coming to a clear consciousness of her own vocation, and in bringing her dogmas to proper perfection for the understanding. They are made to be the outward occasion only, by which the Church has been led to utter in the way of formal decree against the manifestation of heresy, what she had held materially in its full completeness from the beginning.*

* I may be permitted here, to say a word at least in the form of a note, on the late publication of *John Henry Newman:* "An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, New York, Appleton & Co. 1846." It forms his defence of the long expected and entirely natural transition he has made recently to the Roman Catholic Church. The very title seems to contradict what we have here given as the character of the Romanist view of history. He holds, in fact, a certain kind of development in the Church, and fancies that he has in this the later Catholic theologians, *De Maistre* and *Möhler* on his side. So far as this goes, it forms a concession in favour of Protestant science, and involves, to the same extent, a departure from the strict sense of Romanist principle. It is doubtful, accordingly, whether it will be sustained by theologians in

Historical Method of the Older Protestant Orthodoxy.

The Reformation had from its commencement properly a practical character, but was still sustained and carried throughout by the power of ideas. It included then necessarily a regeneration in full of theo-

this Church. Professor Butler, in a late article in the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal, (N. Y. Churchman, Feb. 14th, 1846,) remarks on this point: "I must in the first place observe that it is much more than doubtful, how far Mr. Newman's doctrine is at all the received doctrine of the Roman Church, or would be regarded by its authorities as any other than *a most perilous innovation.* Convenient as it may now be to tolerate it, (or any thing else from the same author,) for temporary purposes, and to meet the present state of speculation, I shall be much surprised, if as the controversy proceeds, it be not in substance disavowed as a private and unauthorized hypothesis." The reviewer then appeals to a judgment of the Sorbonne, and to various declarations of the Council of Trent, in which the principle of stability is asserted in the most unqualified terms. Still, however, Mr. Newman's conception of development is not so perilous for Rome as the mere name might imply, and differs very materially from ours. For, in the first place, he allows this development to hold only in the Roman Catholic direction; so that Protestantism is regarded as a falling away from history, and of course an abiding progressive corruption. Then again, with his view of the infallibility of the Church, every Roman Catholic development is for him of force for all time; whilst *we* can see in the papacy for instance, only a temporary form of church government, necessary for the wants of a particular period. Finally, in the application of his principle to concrete points, he still approximates again to the Romanist stand-point; since the slightest and most indistinct hints of Christian antiquity, are taken as sufficient proofs by themselves for the existence at the time of doctrines and practices that belong to a much later period; thus at bottom referring all again to apostolical or with different expression, to divine authority. Romanism cannot give up the principle of stability, without unsettling its own foundations. The broad difference between our view of the development of the church, and that presented by Mr.

logy, which is only the form in which the life of religion is brought to scientific consciousness. The science was emancipated from the chains of the scholastic philosophy, and referred to the formal principle of Protestantism, the holy scriptures as the living fountain and only rule of all saving divine knowledge. This brought into the foreground, the interpretation of the Bible; which now acquired, through *Luther, Melancthon, Camerarius, Zuingli, Œcolampadius*, and still more through *Calvin* and *Beza*, an impulse, a force and vigour, freshness and life, depth and fulness of spirit, which cast into the shade not only the sparse performances of the Middle Ages in this department, but even the whole Patristic period itself. On this biblical ground arose a renovated Dogmatik, whose most brilliant incomparable monuments are presented to us, in *Melancthon's* Loci Theologici, and the Institutio Christianæ Religionis of *Calvin*. By reason of the organic connexion among all branches of theology, Church History was required also to undergo a change, as soon as the Protestant principle came to be applied to this department. This took place towards the end of the age of the Reformation itself, primarily in the "Magdeburg Centuries" and the "Catalogus Testium Veritatis," by *Flacius*. In the period immediately following, the Lutheran Church was more occupied with dogmatic, than with exegetical and historical studies; still a certain view of Church History lay at the ground of the school divinity of the age, which is extensively interwoven with all its representations of Christian doctrine. The Reformed theologians, on

Newman, will be made to appear more clearly as we proceed. Meanwhile, it were to be wished, that the book in question might be subjected to a separate review of a more earnest character than it is likely to receive among us at this time. Too many of our critics, in their immense Protestant self-complacency, to which all is clear and settled long ago as regards the whole subject, are utterly disqualified for every task of this kind.

the other hand, besides giving their attention to the interpretation of the scriptures, employed themselves in a number of cases with particular portions of Church History, chiefly in a controversial way; and produced accordingly, in the course of the period here noticed, many works, which, for the learning of their details, and their critical acumen, carry with them in part at least a permanent value. The most celebrated names on this list are, among the French, *Du Plessis*, *Morney*, *Pierre du Moulin*, *Jean Daille* (*Dallæus*,) *Dav. Blondel*, *Saumaise* (*Salmasius*,) the two *Basnages;* among the English *Usher*, *Pearson*, *Beveridge*, *Burnet*, *Dodwell*, *Bingham*, *Bull*, *Cave*, and *Grabe*. Of histories bearing a general character may be named particularly those by *J. Hottinger*, *Spanheim*, *J. Basnage*, *Jablonsky*, *Turretin*, and *Venema*.

The emancipation, however, from the Roman stand-point was accomplished only by degrees. It was changed as to material, in the first place, but remained formally the same; so that it is to be comprehended still under the same general view. We shall now attempt to characterize somewhat more particularly, this orthodox protestant method of history.

In the first place, the conception of the Church became more broad and spiritual. It was no longer identified with the communion of Rome. Elements of evangelical truth and Christian life, were recognised in the sects also of the Middle Ages, which were the object of Rome's severe persecution. It was generally admitted indeed that the Lord had at all times reserved a people for himself, even under the dominion of the pope; but what might be called *Roman* properly in the Catholic Church, the papacy with its institutions was regarded as an apostacy from the true church, towards which the posture of a simply negative criticism was accordingly maintained. After the Reformation it was no longer possible to look upon the Roman as the absolutely true church. It took the character of a heresy, a

sort of hardened Judaism; whilst to Protestantism was now assigned the place, which had been previously claimed by Rome.

Notwithstanding this material change, however, the church continued to be for these historians also something complete in its nature from the beginning, not needing nor admitting any proper development. All activity in the sphere of doctrine, was apprehended only under the form either of a vindication or denial of the truth, as orthodoxy or heresy. The orthodox was the stable, always agreeing with itself; the heretical appeared as the subject of perpetual change; so that the history of doctrines resolved itself at last into a mere history of heresies. The apostolical fathers and early Christian apologists already exhibited the full system of truth in a pure form; the general councils established it symbolically in opposition to different heresies; the papacy overwhelmed it with unscriptural and superstitious traditions. Still it was always present beneath this rubbish, as gold covered with dross, and was brought more or less into view by the so called "witnesses of the truth," the *Waldenses*, *Wickliffe*, *Huss*, *John Wessel*, *&c.;* till the Reformation finally raised it again to ecclesiastical authority. In this view, accordingly, the great religious movement of the 16th century itself forms no proper advance of church life and consciousness, but a simple process of purification, a return to the original truth of the scriptures and the stand-point of the first few centuries. The entire Protestant system was supposed to be found immediately and literally in the Bible, even in the Old Testament itself, and in the practice and life of the first period of the Church; so that the whole intermediate history was made to sink in fact into the character of an unmeaning and useless episode. While the Reformers always laid great weight on the agreement of their views with *Jerome*, *Augustine*, *Cyprian*, *Athanasius*, *&c.*, their followers

of the 17th century went still further. The English Episcopalians, in particular, made it their business, to establish a perfect identity between the primitive Church and their own. In this effort they showed themselves often more unhistorical, and less favourable to the idea of development, than even the Romanists themselves. So, for example, the learned *Dr. George Bull*, in his celebrated Defence of the Nicene Creed, undertakes to show that the ante-Nicene fathers taught in full all that this creed contains, and that all differences which appear in the case are formal only, not affecting the substance at any point.* The distinguished Jesuit *Dionysius Petavius* was sufficiently free from prejudice not to deny absolutely the fact of some difference of doctrine in this period; and indeed went so far as to allow even that the Arian heresy itself had appeared among the earlier forms of thinking in the Church.† For this, however, *Bull* blames him strongly, and thinks that such a concession must overthrow the respect which is due to the fathers, and give the Church a right also to form new dogmas. As it regards government and worship, the more liberal

* Defensio Fidei Nicenæ, etc. ed. Grabe, London, 1703. Prooem. p. 5: Scilicet hic operis et incœpti nostri scopus, hoc institutum est ut clare ostendamus, quod de Filii divinitate contra Arium aliosque hæreticos statuerunt Patres Nicæni, idem reipsa, (quam aliis fortasse nonnumquam verbis alioque loquendi modo,) docuisse Patres ac Doctores ecclesiæ probati ad unum omnes, qui ante tempora Synodi Nicænæ ab ipsa usque apostolorum ætate floruerunt.

† *De Theol. Dogmatibus. De Trinit. I.* 5, 7 and 8, 2. In this, however, other Catholic theologians decidedly differ from Petavius. Thus, according to *Klee*, the approximation of the earlier apologists to Tritheism or Subordinationism is merely apparent, and to be accounted for satisfactorily, from the imperfection of human language, generally and of the theological language of this period in particular (*Lehrb. der Dogmengeschichte, Mainz*, 1837, Th. i. S. 162.) Passages that sound like subordination in *Origen*, he charges to the account of some unknown forger. (S. 166, comp. S. 192.)

among the earlier Protestant historians, have indeed acknowledged changes, even within the true Church; but then they look upon these as the accidental rise and disappearance merely of indifferent ceremonies. At the same time, there have not been wanting those among the Reformed, to whom the Presbyterian system has seemed fully identical with the constitution of the Church as it stood in the days of the Apostles and the age of *Clemens Romanus;* as indeed such are to be met with still. So Protestant Episcopalians have found their three *orders* in the same way, directly in the New Testament; yea, Lutherans even failed not to appear in the 17th and 18th centuries, who believed, that they could very satisfactorily establish the Consistorial and Territorial order of their government churches from the Old Testament!

The view taken also of the relation between the reigning Church and dissenting bodies, remained formally the same that it had been before in the Roman Catholic conception of history; namely, that of exclusive ecclesiasticism. Tendencies and views which appeared in opposition to the established church doctrines, were not brought into any inward connexion with the historical life of the Church itself, but were set over against it abstractly, as purely negative phenomena. Here, however, this principle fell into a striking self-contradiction in its application. In the first period of the Church, it went hand in hand with the Romanist view; since Protestantism, in its orthodox character, acknowledged the authority of the œcumenical symbols. Of course it condemned and rejected the heresies of Ebionism, Gnosticism, Montanism, Subordinationism, Sabellianism, Arianism, Semi-arianism, Manicheism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Pelagianism and Semi-pelagianism, as decidedly as the Church of Rome, denying them in the same way all right to exist. On into

the sixth century, we may say, the two systems moved thus together.

But the case changed in the Middle Ages; where the *Roman* became always more and more clearly the reigning Church, under the papacy, which stood in direct antagonism to the Reformation. Here the Protestant historians were constrained to take side rather with the non-catholic sects, the so called forerunners of the Reformation, and so to make these "testes veritatis" properly the Catholic Church itself in its true sense, in order to maintain some consistency with their previous rule of judgment. But this was attended with great difficulties.

For in the first place the Middle Ages are only the regular development of the Catholic Church of the first six centuries. All the germs even of the papacy itself may be shown to have existed thus early. Protestant orthodoxy, it is plain, apprehended the church fathers only on one side. Augustine, for example, has full as much objective, churchly, catholic feeling, as what may be called subjective and protestant in his character. Yea, he is the principal former of the catholicism of the Middle Ages; his deep feeling lies at the ground of its mystic theology, as his dialectic understanding animates the scholastic. His spirit makes its process first through the whole period of the Catholic Church, till at length the Reformers rose to interpret its Protestant element, as comprehended in his doctrine of sin and grace. How can the great veneration of the Roman Church for this father be explained, except on the ground of an actual inward affinity with his spirit, in some view?

A second difficulty appears in the fact, that a large proportion of the sects which existed before the Reformation, were further removed in a number of points from the Protestant orthodoxy, than the errors even of the Church of Rome itself. Zealous Reformed theologians spared no pains, indeed, to clear

the anti-hierarchic bodies of the Middle Ages from all reproach of heresy. Anti-papistic and evangelical were taken to be almost interchangeable terms.

Thus, for instance, *James Usher* and *John Paul Perrin* would force the world to believe, at every cost, that the *Albigenses* were entirely pure and sound in their faith, and that the accusation of Manicheism must be considered a groundless slander brought against them by the papists. The Catholic historians, particularly Bossuet, defended, with much spirit and learning, the earlier opinion. A vigorous controversy was now waged on the subject; till the publication of the judicial Records of the Inquisition of Toulouse, by *Philip Limborch*, compelled the parties to relinquish a portion of their claims. For these documents clearly distinguish the *Albigenses* from the *Waldenses*, and attribute to the first, the error of the Manichean dualism. Thus, the matter stood before the appearance of *Mosheim.**

Finally, such Protestants as had carried their studies somewhat thoroughly into the Catholic theology of the Middle Ages, could not, with all their respect for the dissenting sects, shut their eyes to the fact, that at least as much piety as they could exhibit, and a great deal more learning, had place also in the reigning Church. This was specially evident in the persons of such men as *Anselm of Canterbury*, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and *Thomas a Kempis*. For these men a traditional reverence still continued to make itself felt in spite of their connexion with the papacy. Yea, with the Lutheran theologians of the 17th century, who notwithstanding the opposition of the Reformers, formed themselves a new scholastic divinity, *Thomas Aquinas* came even to be honoured with the title of an *assertor veritatis evangelicæ*. It is now allowed, however, by all who understand the

* See his judgment with regard to this controversy, in his *Versuch einer unparteiischen und gründlichen Ketzergeschichte. Helmstadt*, 1746. *Einleitung*, s. 28 ff.

subject, that this great divine has exerted, next to Augustine, more influence than any other on the formation of the Roman system, so far as its doctrinal side is concerned.

When we come down to the period after the Reformation, we find the state of things more favourable again to the application of the historical principle before us. There was now a predominant orthodox Protestant Church, and over against it dissenting men and parties, as during the first centuries, in relation to the Catholic Church. Here then the Lutheran Church in particular conducted itself with great harshness towards all movements of the more free kind, even when connected with forms so worthy of respect as *Arndt*, *Jacob Böhm*, *Calixtus*, and afterwards *Spener* and *Franke;* treating them as dangerous heretics, and rivalling Rome herself in exclusiveness. But here also this rigoristic ecclesiastical standpoint could not long be maintained; especially after Pietism had grown into a powerful tendency, and the orthodox themselves were compelled to acknowledge its influence.

Thus, through the pressure of the difficulties and self-contradictions which have been mentioned, as well as by the continued process of development on the part of orthodox theology itself, there was gradually formed in the Lutheran Church, during the course of the 18th century, a sort of *mediating* view or *moderate* orthodoxy; which we may look upon as the transition to the second principal stadium in the progress of our science, though it still belongs in the main to the first. This is the *supranaturalistic* style of Church History. It belongs chiefly to the German Lutheran Church, and has produced the most important works that Protestant orthodoxy has to show in this sphere. Here are to be reckoned those eminent names of the last century, *Weismann, J. C. Walch, C. W. F. Walch, Baumgarten, Kramer, Mosheim, Schröckh;* historians, indeed, who for their in-

tellectual ability, unwearied diligence and solid learning, must always remain in honourable and grateful memory. *Mosheim*, take him altogether, is without question the greatest among them. He unites in himself the powers of historical inquiry and historical representation, in a high degree. Whilst others generally appear in the tedious, dry address, and antiquated tasteless style of the foregoing century, *Mosheim's* manner of writing, both in German and Latin, is pure, flowing, graphic and pleasant.* Along with this he has the advantage of general culture, a wide and full knowledge of men, and great power of description and illustration. In short, he has performed all that it was possible to perform in his time. Honour to his memory! Surely however he would himself be surprised, and as a historian especially must be filled even with displeasure, if he should now return again to the earth, and find the English and Americans, after the lapse of a full century, not a step advanced beyond his position, and contenting themselves, in their seminaries, to commit his text book to memory, in a mere mechanical way, so far as practical purposes may require. He would bestow, beyond doubt, far greater praise on his German countrymen, who have placed his immortal labours at large interest, and would be able thus to show him his capital doubled and tripled in its amount.

It remains now to notice some of the characteristic features of this supranaturalistic method of history.

The term *supranaturalism* is employed, in the historical sense of the word, to designate the last representatives of the old protestant orthodoxy, as opposed to Pietism, and still more to Rationalism, by

* *Gustavus Schwab* styles him in this respect "the father of modern pulpit eloquence, and as regards tact, force and taste, the first former of the German conversational language of the 18th century." (German Prose from Mosheim to our time. Stuttgart, 1843.)

which the theology of Germany was gradually overpowered during the last century. Against this powerful enemy, the established school divinity became always less and less able to maintain with decision its church character; and was brought thus into a sickly decline, in which the main truths of Christianity indeed were still retained, but at the same time the scientific principle of rationalism was admitted, and along with it a strong tendency to unchurchly subjectivity. Thus supranaturalism stood between two powers, in the case of which neology soon gained the ascendency. It was found insufficient to withstand permanently the stream of the age, lost continually more and more its church character, and capitulated finally with the foe with which it had undertaken to wage perpetual war. This whole process can be clearly traced, not only in the systematic divinity and exegesis of the period in question, but also in its style of Church History.

The supranaturalistic historians agree with their strict orthodox predecessors in this, that the conception of development is wanting to them altogether. They look upon the process of history simply as a course or series of favourable and unfavourable events; and the exhibition of it is considered to be, not a living reproduction or generic evolution, but a simple relation merely, of these events as they have occurred.* The Christian doctrines and precepts are viewed by them as a fixed unalterable system, standing over against the human mind in an outward way, as handed down in the Bible, under the same form always, from the beginning.

* *Mosheim* defines church history to be a *perspicua et sincera* narratio, &c., (*Inst. Hist. Eccl. Helmst.* 1755, *præparatio* § I.,) and again a *prudens et ingenua narratio*, (*Inst. Hist. Christ. Helmst.* 1739, *Sec.* 1, *Præp.* § 1.) He divides it accordingly into *external* and *internal*, (p. 2 in both works,) and the first again into a *narratio fatorum* prosperorum *et* adversorum (§ 3.) Plainly a most mechanical and outward method, which shows at once an utter want of the conception of an organic development.

On the other hand a difference appears in this, that the old orthodox zeal against deviations in doctrine from the church theology, whether of the patristic or protestant period, is very considerably cooled; particularly after the pious *Arnold*, of whom we shall have more to say presently, allowed himself to treat them with such tender indulgence, while so many instances of wrong were shown to have had place on the part of the orthodox. The supranaturalists affected the credit of great liberality and impartiality; which must by all means be allowed to them also, in a certain sense. They no longer looked upon heresies as being the product exclusively of bad intention, and rebellion directly against the divine authority; but rather as errors of thought or imagination, in many cases at least, that called for pity, various forms of enthusiasm, such, for instance, as Gnosticism, Montanism and Mysticism. Or they treated them as deviations merely from the church terminology, and so reduced not unfrequently the most weighty doctrinal controversies to unmeaning logomachies. Or lastly they even justified the heretics in part, in opposition to the orthodox.* In this, however, they

* Mosheim expresses himself very mildly in relation to heretics in general: Non exiguus hujus laboris (*hist. hæresium*) fructus est, si sapienter et *sine partium studio* instituatur; verum arduus idem et molestus est. Nam factionum duces *multis injuriis temere affecti sunt, et ipsa eorum dogmata depravata.* . . . . Quapropter qui ad hanc historiæ partem accedunt, *invidiam omnem de vocabulo hæreticus detrahere* secumque cogitare debent, generaliori tantum sensu adsumi pro homine, qui bellis et dissidiis inter Christianos, sive sua sive aliena culpa, occasionem præbuit. *Inst. Hist. Eccles.* Præp. § 11, p. 5. As a striking example of these concessions in favour of heretics, may be adduced the learned monograph of *Mosheim* on the Unitarian, *Michael Servetus*, whose burning was approved even by the gentle *Melancthon* himself. We may see, here, how far the supranaturalism of this period had deviated in its method of history, from the original strictness of Protestant orthodoxy. In the comparison which *Mosheim* draws between *Calvin*

assailed their own assumption, that heresy must be regarded as sheer falsehood, which of course can never have *any* right in opposition to divine truth. To close the eyes then indulgently in favour of the falsehood, could not fail to promote a spirit of indifference in relation to true and false, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, of very dangerous character. This did, in fact, towards the close of the century, become generally prevalent; so that it became an easy thing for Rationalism, with its growing strength, to overcome so poor an enemy, and even to bring it over to its own side. The last and most extensive work of Church History from this lenient and pliant school, namely, that of *Schröckh* with its continuation by *Tzschirner*, reveals in its five and forty volumes,

and Servetus, this last comes off nearly as well as the first. "I venture," says the writer, "to append to this sketch, a brief parallel of the unfortunate Spanish physician and his great antagonist, *John Calvin*. In this, I mean not to put reproach on the last, nor honour on the first. One who is orthodox is not made a heretic, by being compared with a heretic; and a worthy man loses none of his merit, though it be shown that his opponent has not been wholly unlike himself. *Calvin* and *Servetus* were both extraordinary and remarkable men. The first was far more serviceable to the Church than the last; but both were actuated alike by the same fiery zeal in this direction. Both burned with an inextinguishable desire to purify the Lord's congregation, to overthrow the papacy, to destroy superstition, to restore banished truth, and to lift up prostrate piety, &c." He closes the representation thus: "*Calvin* and *Servetus*, with all their infirmities, were both sincerely pious. This is shown by their end. They both died as the righteous, whom no accusations of conscience trouble. *Servetus* acknowledged, before his execution, the wrong he had done to *Calvin*, and begged his forgiveness. Let us in charity believe that *Calvin* also repented, before his death, of the faults he had committed towards *Servetus*. Charity hopeth all things. Should it give offence to suppose that God has shown his grace to both souls, for the sake of that Jesus on whom they called in death? It is a supposition, at all events, that does no wrong to truth. It is an infirmity of charity, which charity will readily overlook." *Ketzergeschichte, Helmst.* 1748, *Buch ii.* § 39, *s.* 254 *ff.*

which appeared from 1768 to 1810, the gradual progress of the latitudinarianism here noticed, as it fell over always more and more towards the rationalistic camp.

II. THE RATIONALISTIC HISTORIOGRAPHY.

The second stand-point of ecclesiastical history may be styled, in opposition to that of the old orthodoxy, the stand-point of *fluctuating heterodoxy* and *unchurchly subjectivity*. This also, however, does not appear at once in its complete character, but has again its own historical process. In this we must distinguish two periods, the *Pietistic* and the proper *Rationalistic*, to which last the distinction just given, becomes first fully applicable. The two differ widely in their views; more we may say perhaps than even the Roman Catholic and Protestant Orthodoxy. The Pietistic school stands in close connexion with inward subjective piety, as it came to a reaction in the 17th century against the dead orthodoxy of the Lutheran Church, though continuing to hold still, in the main, the same system of faith, and to reject also the idea of all doctrinal movement or progress. Rationalism, on the contrary, sets itself in hostile array against the substance of the orthodox theory, and against Christianity itself, reducing it to the character of a mutable and transient system. Both tendencies, however, the pietistic and the rationalistic, come together in the point of unchurchliness, and this sufficiently explains to us the transition of the first over into the last, as its proper and natural theoretic consequence.

The Pietistic Method of History, or that of sectarian religious Separation.

George Calixtus had already, in several historical publications, taken a more liberal course than was common among his orthodox contemporaries. In-

stead of dividing light and shade regularly between a particular section of the visible church and all differing communions, he sought rather in love to find elements of truth and unity in all confessions. He was, however, cried down by the church zealots, and for a long time thrust out of sight entirely. Still he had not lived in vain. His irenical theology, directed towards practical and essential points, came forward again, with the close of the 17th century, and the beginning of the next, under a somewhat modified form. In opposition to the congealed church character and petrified orthodoxy of Lutheranism, stood forth from the bosom of practical religion the Pietism of *Spener* and *Franke;* as in England previously we find Puritanism rebelling against the lifeless forms which had come to prevail in the Episcopal Church. Pietism, of the same mind here with the United Brethren and the Methodists, made very little account of doctrine, theology, theoretic Christianity. Its concern was all for practical religion, the exhibition of faith in action. This was, however, as one-sided as the opposite extreme of overvaluing theoretic orthodoxy. Pietism accordingly soon furnished historical proof, that a practical religion which rests on no solid knowledge of truth, and is indifferent towards the church, must lose all its energy, fall into false ways, and at last, contrary to its original design, make common cause even with unbelief. In the sphere of history, this form of thinking would of course try the worth of every person and church by the standard of subjective piety; and as this, in many cases at least, must appear to prevail among the oppressed sects rather than with the reigning church, a different view would naturally come to be taken of the relation of the church to the sects, from that which lies at the ground of the old orthodoxy.

This we find exemplified in the celebrated History of the pious and learned *Gottfried Arnold*, who

belongs properly to this pietistic school.* He had the enormous courage to reverse outright the orthodox principle of history, by which the Church is held to be always in the right against the sects, vindicating to these last all *religious life*, and so of course all true *historical legitimacy* at the same time. Some basis for this method had been furnished, it is true, by the orthodox Protestant mode of handling the Middle Ages, where the cause of the Waldenses, Wickliffites, Hussites, &c., was espoused against the ruling church. But the extension of the principle to the first six centuries also, and to the period subsequent to the Reformation, could not fail to revolutionize the form of Church History completely. As Pietism had been in every way mishandled, persecuted and slandered, by the church orthodoxy to which it stood opposed, it is easy to see how a mind like that of *Arnold* might come to the thought: the reigning church, in which so little living piety is to be found, and by which indeed it is treated with bitter hostility, cannot possibly be the bride of Christ. It is peculiar to this rather to appear without show, small, poor, gentle, and loving, and to be mocked and crucified always by the ruling powers of the world. So it was in the first three centuries; the period of persecution called forth the richest blossoms of piety. *Arnold's* view properly is this, that there was a perfectly pure church only in connexion with the apostles, and that no particular church since can be said to be the only true one. Truth and error are according to him every where, though not in the same relative proportions. The most truth, it is to be assumed, is found where we have the largest amount of piety; and this, he believed, was to be placed to the credit of the sects.†

* Unpartheiische Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie, von Anfang des Neuen Testaments bis auf das Jahr Christi, 1688, in 4 Theilen, Zuerst erschienen zu Frankfurt a. M., 1699 and 1700.

† Characteristic in this view is the following passage which I extract from the Preface, § 30 and 31. Its general

As *Arnold* made religious life the measure of the true Church, and acknowledged this only as it appeared in the form of subjective piety, it was very easy to apply his principle to particular cases, especially when it came to controversies within the Lutheran Church itself, and thus to put to shame the one-sided exclusiveness of orthodoxy. To carry out his maxim, however, with full consistency, he was compelled to employ the greatest violence and perversion of facts, as have been proved against him with convincing force by his orthodox contemporaries *Faustking*, *Cyprian*, *Corvinus*, *Löscher*, *Vejel*, *Wachter* and others.* His depreciating judgments

style, slovenly and destitute of all taste, marks well the spirit of the age to which it belongs. "Many may perhaps bring forward again the common objection: our dear mother the Christian Church ought not to be so *prostituted*, seeing she has had so much to suffer already before. To this I reply, that it is hard for the inexperienced to see which of those outward church societies is to be counted the true church, as every one according to his own fancy and interest will have the religion to be meant hereby into which he has happened himself to be born. Besides, it is not a scriptural expression or opinion, that the church is a mother. The scriptures know only of one single mother of all saints, which is the Jerusalem above, Galat. iv. 26, Heb. xii. 22. They have never given those godless pretenders, and much less the apostate clergy, liberty to call her a mother, and in this way to intrench and secure themselves against all testimony, admonition, and improvement. The true, pure congregation of the Lord has been from the beginning of the gospel and the times of the apostles, a virgin and bride of Christ. But the false apostate church, according to the testimony of the first teachers and the report hereafter to follow in this history, has become a harlot; and by means of the miscellaneous and inconsiderate introduction of all hypocrites and wicked, under Constantine the Great, as also by the natural increase and propagation of false Christians, has given birth to millions of bastards, with whom no true members of Christ will have any thing to do."

* An ample collection of literature, for the learned professional historian, of great interest and value, in favour of this pietistic stand-point and against it, may be found in

with regard to many of the greatest and most pious men of the Church, as well as his extravagant laudations of the sects and heretics, are often truly disgusting.

Then again *Arnold* fell into a palpable self-contradiction. He was himself orthodox as it regarded the essential doctrines of the gospel, and in opposition to the charges of heresy brought against him, expressly declared his faith to be that of the Lutheran Church.* It must be plain, however, to any attentive reader, even of Arnold's Church History itself, that the fundamental truths of the gospel, during the first six centuries, and in the period following the Reformation, were altogether more faithfully maintained by the reigning church, than by the sects; and that these last, with all their religious life and their zeal for some particular elements of the evangelical doctrine, were infected in part at least, with errors, which left even those of the Roman Church far in the rear. Let any one call to mind only the Ebionites, Gnostics, Manichæans, Socinians, Anabaptists, Quakers, &c. Altogether, moreover, the whole view of history exhibited by Arnold is adapted to make a most uncomfortable impression, and to serve powerfully the cause of skepticism; which calls in question, if not the existence, at least the success of any divine plan in history. We need not wonder then, that the

the third volume of the Schaffhausen edition of Arnold's History, 1742.

* See particularly his declaration in the second edition of his work just noticed, Part iii. Sect. 2, p. 500, where among other things, he says: "I profess freely and without constraint, that I greatly and dearly prize Luther's doctrine and testimony, as well against the anti-christianity of the corrupt clergy, as in favour of the genuine way of the gospel. Yea, I find this old pure theology and religion to be best in practice for life, and in harmony with the true gospel, which he has again brought forth into view, out of the holy scriptures, and those witnesses of the truth and mystics, particularly Tauler and the German Theology, and asserted it against the schoolmen."

founder of Pietism himself, the excellent and venerable Spener, was by no means satisfied with the work of his friend.*

The Rationalistic Method of History.

It is easy to see, that Arnold's view of history, as soon as it was admitted to be just, could not fail to shake the credit of the reigning Church in favour of the dissenting sects; nay, to bring its whole existence itself into question. Only the personal piety of Arnold kept him from surrendering himself to a perfectly destructive tendency. The time soon appeared, when not merely the life, but the faith and orthodoxy also of the predominant church were assailed, and the heresies of the sects taken under protection. As Pietism in general, by its comparatively anti-church character, prepared the way for Rationalism, so the work of Arnold served to make room for the stand-point of rationalistic history.

The principle of dissenting subjectivity had now put itself forward, and claimed to be regarded as the legitimate historical force. This required only the loss of that basis of religious feeling, which Pietism still inherited from the church out of which it drew its fresh life, in order to fall over necessarily to Rationalism. The work of *Arnold*, falling in as it did with the tendency of the age, found a favourable response in many quarters, during his own life-time; as for instance with the great jurist *Thomasius*, who, in a negative respect at least made common cause with the Pietists, in opposition to the reigning

* He mentions in relation to the work, that he had not read a page of it, as he was apprehensive from what he had learned of it by report, that he could not be satisfied with its contents; while at the same time he wished to avoid all occasion for coming out with a public declaration against one, whom he respected as an old friend. (*Letzte Bedenken. theol.* Band iii. s. 582 f.)

church.* As the term "orthodox" was brought into miscredit by the first, so also was the word "catholic" by this last, who applied it to every ecclesiastical regulation that did not happen to suit his taste. It became in Germany a proverb even to denote a desperate business, of any sort: "That is to become catholic." With this bug-bear many a wound has since been inflicted on the Lord's body.

The man however who first turned the principle of Arnold to full account, and who is to be considered the founder of the proper rationalistic view of history, was the celebrated *Semler.*† His early life was passed in pietistic connexions; where however a sickly methodistical style of religion was cultivated. He retained also all his days a sort of loose connexion with Pietism, in the way of what he called "private piety," as something wholly independent of all theological theories. This shows itself in various passages of his auto-biography, as, for example, in his account of the death of his daughter.‡ Hence it was that he was led earnestly to oppose the appointment of the infamous *Bahrdt* to a professorship in Halle, and to write against the Wolfenbuttel Fragments. To *Lessing*, the publisher of them, who assured him that the work was given to the world only to promote inquiry, he replied forcibly: That is to set a town on fire in order to make trial of the engines. Still, however, his scientific tendency, and particu-

*See his judgment in Arnold's Church Hist. B. iii. Abth. 2. S. 6, where he says, among other things: "I hold this work of Mr. Arnold's to be the best, after the sacred scriptures, that is to be had in this line of writing, and hesitate not hereby to recommend it in the strongest terms to all my hearers, if they should have to stint themselves or beg money even to procure it."

† Those who wish to know more of this man, who in spite of all his defects forms one of the most interesting and instructive characters in the history of theology, are referred to the spirited sketch of *Tholuck* in the 2d Part of his *Vermischte Schriften*, P. 39 ff.

‡ Th. I. S. 248.

larly his investigations in the form of historical criticism, ran, unconsciously to himself, directly into Rationalism.

With *Arnold* he had in common a strong prejudice against the ruling church, and in favour of all uncatholic dissenters. In his fruitful abstract of church history,* he utters his regret, that "of the so called heretical writings of the first centuries, almost nothing remains;" and adds the remark "that from such fragments as have been saved, one may easily see that they would be probably *more worthy of being read than the wretched treatises of the catholics.*" For men like *Tertullian*, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, and *Thomas Aquinas*, he had no taste whatever. *Augustine's* doctrine of sin and grace he hated from the bottom of his heart; while upon his dear, liberal-minded Pelagius he lost no opportunity of bestowing the warmest praise, and published his *Epistola ad Demetriadem* with full backing and defiance in the way of notes.

To this was joined now, however, another most important element, which had no place with *Arnold* whatever; namely, the comprehension of the material of ecclesiastical history, and indeed of orthodoxy also itself, under the view of *mobility*, or strictly speaking, endless *mutability;* which we must take care not to confound with the conception of organic development. From his extensive historical studies he had received the indelible impression, that doctrines were always in a course of change, and that the church system as it stood in his own time was something which had existed constantly, under the same form, from the first. The whole history of doctrine, appeared to him as a confused chaos of opinions, changing with every period, and hence of no account properly in a theoretic respect at all, but only so far as they might have a good effect morally for the time. His own restless spirit was reflected in this theory. Of an entirely sanguine nature, as he informs us him-

* Th. I. S. 40.

self,* he had a perfect literary voracity, and save in the field of polite learning for which his immeasurably prosaic spirit had no taste, wandered in his one hundred and seventy-one different writings, through all possible spheres of knowledge;† every where making new discoveries, and illuminating the darkest corners with the lightning flashes of his penetrating genius; but never finding rest or satisfaction, and never rising to a general view or true idea. He saw indeed in the whole history of the Church motion and flow, but no unity in this change, no helmsman on the storm-tost sea. He rose not to the conception of an organic process, a development including the regularity of law, that unfolds always new treasures. History was for him a vast tumultuating waste, without guiding principle or certain aim; yea, in the case of the Church, a continually advancing disfiguration only of what might be regarded as the original biblical form of Christianity.

This view of Semler, according to which the church system itself was something that had grown up in the course of time, and this partly, at least, during the period which had been regarded previously as embracing the rise of popish corruption, served to inflict on the old orthodoxy and its theory of history a second stroke, that proved indeed to be deadly. For this whole school based itself on the assumption, that whatever might have arisen in time could not be properly of divine or eternal right.

The tone which was thus struck by Semler found the most lively response, in a period, which through the influx of English deism and French materialism, and the prevalence of the philosophy of Wolff, leaned already with growing inclination to a shallow

* In his Account of his Life, Th. I. S. 70.

† He even wrote a book on the Habits of Snails in Winter, and showed a lively interest in the subject of making gold; in which however, as Tholuck supposes, not merely his scientific curiosity, but his devotion to the god Pluto also, may have been concerned.

rationalistic *aufklärung* in the sphere of religion. His followers soon cast off the last remains of his affectionate respect for Pietism. Now it first became an earnest matter, with Arnold's principle of partiality for dissent. Arius in opposition to Athanasius, Pelagius against Augustine, the Socinians against the Reformers, were made to have full right even doctrinally on their side. Their only fault was that they had not carried their opposition sufficiently far; and hence the eighteenth century could find no more important work, than to complete the business of destruction upon the Church and her history. The vast labour of centuries was looked upon as labour spent in vain; Rationalism would have history every where to be different from what it was in fact; and so, not being able to change it, must needs come into a standing controversy with its contents, undertaking presumptuously to correct it after its own miserable subjective conceptions, and turning its greatest facts into insignificance. The acute dogmatical distinctions of the œcumenical councils, were thrust aside as sophistical subtleties. The symbolical books of the Protestant Church were condemned as dishonourable shackles for the mind; the deep speculations of the most spiritual thinkers derided as empty dreams; the interior exercises of tender devotional souls, pitied as enthusiastic fancies; the vigorous manifestations of faith in opposition to unbelief, cried down as wild zealotism and intolerance; the greatest enterprises of the Church in other times or among other people, branded as the product of dark religious fanaticism. All in one word that rose above the level of every day life, was forced to become common.*

* How shamefully Rationalism, which has been indeed scientifically conquered, but still retains its adherents among the half-learned, and appears lately resuscitated again among the so called *Friends of Light* in Germany; can allow itself to deal with the most venerable names in Church

To give some account at the same time of all this past activity of the world, the *pragmatical* fashion was now carried to its perfection; represented under its most learned, skilful, and respectable character by *Münscher* and *Planck*. *Mosheim*, following French examples, had already indeed laid down the rule that Church History must be pragmatic; that is, must not simply relate events, but as he expresses it, "unfold also, under the guidance of psychology, the causes to which they are to be referred in the passions, tricks, and windings of the human heart." This pragmatism was not so dangerous with Mosheim and his school; since through the connexion in which they still stood with the church orthodoxy, they had some regard to the authority of the scriptures and to Christian experience, as well as to psychology, and acknowledged, in conjunction with the subjective factors of history, the presence of objective forces also, by which the course of events was held to be ruled always in the last instance. But now, in the hands of religious indifferentism and rationalism, the entire history of the Church was turned into a purely subjective play of human passions. The most important doctrines and events, all tried by the standard of the most miserable private judgment were deduced from idle speculation or the lowest motives of a selfish heart; the divinity of Christ, for instance, from the rhetorical fancy of Athanasius; the doctrine of free grace and original sin, from Augustine's stiff humour and fondness for writing; the papacy of the Middle Ages, from the imposition of the false Isodorian decretals and the ambition of "the

History, may be seen, for instance, in the judgment of the general superintendent *Röhr* on *Augustine*: whom he styles, on account of his doctrine of sin and grace, "a profaner of the gospel and a rake turned pious," (Prediger-Bibliothek, Heft. 1. s. 13.) On the other hand he lauds *Pelagius* as "the venerable champion of reason against unreason, who even in his own time had the satisfaction of seeing the wisest and best men take their stand on his side," (s. 15.)

rascal" Hildebrand; the Reformation from the pecuniary embarrassment of Leo X.; the Lutheran dogma of the Lord's Supper from the obstinacy and contentious spirit of Luther himself.*

Thus was God excluded from history altogether; which was at the same time, to thrust out its eyes and tear the living heart from its bosom. The life-course of the Redeemer's bride, was caricatured into a "history of human folly." The theatre of the kingdom of God in the world, was degraded into a wild arena of base, unholy passions. We might wonder, how with such a view, it was still possible to take any interest in the study of church history at all, were the maxim, *Similis simili gaudet*, not at hand to explain the seeming contradiction. The least that a still somewhat noble nature could do, in these circumstances, was to fall upon this fool-interlude, in the drama of human life indignantly, with the scourge of sharp satire. This was done by *Henke*, in his work, first published 1789, and in different editions since. He wrote the History of the Church throughout, to adopt the mild judgment of *Hase* in the case, as "a representation of errors, in religion and judicial process against spiritual despotism in every shape."

* In the case of this last point, the American divine *Joseph F. Berg* goes still further, and refers Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation at once to the *devil*. See his Lectures on Romanism, published 1840, p. 233; where he says—"On the whole, however, I am not disposed altogether to deny that the devil may have had some hand in originating Luther's notion of consubstantiation; it savours so much of transubstantiation, the chef d'œuvre of the evil one, that it would be hard to disprove the devil's agency in its invention." And yet we have been told by the same theological authority, in the *Protestant Banner*, deceased, that the eucharistic doctrine of Calvin and the Heidelberg Catechism is still *more* absurd than that of Luther; because forsooth the soul cannot literally *eat flesh*, as this doctrine is gravely charged with teaching! It must follow of course that the Reformed theory of the Lord's Supper, as it stood originally, is still more devilish even than the Lutheran.

It was in this period of cheerless destruction, that *Hamann*, the Northern magus, in deep sorrow, uttered his complaint: "What a negative age we live in! What hosts of negative men! All plunder and rob, no one is willing to give. All are bent on destroying, nobody thinks to build. No earnestness, all frivolity; no dignity, all buffoonery; no object, all side references only!" His friend and kinsman in spirit, *Herder*, longed also for deliverance from the self-styled philosophical century, that hated mortally, to use his own language, all that was either miraculous or mysterious; and from the depth of his warm heart, that burned with zeal for the beautiful and the noble, was heard, passionately to exclaim, "Would that I had been born in the Middle Ages!"

This wish found a lively echo in many young hearts, whose time of appearing on the theatre of public life had not yet come. *Herder* himself, also contributed some material at least towards the erection of the new dome, that was to rise in the midst of these dreary ruins, by his philosophical and historical writings; which belong already, in their stand-point, to another time and tendency.

When necessity is greatest, help shows itself to be most near. Rationalism, with its full denial of the divinity of Christ, and its deistic degradation of God himself to the character of a private indifferent spectator merely of human events, from beyond the clouds, lost every deeper conception of man also, at the same time. For that which makes man to be man, and gives him his true worth, is the presence of God in him, in which he lives, moves, and has his being. It was quite in order therefore, that this spiritually bankrupt age, should be led first back again to the consciousness of the original, ideal dignity of the human nature itself, so as to see in this mirror with shame its own wretched visage, and thus come to repentance and a sound conversion.

This took place chiefly by means of *Herder;* who

without question is to be ranked among the richest, noblest, and most life-pregnant spirits, in the history of Literature. His nature was compounded of theological, philosophical, and poetical material, endowed with the most open sense for the beautiful and the grand in the most diversified forms, and adorned with the most comprehensive cultivation in a general way. He was the inspired and inspiring prophet of humanity, in its purest sense. He came forward in the year 1774, with his small work (the sign of a new epoch,) entitled, "A Philosophy of History for the culture of Humanity;" which he extended ten years after, into his celebrated "Ideas for the History of Humanity," so highly commended by the accomplished *John von Müller.*

The first point in which *Herder* rose above the rationalistic historiography, and prepared the way for the modern, was in his apprehension of it as *living spirit,* a process of *organic development.* In this development, he saw a constant *progress towards the better.* This was a most fruitful thought, that served to bring light and order into the chaotic confusion of the rationalistic history. It came to a reconciliation again between the subject and the objective constraint of the world. "Humanity," he tells us,* "always remains humanity; and still a plan of progress is visible—my great theme!" (S. 76.) He appeals, in favour of the theory of development, to the analogy of the single human life and of nature, where we meet it on all sides, and goes on to say: "Clearly so also in human history! The Egyptian could not be without the Oriental; the Greek rested on him again as his basis; the Roman lifted himself into view on the back of the whole world. Actual *advance* and *constant development,* even though no individual gain should appear! All on a wide scale; the theatre of a ruling plan upon the earth, although the last pur-

* In the first of the works just named. See J. C. Herder's Sämmtliche Werke. zur Phil. und Gesch. Th 3. S. 74.

pose may be hidden from our sight; the theatre of divinity, though it should be only amid the ruins of life in its particular forms." Hence he exhibits, for example, the old Oriental history as the childhood, the Grecian as the youth, and the Roman as the manhood of humanity. (S. 53, ff.)

Closely connected with this is the second point in which *Herder* exerted a salutary influence. He created, namely, a *love* for history in *all* its stages; since no part can be torn from an organic whole, without destroying its beauty. In the face of the ridiculous self-complacency of the eighteenth century, which claimed all illumination and wisdom to itself alone, he had the courage to show, that every people and every period, not excepting even the so much decried Middle Ages, had possessed its peculiar glory and worth, and that his contemporaries, in their contempt for the past, only revealed their own poverty and disgrace. He will have nothing to do with that egotistical narrowness of mind, that affects to bring every thing to the measure of its own subjectivity. No single people, no single age, in his view, can represent the full ideal of humanity; it is distributed accordingly into a thousand forms, and "wanders a perfect Proteus through all climes and centuries."* With untiring affection, this gifted cosmopolite gathered, in his numerous works, the flowers of humanity of all zones, nations and times, and wove them into a wreath, whose fresh fragrance served wonderfully to quicken the genius, especially of the rising generation. Many of his words were like the morning breath that foretells a beautiful day. On all sides was awakened once more sympathy with humanity, and along with this a new enthusiasm in the study of its history. Still *Herder* himself never came to a full, comprehending, general view of his subject. His reverence for humanity was of a somewhat unmeasured and indefinite character. *Jean*

* S. 76.

Paul says of him very aptly, in a letter to *Jacobi*: "It requires broad wings, to swim over so many remote fields. Herder is made up of half a dozen geniuses at once, *wanting only the binding force of a properly independent personal reflection*, without which neither poetry nor philosophy has ever become complete."

A number of other men now soon arose, who contributed in various ways to promote respect and affection for the past. Here especially is to be noticed the *Romantic School*, of the two *Schlegels*, *Tieck* and *Novalis;* who chastised severely the shallow pretensions of the reigning unhistorical Rationalism, and drew forth the rich religious poetry of the Middle Ages from its dark retreat. *Von der Hagen*, the two *Grimms*, *Lachmann*, and others, brought into view particularly the glories of German antiquity. The great antiquarians *Wolf*, *Niebuhr*, *Creuzer*, produced a much more deep and living apprehénsion of Grecian and Roman history.

Of still more importance, however, was the turn which took place at this time in philosophy; as it served to bring to clear consciousness, and systematic order, the ideas irregularly thrown out by Herder and his spiritual allies. *Schelling* overcame the stand-point of critical reflection as established by Kant, and the subjective idealism of Fichte; planted himself on the ground of realism and the objective reason; and applied himself with fond partiality in his earlier years, to the speculative study of nature, under the view of a self-unfolding organic process. His disciple and successor, *Hegel*, carried the principle of a dialectic development, with the most amazing energy of metaphysical thought, into every sphere of the philosophy of spirit. We wish not to endorse Hegel's theology of development without qualification; but whatever may be thought of it, one thing is certain. It has left an impression on German science that can never be effaced; and has

contributed more than any other influence, to diffuse a clear conception of the interior organism of history, as a richer evolution continually of the idea of humanity, as well as a proper respect for its universal and objective authority, in opposition to the self-sufficient and arrogant individualism of the rationalistic school. The Hegelian method requires, moreover, that the historian should resign himself without prejudice to his subject, and thus suffer it to come to a living reproduction according to the law of its own nature. Hence it stands in direct contradiction to that subjective show of reason, that is never satisfied with history as it stands, but must be always correcting it after the fashion of its own private fancies. According to the whole stand-point of this philosophy, history is a self-evolution of the absolute spirit, and hence supremely rational throughout. Such is the sense of that celebrated, though often misunderstood, dictum of Hegel: All that is rational is real, and all that is real, (or absolutely existent, substantial,) is rational. Here, however, we come also on the fatal rock of this speculative method of history. While Rationalism had scarcely the most remote conception of a divine presence in history, and resolved every thing into free human activity, the philosophy before us falls over to the opposite extreme of pantheism and fatalism. The individual is regarded as the blind organ of the world-spirit; evil is held to be a necessary medium for reaching the good; and thus the idea of guilt and moral accountability is necessarily lost. We may say indeed that the Hegelian *Method* rests on the supposition of the necessity of evil as the negative condition of moral progress. For sin in the sphere of morality is made to correspond exactly with contradiction in the sphere of logic; and this last, according to Hegel's dialectics, forms the impulsive force in the moving process of all thought. It results, moreover, from the pantheistic tendency just mentioned, that no sufficient

account is made of the personal and individual. Such emphasis is laid upon the general, that life in the concrete dissolves into mere abstraction, the endlessly diversified fulness of history shrinks into a few logical forms, and living personalities are transformed into ideal shadows. All these defects are found united in the modern Tübingen school, with Dr. *Bauer** and Dr. *Strauss* at its head. These, preceded by *Schwegler* and *Zeller*, have handled particularly the history of primitive Christianity in the way of pretended dialectic construction, with a spirit altogether pantheistic and ruinous.

The Hegelian Philosophy then is in itself no safe conductor, through the halls of Church History. Its logical forms of thinking, are capable of being applied in the most opposite ways. Whilst it has led the way for many to a historical and churchly spirit, and proved an admirable help towards the overthrow of the common Rationalism, and a thorough speculative understanding and defence of orthodoxy; it has served, on the other hand, when sundered from the real life revelation of Christianity, to produce itself a new form of Rationalism, very different from the first, more spiritual indeed, but for this reason also more dangerous, that from an opposite direction shows the most radical hostility to all concrete and individual historical life.

Of much more account than the philosophy of Schelling and Hegel, for the formation of the modern German theology, has been the influence of *Schleiermacher*, the greatest theological genius, we may say, since the Reformation. The most various forms of cultivation belonging to his time were brought together, under an exceedingly original scientific combination, in his person; and there is not to be found now a single theologian of importance, in whom the influence of his great mind is not more or less to be traced. History, to be sure, was not his sphere;

* Not to be confounded with the notorious *Bruno Baur*.

and what has been published from him since his death, in this department, belongs to his weakest productions. Still, however, by his profound doctrinal and moral views, he has influenced *indirectly* the treatment of historical theology also, to a most important extent. The productive, strictly evangelical element, in his system, is found in this; that he placed the person of Christ as the Redeemer and the author of a new life, in the centre of theology; put emphasis on the idea of *communion* in religion; and in this manner opened the way at least for a churchly tendency. He forms a supplementary counterpoise over against the Hegelian theory thus far, that he fastens his eye sharply in particular upon the original and specific in Christianity, and instead of starting from the idea, makes religious experience rather the fountain of dogmatic knowledge. On the whole, however, Schleiermacher's method is not so much historical as mathematical. The different constituents of an idea came into view with him, more as standing together in space than as growing forth one from another in time.

Out of his school has proceeded the most important church historian of our time, *Augustus Neander;* who however is to be considered some steps in advance of his position. He attaches himself, namely, still more closely than Schleiermacher, to the real and positive element of religion, and allows far more weight to the idea of organic development. In this respect he appears in a certain affinity with the Hegelian philosophy, although known as one of its bitter opponents. The greatest charm of his historical writing results precisely from this, that he causes religious characters to rise gradually, in the way of living reproduction, before the eyes of his readers; and all with such amiable pious artlessness of manner, that the picture becomes irresistibly at the same time a source of practical edification. His work, which is now brought down in *ten* parts to the time of

Boniface VIII., deserves to be presented in full, under a worthy form, to the English and American public, and to take the place which has been heretofore allowed to Mosheim. Possibly a judicious compilation or epitome as a manual for students of theology, might be better than a literal translation, which at all events, by reason of the easy carelessness of Neander's style, would be no easy task. This distinguished monument of sanctified learning is, without question, the most important product of the modern German theology in the sphere of church history, and must long maintain a high authority. At the same time, it is not to be denied that, in point of *church* character, it is no longer fully equal to the demands of the time. Neander stands still on Schleiermacher's ground in this respect, that the church spirit appears with him under an indefinite form, and in the general character too much of a mere feeling of communion. Hence his aversion to a pointedly distinct orthodoxy, and his partiality towards free dissenting tendencies. Since the Jubilee of the Reformation, however, in 1817, the evangelical theology of Germany has taken a strong and constantly growing church direction; and this, beyond all doubt, will give character more and more to the future. To be complete now, a Church History should unite in proper harmony a thorough use of original sources, clear apprehension, organic development, lively and interesting delineation, strong but liberal and universal church feeling, and fruitfulness in the way of practical edification. It may be long, perhaps, before we possess a work that shall satisfy equally all these requirements. Still however the elements which it calls for, are all actually at hand in the different tendencies of the modern German theology. The material is prepared; the plan of the edifice too is ready in its main outline; only the master hand is waited for, that shall put the work toge-

ther, and cause the parts to appear as a complete, magnificent and harmonious whole.

After this short review of the most conspicuous modern historical schools, let us endeavour now to bring into a single view the right conception of church history, as it may be gathered from all that has been said. The main point here is to set in proper light the idea of *organic development;* since this forms the key to the understanding of history, and the watchword of all the more important works, in this department, which we have already brought into view in the first part of this tract. True, this conception itself is differently held by different persons, and I also claim the right of deviating in several points from Hegel, Schleiermacher, Neander, &c., as has already been intimated, in what goes before. But still there runs a common thread through the whole latter view of church history, which it is above all important to discern and understand. Such as are acquainted with the subject in any measure by correct personal reflection, will judge indulgently of the following attempt; since a philosophy of church history, and a complete theory of historical development from the theological stand-point, is something which is wanting to us as yet altogether. Any deficiency that may take place in my particular exposition of the idea of development, it must be remembered, can in no way impair the truth and value of the idea itself.

III. THE MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY, OR THE STAND-POINT OF ORGANIC DEVELOPMENT.

The stand-point of the present historical theology of Germany is not something isolated, the sheer subjective product of some later theologians; but the necessary result of previous stand-points, resting itself in this way on the solid ground and bottom of history. The orthodox treatment of history, as well as the rationalistic, came to a dissolution by the irresistible

process of their own development, under the one-sided tendency which belonged to each. But this dissolution was only the necessary transition to a new life. Out of their ruins the elements of truth on both sides, divested of their perishable hull, rose and became united in a higher third, in which they now came to their true force. We allow both the former methods then up to a certain point, and incorporate them so far into our own view.

The *orthodox* theory of history we hold to be right, in two essential points. First, in insisting upon something unchangeable and everlasting in history. But while the theory identifies this, at once with the *church* doctrine, and affirms that *this* has been at all times the same, and has undergone neither decrease nor increase, but perversions only and obscurations; we, on the other hand, distinguish between truth as objectively present in Christ and in the scriptures, and truth as subjectively present in the consciousness of the church, and say: Christianity in itself and objectively considered is complete in Christ, in whom dwells the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; as also in his word, which is exhibited in the holy scriptures of the New Testament, in a pure, original, perfect and absolutely normative form, for all times. Subjective Christianity, on the contrary, or the life of the God-man in his Church, is a process, a development, which begins small, and grows always larger, till it comes at last to full manhood in Christ; that is, till the believing human world may have appropriated to itself, both outwardly and inwardly, the entire fulness of objective Christianity, or the life of Christ. In this view the word of God also was not at once understood by the church from the beginning, in all its depth and comprehension, but gradually always more and more with the advancing age of the church. We must say, accordingly, that the reformers, for instance, understood the word of God better than the church fathers and the schoolmen.—Then we agree

with the orthodox stand-point, in the second place, in believing the *church* to be the bearer of God's truth, and Christian life, the lawful and proper heir of all the promises of the gospel. But we do not, for this reason, agree with it in denying the sects all right to exist, and excluding them from all participation in the truth. On the contrary, we suppose them to play an indispensable part, in modifying and determining the development of the orthodox church itself.

Thus do we exhibit our position, also, with regard to the rationalistic theory of history. We consider it right in this respect generally, in the first place, that it apprehends the life and doctrine of the church as something moveable and flowing. But in determining more particularly the nature and character of this movement, we differ from it essentially. The rationalist sees in the movement only the lawless play of caprice, without any unity at the ground of the manifold, without any fixed and definite end, resolving all mainly into the course of mere human affections and passions. History is for him a continual ebb and flow, that still comes in the end always to the old thing; or, if he allows a progress, it is made to consist in a process of rarefaction, in the dissolution of previous church views, with nothing left at last but the miserable conceptions of an abstract religion of mere reason and nature. But we conceive of historical movement as an ever-increasing stream, whose course has been already prescribed in the plan of everlasting wisdom before the formation of the world, and that now rolls itself forward according to divine laws, to empty itself finally in the ocean of eternity. We maintain, consequently, that the Spirit of Christ himself, uninterruptedly present in the church, is the chief factor in history, to whose power all human factors, which are also to be acknowledged in their place, must be regarded as subordinate; and that nothing which has once come to

be of true historical weight can be absolutely negated or made to become null, but must ever incorporate itself as an abiding element into the subsequent part of the process. Those who have lived and died in the Lord, are followed by their works into the quiet abodes of everlasting blessedness, (comp. Rev. xiv. 13.) As it regards the relation, in which Rationalism places dissent to orthodoxy, the sects to the church, we agree with it thus far, that the sects are not to be counted as pure error; whilst we maintain, in direct opposition to it, that they are justifiable over against the church only so far as this may have come to labour under disease, and that after the restoration of the general body, *which always follows sooner or later*, they must be overwhelmed by the judgment of history. It is only the *church* which has the promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.

We may characterize our stand-point, then, in few words, with regard to the first point here noticed, as that of *regular or organic development*, and with regard to the view taken of orthodoxy and dissent, as that of free, or *protestant, evangelically catholic, ecclesiasticism.*

It remains now to explain somewhat more particularly these terms of distinction, and to show their force. What then, in the first place, are we to understand by *organic or regular development*, in itself considered? And how, in the second place, is the general idea to be applied to the history of the Church?

Only that which is dead has the privilege of being *done.* All, on the other hand, that can lay claim to life, is in its inmost nature a genesis, movement, process, development. So we find it even in nature; which is the pre-supposition, and, at the same time, the mirror, of spirit. The lowest kind of process, which indeed can be only improperly so termed, is the mechanical motion of the heavenly bodies,

which revolve around their sun, obeying unconsciously the immanent law of their own constitution. This motion, however, always returning into itself, is not yet life, but at best an analogy only of life. The proper *genesis* first appears in the sphere of organic nature, in the life of the *plant*. The plant is possessed of a real life, and is the subject thus of a development that begins with the seed, forms itself from this into root, stem, branch, leaf, and blossom, and becomes complete in its fruit. Here we have progress constantly from the lower to the higher; but still nothing is revealed, that was not contained potentially at first in the germ. The last result accordingly of the vegetable development, the fruit, comprises in itself again new seed; so that the end returns always with new wealth to the beginning.

A still higher form of life is the animal; at the head of which, (though of a specifically different order of existence,) stands man, so far as his earthly nature is concerned. Man, to come to him at once, exists first as an embryo, still interwoven with the life of the mother, and as such is said to pass as it were cursorily, in his conformation, through all the lower stages of the animal life. After his birth, he makes the course of childhood, boyhood, youth, manhood, and old age. In all these stages he is *man*, and preserves thus in his development the unity of his nature; but in all, at the same time he is again different, inasmuch as his general nature takes continually a more definite form, and reveals itself in a higher and more perfect way. Still even the highest stage, the life of the old man, is but the full evolution of the life that was originally present in the child. This development we denominate regular and organic; since it follows with necessity an inward life force, proceeds with equal, steady, order, and continues always true to the original nature of the man, till in the end it has brought the whole fulness of it into view. The German language, which

is uncommonly rich and philosophical, has an admirable word, that expresses all that is comprised in this idea of organic development. It is the word *aufheben*, which is so much used, and we may say so much *abused* also, in the Hegelian philosophy. It includes three meanings, namely, to *abolish* (tollere,) to *preserve* (conservare,) and to *raise* to a higher state (elevare.) All these senses are wonderfully combined, in the idea with which we are now concerned. We may say with the fullest truth, of man, that in every higher stage of his existence, his previous life is in this threefold view *aufgehoben*. The child is abolished as a child in the young man, and yet is preserved at the same time, and raised unto a higher stage of life. The temporary outward form is abolished; the substance, the idea is preserved; not however by continuing to be what it was before, but by mounting upwards to a more exalted mode of outward existence.

Parallel precisely with the bodily life of man in this view, is the life also of his spirit. For soul and body are by divine constitution most intimately bound together, and what God has thus joined, man has no right to put asunder. Both parts of his being develop themselves, hand in hand together. Man comes not into the world a scholar, an artist, or the possessor of a moral and religious character. He carries within him indeed the capacity for life in such form; but this only in the way of germ, that must yet be developed, by impulse from within and the influence of proper conditions without, as the plant grows through the action of air, sunshine and rain. Here, also, we have in full again, what we have just noticed in the case of his animal life. Spiritual growth or development is likewise a process of annihilation, preservation, and exaltation; in which it comes in the end to a complete explication only, of what was present by implication at the

start. This must be affirmed even of the development of the life of religion itself. Its commencement is the new birth; its end, the resurrection of the body. This last is only the full consummation of the first, its proper ultimate consequence, by which the new spirit has added to it the new body also, as its needful organ and blessed habitation.

All this is so clear and so fully established by common experience, that it is not likely to be called in question by any reflecting man. Is it not marvellous then, that the same simple, familiar truth, as soon as it comes to be applied to the history of the human *race*, should be so stoutly and stiffly denied, as we find it to be in fact by many?* What holds

* Dr. *Cheever*, the editor of the *New York Evangelist*, in his review of my work, the Principle of Protestantism, roughly rejects the idea of a steadily advancing development of the Church, and affirms in opposition to it that Christendom moves always at like distance around the same centre, the Bible; so that the 19th century is just as near to this centre as the first! A fine compliment to humanity truly, on the part of this learned divine; by which it is thus sunk to such form of existence as belongs to a soulless and lifeless planet, that likewise revolves, always at the same distance around its centre, the sun. As Dr. Cheever is no friend of German Theology, I will refer him to an English authority of some reputation, Bishop Butler, who in his *Analogy*, Part II. Chap. iv., towards the close, plainly sanctions the idea of a progressive development on the part of the human world, in the following words: "However, thus much is manifest, that the whole natural world and government of it, is a scheme or system; not a fixed, but a progressive one: a scheme, in which the operation of various means takes up a great length of time, before the ends they tend to can be attained. The change of seasons, the ripening of the fruits of the earth, the very history of a flower, is an instance of this. And so is human life. Thus vegetable bodies, and those of animals, though possibly formed at once, yet grow up by degrees to a mature state. And thus rational agents, who animate these latter bodies, are naturally directed to form each his own manners and character, by the gradual gaining of knowledge and experience, and by a long course of action. Our existence is not

of the individual must hold also of humanity as a whole, since this is simply the organic totality of all single men. So precisely as the single Christian does not become complete at a stroke, but only by degrees, the Church, as the complex of all Christians, must admit and require too a gradual development. Christ himself, the head of the Church, submitted to the law of a genesis in time, and grew from infancy up to manhood. This genesis was no apparition merely, no δοκησις, as many of the Gnostics supposed; but truth and reality. "Jesus *increased*," it is written, "in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man," (Luke ii. 52.) "Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience, by the things which he suffered," (Heb. v. 8.) How then shall the Church, which repeats and continues the earthly human life of Christ, form an exception to this law of development. The Lord himself teaches the contrary, in the parables he employs to represent the nature of the kingdom of God; comparing it with the small mustard seed that gradually becomes a great tree, (Matt. xiii. 31, 32;) and with leaven, that works and spreads till the whole lump is leavened (v. 33.) Paul is full of the idea of a constantly advancing development on the part of the Church. He speaks of the whole building of the saints, as *growing* to a holy temple in the Lord (εν ω πασα η οικοδομη συναρμολογουμενη αυξει εις ναον αγιον εν κυριω, Eph. ii. 21. Comp. 1 Peter ii. 5.) He dwells on the *edifying* of the body of Christ, (εις οικοδομην του σωματος

only successive, as it must be of necessity; but one state of our life and being is appointed by God, to be a preparation for another; and that to be the means of attaining to another succeeding one, infancy to childhood, childhood to youth, youth to mature age. . . . . Thus, in the daily course of natural providence, God operates in the very same manner, as in the dispensation of Christianity, making one thing subservient to another, this somewhat farther; and so on, through a progressive series of means, which extend, both backward and forward, beyond our utmost view."

χριστου,) until we all come, in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, (Eph. iv. 12, 13. Comp. v. 16; also, iii. 18, 19, and Col. ii. 19.)

We present now the particular characteristics of this development of the kingdom of God, as they disclose themselves in a thorough study of history.

1. The development of the church is partly *external* and partly *internal.* The first consists in the progressive diffusion of the gospel among those who are not Christians, by the activity of missions. This must go forward, as long as there may be a soul that has not yet heard of Christ crucified. It is not at all times equally active. It showed itself with the greatest power in the apostolic age, among the Jews, Greeks, and Romans; then on the threshold of the middle ages, when the Church received the Germanic nations as a new material into her bosom; and appears now again in the spirit of modern missions, which is turned with increasing earnestness towards Asia, Africa and Australia. In many periods, the Church has been so fully taken up with her internal concerns, in the way of establishing a principle or combating error, as to have no time left for missions. So in the heart of the middle ages, and in the period of the reformation. Still action in this form can never fail wholly; since it belongs inseparably to the vocation of the militant church.

But the missionary work alone is by no means all that this vocation includes. As soon as Christianity has gained footing among a people, a more difficult *interior* mission begins; having for its object the transfusion of the manners and institutions of such a people with the Christian principle. This forms that *inward* development, which we have here chiefly in view. It spreads itself over all portions of the natural life, as the outward missionary work does over all lands and people, agreeably to the claims of Chris-

tianity as the absolute world religion. Like leaven, the gospel must work itself into the universal mass of life, under all its established forms.

The Church finds at the start an existing *State*, in a certain stage of development; with which, as ruled by the principle of heathenism, she comes into violent collision, the source of bloody persecutions. Out of all these however she rises victorious, in the time of Constantine. Then, during the Middle Ages, she brings the state more and more into subjection, and occupies it with Christian laws and institutions. Under this discipline, the state gradually comes of age, and since the Reformation takes a more free posture towards the Church; either in the way of more or less direct control, as in Lutheran lands and in the English establishment; or in the way of peaceful indifference, as here in America. Since however the Church is itself social in its very nature, she must include a regimen also of some sort, a system of order and discipline, in her own organization. This *constitution* at first, while the nations still need education, appears under the episcopal or hierarchic form; but with the Reformation, this has been exchanged, to a large extent at least, for the presbyterial, in which the people are brought to take part in the government.

Again, the Church meets, among cultivated nations at least, the *Fine Arts*. With these she has nothing to do, so far as they stand in the service of sin. But their proper human value she appropriates in the end to herself, and employs it, transfused with the religious principle, for the purposes of worship; in which way, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and poetry, find their proper place and lay their richest products on the altar of the Lord.

The Church, requires, in the third place, a *Science*, in which she may come to clear self-consciousness, and have a full view of her relation to God, her peculiar life, her duties and privileges. This is *Theo-*

logy; that is, the scientific apprehension of religion. This again has its own development, of which no farther notice can be taken here. As science, she comes of course into contact with the secular or profane sciences, which serve her as a natural basis; in exegesis, for instance, with classic and oriental philology; as church history, with the history of the world; as apologetik, polemik, dogmatik and ethics, with philosophy; as homiletics, with rhetoric; &c. This relation too, like that to art, is partly hostile and in part friendly. Thus, for example, the Church in her theology, separates what is heathenish from the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle; but appropriates their results in the way of pure thought, as well as their bold inquiring spirit and dialectic method. Plato, in the patristic age, and Aristotle, in the scholastic, have exerted an immense influence on the construction of theology; and so more recently, in England, Locke, and in Germany, the systems of Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, in their necessary consecution. The same thing might be shown also of other branches of secular science; but this would carry us here quite too far.

Finally, the Church transforms the *natural social life* of the nations; and causes her faith to show itself in a system of virtues and good works, which as Christian all rest on the principle of love to God. Hence we have a history of *Christian life*, understanding by this the manifestation of faith, or the morality of religion. This life is different, according to the faith and doctrinal system lying at its ground. Thus the practical piety and morality of Roman Catholicism is characteristically legal, punctilious, unfree and anxious; but distinguished also for great sacrifices, the virtue of obedience, and full consecration to the Church. That of Protestantism is evangelically free, cheerful and joyous in the possession of justification by grace, and rests in

the deep inward sense of union with God through Jesus Christ.

2. The development of the Church is *organic*. It is no mechanical accumulation of events, and no result simply of foreign influences. Certain outward conditions are indeed required for it, as the plant needs air, moisture, and light, in order to grow. But still the impelling force in the process, is the inmost life of the church herself. Christianity is a new creation, that unfolds itself continually more and more from within, and extends itself by the necessity of its own nature. It takes up, it is true, foreign material also, in the process; but changes it at once into its own spirit, and assimilates it to its own nature, as the body converts the food, required for its growth, into flesh and blood, marrow and bone. The church accordingly, in this development, remains true always to her own nature, and reveals only what it contained in embryo, from the start. Through all changes—first Greek, then Roman Catholic, then German evangelical—she never ceases still to be the church. So the oak also changes, but never becomes an apple tree. The expression *organic* implies farther, that the stages of development, like the links of a chain, or better, like the members of a living body, are indissolubly bound together. Just because the church does unfold itself from within, as now affirmed, obeying its own life-law throughout, the process itself must form a whole, in which the several parts mutually complete each other. It is only the entire history of the church, from her commencement in the congregation at Jerusalem to her consummation in the general judgment, which can fully represent her conception. Here, however, will be found no trait superfluous, no trait wanting, and every part in its proper place, as is required by the nature of a beautiful and complete organism.

3. The development in question includes the threefold form of action, which has been already de-

scribed as expressed by the German word *aufheben*. Each new stage negates the preceding one, by raising its inmost being to a more adequate form of existence. Annihilation is thus required. The seed must die, to make way for the plant. The bud is burst by the flower. The child must put off childhood, in becoming a youth. But it is only the outward, the transient, that is thus annihilated. The substance abides. So Judaism is taken up (*aufgehoben*,) by Christianity; that is, it exists no longer as the legal and particularistic institute it was before; but all the truths of the Old Testament, at the same time, are preserved in the gospel, by being fulfilled. The Grecian and Roman nationalities came to an end, in their pagan form, as soon as they became Christian; but under a higher character they still continue to exist, and have done specific service for the church. The Greek Church, by means of Grecian culture, was the organ for producing speculative doctrine and forms of worship. The Roman Church, true to the spirit of ancient Rome under Christian form, brought forward ecclesiastical government and law, and the idea of a catholicity that should embrace and pervade all lands and nations, as well as all departments of life. She has not forgotten, of a truth, the line of Virgil: "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento!" The Middle Ages have been *taken up* by Protestantism; that is, the period exists here no longer as that theocratic universal monarchy, which had its centre in Rome and the pope for its head; but its deepest meaning has been fulfilled in the reformation, and its intellectual and spiritual acquirements have descended to the evangelical church, as its heir, to be improved still farther under a new character. Rationalism, as a system of unbelief, is scientifically and morally annihilated by the reviving evangelical theology of Germany; but its grammatico-historical interpretation of the scriptures and its whole effort to reach a critical scientific

apprehension of Christianity and the church on their natural, human side, have been preserved, by being raised into higher connexions and brought under the power of a living faith. Only in this form, indeed, could the previous effort at all reach its own proper end. How the orthodox and rationalistic methods of history, have been made to pass away in the modern, we have shown already at some length.

4. The development of the Church is carried forward, by means of *dialectic opposites* and *extremes*. This is a very weighty point, which is indispensable to a right understanding of Church History. Here the history of mankind shows itself different from the history of the divine Redeemer. His life unfolded itself quietly, like a clear stream flowing with smooth regularity in a straight course. It was a line that led, without the least deviation, to God. He suffered indeed and died; but this came not properly from the constitution of his own nature morally considered; it grew out of his voluntary assumption of the place of men, in order to redeem them from the power of sin. His own life, as such, remained always calm and serenely clear, in uninterrupted communion with his heavenly Father. This was because he knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth. If Adam had not fallen, his life would have unfolded itself in his posterity, in the same way, without being required either to pass through death, that sharpest and hardest of all contradictions. He fell, however, and the human nature along with him, including of course the whole race; as partaking of the same life. Hence, in history, all errors, contradictions, conflicts and sufferings, with death at their head. Christ has appeared indeed as the second Adam, and introduced into humanity a new principle of life, that must in the end triumph over all contradiction, all sin and all evil. But this principle can realize itself only in a gradual way. The Church on earth consists not of perfect saints, but of dying sin-

ners, comprehended in a process of sanctificction, which will end only with the outward resurrection. Freedom from sin and error may be predicated of Christ and the Church triumphant, but not of the Church militant. So long accordingly as the elements of a still unrenewed life continue to work in her constitution, her development must necessarily involve hard struggles and conflicts. The stream of church history flows with abrupt turns, in a zigzag course. At one time, it winds, soft and clear, through flowery meadows and smiling fields; but again it rushes headlong, wild, foaming, over towering precipices, bearing giant oaks and huge rocks irresistibly in its way, and forming the while also cataracts to be gazed upon with admiration and terror. Here, it meets no resistance; but now, a mountain comes in its way, which it must go around or break through. Such is the complex variety, the terrific, though deeply interesting romance, the tragic scenery, which sin has introduced into the drama of the world's history.

This view may be established first in a general way, by referring to the most comprehensive leading periods of history. With the reformation of the 16th century, the main stream of the Church took a direction wholly opposite to that which it had before. Thus far, the history of Christianity had been a development of the principle of objectivity, authority, obediance, Jewish Christian legalism. This was carried so far, that the power of the church became at last an insupportable bondage. Then the spirit of personal freedom, trained by such discipline to ripe self-possession, rose in revolt, and struck into quite another way. With this begins the evolution of the principle of subjectivity, the Gentile Christian element, evangelical liberty and independence. At the first, this movement carries along with it still the force of the old church life, as derived from the Middle Ages; but in proportion as it recedes from where it started, it is found to lose more and more its objec-

tive church character. Evangelical freedom has degenerated into fleshly self-will and licentiousness. The original common life of Protestantism has run out into a multitude of separate interests. The authority of God's word and of history is made to bend to private will and private judgment; which of course are different in different cases, and only affect subordination to the Bible, while in fact by their contempt for history they set themselves above it. Thus, for the papacy of the one bishop of Rome, is substituted the papacy of endless sect systems and sect heads. No wonder, then, that the historical stream should even now be turning from this pseudo-protestant extreme, towards a higher form of true church life in the opposite direction.

Not only on this large scale however is the law in question illustrated; it repeats itself also, in each single period, within more narrow compass. Every where one extreme calls forth another. Take, for instance, the image controversy in the Greek Church. The superstitious veneration for images, which had there become prevalent excited the emperor, *Leo III.* to put them away altogether, and the council of Constantinople, in the year 754, confirmed his judgment. This ultra-spiritualism, however, again produced a reaction the other way; which found a powerful patron in the empress *Irene*, and was ecclesiastically sanctioned also, at least in part, by the second council of Nice, A. D. 787. So we see the scholastic and mystic systems of the 12th century again in the persons of *Abelard* and *Bernard of Clairvaux*, violently opposing each other; although they could as little bear to be divorced as light and heat, or head and heart. The formality of the English Episcopal Church causes Puritanism to appear; and when this swings over to the opposite extreme, a reaction follows in the restoration of the Stuarts. The orthodoxy of the school Lutheranism, which exalted knowledge at the expense of action, gives rise to *Pietism;*

which now undervalues orthodoxy again in favour of practical religion. To refer finally to a quite recent case, Puseyism owes its rise mainly to its arch-enemy, the ultra-protestantism of the day.

We might illustrate the same truth also, from the lives of single Christians; in the case of whom, the strongest characters precisely, and those which have exerted the widest influence, are found to have been formed through a process of sharp extremes, while the essential identity of their nature has still been preserved in the midst of all. We will simply refer, in the way of example, to Paul, Augustine, and Luther.

5. The truth, in this whole case, lies not in the extremes, but in the *middle,* or the *deep* rather, in which they may be said to meet! The very nature of an extreme is, that it pushes one side of a truth into prominence at the cost of another; wronging thus the interest itself which it seeks to uphold, since the organic nature of truth makes it impossible for any part of it to be fairly represented, without due regard at the same time to other parts. Let this be illustrated again, by actual historical examples. The orthodox christology holds in the midst, between the one-sided theories of Nestorianism and Eutychianism. The first has right, so far as it insists upon the distinction of the divine and human natures in Christ, and opposes all pantheistic confusion of the one with the other. But with this, it overlooks the personal unity that binds them together; and hence its distinction of the divine and human, becomes abstract and only half true. Eutychianism presses the unity of both at the expense of their difference, and runs out accordingly into a monophysitic mingling of the two into a single nature. The church christology, as it was established by the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, unites the truth of both sides, in each case sundered from its accompanying error, into a complete general view, in which the unity as

well as the distinction of the divine and human, in the Redeemer's person, are allowed to come to their right.—In the image controversy already mentioned, the extremes of iconoclasm and iconolatry are alike one-sided and half-true. The right stand-point, that for instance maintained by Gregory I. and by the French Church of the Carlovingian period in the so called *libris Carolinis*, distinguishes wisely between the image and its object, between the use of images and their abuse. It vindicates all worship to God and Christ alone; but allows religious images, at the same time, as representations of Christian art, and helps to devotion in the way of calling into lively recollection the saints and their virtues, and exciting pious imitation.* In like manner, Luther and his Church held themselves equally aloof, from Romanist image worship and Carlostadt's image demolition.—Again, scholasticism and mysticism are both equally right and wrong; only as completed by each other, do they become fully true. The best theology is that in which the clearest understanding and deepest feeling appear harmoniously interfused. In the apostle Paul, Augustine, Anselm of Canterbury, Hugo of St. Victor, Bonaventura, Luther, Melancthon, John Gerhard, J. A. Bengel, Schleiermacher, and others, we find in fact both tendencies, though in very different ways, more or less united.—In the controversy between Lutheran orthodoxy and Pietism, the venerable J. A. Bengel asserted the right medium; insisting on the union of practical piety with a firm adhesion to the established church doctrines, and opposing thus, with like decision, dead school divinity and mere religious subjectivism, that must ever become rationalistic in the end. Finally, we may say also,

* Libri Carol. III. c. 16: Nam dum nos nihil in imaginibus spernamus præter adorationem, quippe qui in basilicis sanctorum imagines non ad adorandum, sed ad memoriam rerum gestarum et venustatem parietum habere permittimus, etc.

that the grand leading phases of church historical development, Catholicism and Protestantism, do not, separately taken, exhibit the *full* compass of Christian truth; and we look forward accordingly, with earnest longing, to a higher stadium of development, when error shall be effectually surmounted on both sides, and the divine element comprehended in each, appear happily preserved and perfected, in a higher form of church life, that shall be neither the one nor the other; a consummation, already anticipated and prefigured, we may say, in some single characters, that for instance of Augustine, and more especially in the circle of the apostles. The realization of this evangelical Catholicity or churchly Protestantism, forms more and more clearly the great problem of the present age.

This right middle, of which the old word holds good, *Medium tenuere beati*, is removed heaven-wide from a characterless halting between two opinions, or from that loose eclecticism, which throws heterogeneous elements together, and then dignifies the undigested mish-mash with the name of a system. Such a middle must be pronounced rather something worse than the extremes it seeks to avoid; since it lacks courage and energy to attach itself decidedly either to the one or the other.

6. Every stage of development has its own corresponding *disease*. That the process should pass through diseases, might be presumed even from the analogy of our natural existence; it results with necessity from the elements of sin and error that still cleave to the Church in her militant state, as well as from her connexion with the unregenerate world whose influence she is made continually to feel. These diseases form the Antichristian power in the Church, which also has a development of its own. Along with the wheat grow the tares till the last judgment, when both shall be separated, the first gathered into the heavenly granary, the other consigned

to hell-fire. As every stage in the life of the individual has its *peculiar* derangements and dangers, so also has each life-period of the Church; and the more advanced any stage of development may be, the more dangerous will be also the disease to which it is exposed. The secularized tyrannical papacy is a diseased excrescence or swelled tumour of Catholicism. Rationalistic and sectaristic pseudo-protestantism is a distortion of the original spirit of the Reformation. Both diseases form a revelation of the mystery of iniquity, an apostacy, it may be said, a manifestation of the man of sin, who exalteth himself in the temple of God and exhibits himself as God. The last is the case particularly with the logical pantheism of the latest German philosophy and anti-theology, which claims to be the most perfect birth of the Reformation itself. While the pope acknowledges the existence of a personal God, and the fundamental doctrines of the gospel in general, and professes to derive his power by apostolical succession from Christ; this false protestantism of the school of Hegel and Strauss sets aside the divine personality altogether, and raises the idea of humanity to the throne of the world; so that all theology or christology are made to lose themselves in mere anthropology.—The opposers of Puseyism in our own country, at the present time, are but too often chargeable with the great fault of forgetting, over the mote in a brother's eye, the beam that is in their own, unwittingly helping in this way the enemy they oppose.—We ought to acknowledge and love Christ always, wherever and in whatever form he may appear. So also, we ought to contend against Antichrist in all places; and he is to be found assuredly in all Christian confessions. Where God builds a temple, the devil is sure to have a chapel alongside.

7. These diseases however attending the development of the church, prove in the hand of an all-wise God, who in the end rules all for his own glory, the

negative conditions precisely of her *progress.* Want and help, are closely joined together. With the consciousness of disease, awakes also the desire for improvement. The physician is called, and offered remedies are thankfully received. When the church is thus brought to thorough repentance for her sin, and the proper means of cure are employed, her original life returns again more fresh and vigorous than ever before; as the natural body, after having surmounted the diseases of early life, goes on to unfold itself subsequently with increased strength. The storm makes way for a purer atmosphere and more genial sun. So it was in the 16th century. The Reformation was conditioned historically throughout, by the shocking abuses of the papacy; and the fire was immediately kindled, we know, by the shameless traffic in indulgences as carried on by Tetzel. In our own time, pseudo-protestantism tends to awaken a strong church feeling, and so to break the way for a new tendency. The horrid strumpet government of Rome, when the highest ecclesiastical dignity had become the play-ball of avarice and lust, called forth the Hildebrandic reaction, which rescued the church from her slavery, and carried the idea of the papacy to its world-historical completion. The degeneracy of the works in the 9th and 10th centuries, when the ancient discipline had yielded to all sorts of libertinism, and the abbeys were occupied almost entirely by avaricious laymen, served powerfully to assist the reformation which issued from the convent of Clugny; a reformation, that fell back once more to the strictness of the Benedictine rule, and carried the monastic institute forward to its highest and last stage of development, as presented in the mighty orders of the 11th and 12th centuries. Thus does God, in his infinite wisdom, bring good out of all evil, and turn the purposes and plans of his foes to the benefit of his children.

8. The starting points of new stages of develop-

ment, or the epochs that unfold themselves into periods, carry, according to the want of the time, the character prevailingly, either of *restoration*, or *revolution*, or *reformation;* of which three forms of change, the last must be considered the highest and most influential. By *restoration*, we understand the simple re-establishment of a state which has existed before without any advance. It takes place commonly after a violent revolution. History revenges the wrongs she has been made to suffer, by falling back once more to the earlier position from which she had been forcibly expelled. Here belongs, in the political sphere, the restoration of the Bourbons, after the fall of Napoleon; in the religious, the restoration of the Stuart family and the English Episcopal Church, after the Puritan revolution. Puseyism and old Lutheranism in our day, are to be placed essentially in the same catalogue. Such a tendency however can maintain itself ordinarily only for a short time, and calls forth new reactions. Thus the last hour of the Bourbons struck already in the year 1830; and the Romanizing Stuarts were required soon to yield to a new Protestant succession. Puseyism, as such, will hardly be able to endure long. Its more consistent leaders, completing their own principle, will pass over to Rome, as a number of the English clergy, with Newman at their head, have quite recently done already; others will fall back to the ordinary high church stand-point.

Revolution is the unsparing violent overthrow of what is at hand. It bears accordingly a character, that is prevailingly negative and destructive. It becomes historically legitimate, only where a diseased political or ecclesiastical condition has grown so inveterate, as to defy all help in the way of ordinary quiet and regular improvement. In such circumstances, revolution is like a terrible thunder storm, that purifies the air. As examples from political history, we may mention the French Revolution of

the preceding century, and the emancipation of the United States from the dominion of Great Britain. The last, however, has a much more regular, worthy, and historical character, than the other, and approaches rather the conception of a reformation; while the first produced the most horrible fruits of political fanaticism, and was followed thus with no stability in its results. From church history, we notice the course pursued by Carlostadt and the Anabaptists at the time of the reformation, and the Puritanism of England in the century following; which overturned the entire constitution and worship of the English church, and thrust the spiritual and civil authorities quite aside. At the same time, Puritanism carries with it a grand character, and has left deep traces of its power; inasmuch as it held fast all the fundamental truths of the gospel, and proceeded from a fiery zeal, though not according to full knowledge, for the honour of God and his word, partaking in this way of the nature of a reformation. In the history of German theology, we have an example of unbelieving revolution, in Rationalism. To the same category belongs the movement of Ronge, now making so much noise, the moral value of which has been so blindly exaggerated by our protestant press.

Revolution is in its own nature something unnatural, which, especially when it springs from unbelief, cannot last long. The less it may have been the result of historical necessity; the less care it may have shown to distinguish between the good and the bad in the previous order of things; the more it has cast away truth along with error; it must ever come the more rapidly to nothing, and fall the more certainly into the same contempt with posterity which it has itself exercised towards previous time. Where it is possible to reform in a legal and regular way, revolution must be abhorred as godless.

In the midst, between restoration and revolution,

stands *reformation;* the improvement and productive advancement of what is at hand; or such an overthrow of the old, as is its fulfilment, by raising its truth to a higher position. A reformation includes in itself both restorational and revolutionary elements, and the organic union of these, through the force of a positive life principle, is that precisely which constitutes its peculiarity. It strikes root backwards always, in the first place, in an earlier flourishing state of the church, above all the age of the apostles, so as to reproduce its life. Thus the Reformers of the 16th century betook themselves to the sacred scriptures and the church fathers, particularly Augustine, and re-asserted the primitive doctrines and practices that had been gradually thrust aside by popery; as, for instance, the universal priesthood, the use of the cup for the laity, the right of the people to choose their preacher, to read the Bible in their own tongue, &c. On the other side, they rejected all ordinances and institutions of the Roman church, which were opposed to the scriptures; such as the papacy, the Pelagian merit of good works, indulgences, monkery, the doctrine of transubstantiation, purgatory, &c. In the Reformed church of Switzerland, France, and Scotland, this revolutionary element showed itself more powerful than in the Lutheran and Anglican, and remodelled accordingly the whole life of Roman Catholicism, in a more radical way, after the supposed pattern of the scriptures. John Knox in particular was already a puritan in principle. But notwithstanding this, the Reformed church grew with historical necessity out of Catholicism, and served to fulfil the deep longing of the Middle Ages after evangelical freedom. Reformatory also, though in a different direction, must be considered the activity of Gregory the Great, and Hildebrand, in the sphere of church government; that of Benedict, Odo, Francis of Assisi, in the history of monasticism; that of Augustine, Anselm,

Schleiermacher, in theology; and that of Spener, Franke, Zinzendorf, Wesley, in the sphere of practical piety.

To the age in which a reformatory movement has place, it appears always to be revolutionary, and is denounced as schism or heresy. Public opinion is against it; though it meets directly, on the other hand, the deepest wants of time, and is sure accordingly to triumph in the end. So was it indeed even with the Lord himself and his apostles, who were persecuted by public opinion even to death. When Luther came forward, he had the highest spiritual and civil powers against him. That his work prevailed notwithstanding, shows its uncompromisable necessity. The violent opposition of the orthodox against Spener is known; still Pietism carried the day, since it had its ground in the wants of the Lutheran church at the time. The necessity of a reformation of the Protestant church is making itself more and more felt in our own time. Our circumstances are defective enough to call for an improvement, both in head and branch; but not so desperate, on the other hand, that they need to be assailed in a violent, radical way. Rather the defects, are of a negative sort; so that restorational action should prevail, in the case, over the revolutionary. What is first of all needed, is a more thorough apprehension of the original stand-point of the reformation of the 16th century, from which a large part of the Protestant church has notoriously fallen away; then a living regress also to the earlier history of the church, and especially to her covenant archives, the sacred scriptures. Only from this objective positive ground, is it possible to combat successfully the reigning evils, so as to advance to a new and higher position.

9. Reformatory movements are characterized by having at their head *great religious personalities*, which have become filled and ruled, in mind and

heart, by the power of a deep religious idea. History proceeds aristocratically. Talk as we may of the sovereignty and self-government of the people, the first impulse of great events springs almost always from prominent individuals, in whom the spirit of the age as it were becomes flesh, and whom the mass of other men follow by a sort of spiritual instinct. These master spirits, if they are truly to carry the church forward, must be animated with deep moral earnestness, must have gone through much spiritual conflict in their own souls, and wrestled with all their might to secure salvation in the church they are called to reform. Only one who has learned, by thorough study and practical experiment, to understand a system, and judge correctly of its advantages as well as its faults, is prepared to overcome it and carry it beyond itself. Think only of the apostle Paul. He had been honestly zealous for the law of his fathers, and had fully mastered the rabbinical theology of his day. For this very reason, he was the most powerful and successful opponent of pharisaic Judaism. Augustine wrestled as a Manichean, to solve the deep mystery of evil, and to find peace for his own anxious soul; and it was this precisely that qualified him to overcome scientifically the errors of that heretical system. Luther did not set out against the Roman Catholic church with ridicule and abuse; but as one of the most conscientious among monks, he laboured to secure the sanctification of his nature in her bosom, bore willingly and humbly her legal burdens, and even after he came to a better knowledge of the truth, felt it a heavy task still to renounce in full his connexion with the pope. It is just this that authenticates his call to be a reformer. *Ullman*, in his interesting "Thoughts of the German Catholic movement," doubts with full right *Ronge's* capacity to be a reformer, on the ground of his being so easily done with the Roman Catholic

system, clearly without having himself gone through its system of moral discipline. "Whoever," says Ullmann beautifully,* "may be called by a truly divine mission, to make a passage in history, and to assist in the production of something new, it is necessary that he should himself in the first place have had an inward religious history, have passed through a momentous, rich, peculiar, life-process, in the way as it were of pattern for others. This has appeared to us to be essentially wanting, in this German Catholic movement. Men, such as we are accustomed to find at the head of church creations; men, full of deep, holy, earnestness; full of experimental, living, rock-firm faith; devoted in humility and self-forgetfulness to the will and purpose of God; standing at the head of their age, not simply in their Christian life, but in all its more important and influential forms of culture; who have wrestled with themselves in the sweat of their brow, and then after coming to solid divine rest in their own spirits, are found standing forth in sharp opposition to the errors of their time; carried by the true, deeper spirit of the age, but yet in conflict with the false, as it moves on the mere surface of life:—*such* men, like many of the great teachers of Christian antiquity and the middle ages, like our German and Swiss reformers, like some of the later founders too of smaller Christian societies, have not here presented themselves to our view."

10. The main stream of development, though full of turns, moves always *forwards.* We say purposely the *main stream;* which was formed first by the Greek-Roman universal church; then by the Romano-Germanic Catholicism; and since the Reformation appears in evangelical Protestantism. Along with this there are side-currents that may dry away entirely. Thus we find sects which having fulfilled their historical call, without uniting themselves afterwards

* Studien und Kritiken. Jahrgang, 1845. Heft. 4. S. 1013.

with the general life of the church, are as it were turned into stone; the *Dunkards*, for instance, whose religion now consists in their long beards and their opposition to all culture and civilization. Large churches also, that once formed the main stream of history, may sunder themselves from the historical movement, and then stagnate and waste away in dead formalism. This is the case with the Greek church since its separation from the West, and with those sections of the Roman Church since the Reformation that stand in no connexion whatever with Protestantism.

With this restriction now we affirm an uninterrupted progress in the history of the church. As soon as we are set free from the cheerless view, that takes history to be the product of mere human activity, without the living intervention of the almighty love and wisdom of God himself, we must necessarily come to this idea of a progressive movement. The idea of a divine providence and government of the world if only we be in earnest with it, requires a steady advance towards the latter. God has proposed for his kingdom upon the earth, a definite end. If so, however, all history must look and move this way. It would imply, either that God is not almighty, or that he deals not seriously with men, to suppose that the church is not always in fact coming never to this end, or that it is never to be reached. The revelation of God under the Old Testament exhibits to our view an analogous progress; commencing with the faint germ-like promise of the serpent bruiser, immediately after the fall; advancing to more distinct announcements of the blessing for all nations, that should spring from Abraham's seed, in the patriarchal period; then to the more magnificent representation of the Messianic salvation, by the greater and smaller prophets; till all becomes complete at last in the palpable testimony of the Baptist, pointing to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Not only in knowledge, but

in the religious life also we can trace, on the part of ancient Israel, such a progressive development. First, the child-like piety of the patriarchs; then the manly, earnest discipline of the law; afterwards, the almost evangelical joy of Isaiah, in the consciousness of an approaching deliverance from the curse; finally, the sum and culmination of all preceding revelations, the union of the severity of the law and the consolation of prophecy, in the person of John the Baptist with whom the Old Testament comes to an end. The history of God's ancient people, however, is a type of the Christian church. Hence, this too, is carried through a similar, though far richer development, always advancing towards the point, when she shall be ripe to receive the Lord at his second coming in glory. The history of the individual believer, finally, goes to confirm this view. He advances, in fact, not simply in his bodily life, but in that of the spirit also; his history is a *growth* in grace, from repentance to faith, from one measure of knowledge and holiness to another, till he is brought to see God face to face, and is made free from all sin and death.

It is true now indeed, that the Rationalists also talk much of an ever-advancing "aufklärung" of humanity, in their sense. But they mean by this, an advance *beyond* Christ and the Bible. Every such conception we decidedly reject; and affirm, rather, that this would be no advance, but a relapse only to Paganism and Judaism. According to our view, on the contrary, Christ is the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end, and all true progress, as we have before remarked, consists simply, in a more full appropriation continually of his divine human life, and a deeper understanding of his word, which is the absolute truth and eternal life itself.

It would be a misunderstanding again, if this theory were supposed to imply that the *personalities* of a later stage of development must be greater than those of an earlier stage. Rather the case may be

precisely opposite. We allow, for instance, without hesitation, that our present Protestantism has no such profound, spiritually productive spirits, no such grand self-renouncing characters, to show, as the Middle Ages or the period of the Reformation. It is just at the head of an epoch, that we meet with personal forms transcending all that belong to its subsequent course; which is employed simply with the application of the new life principle to particular instances and relations, in the way of detail, and of course does not require the same spiritual power. We maintain only, that the *stand-point*, the *principle*, of a later time, surpasses that of an earlier period; or that a new element at least is made to come forward in it, which had not previously been apprehended with clear consciousness, but at most was present only in an implicit way. We may apply here the word of our Lord in relation to John the Baptist: "Among them that are born of women, there hath not arisen one that is greater; and yet the least in the kingdom of God is greater than he." This does not mean plainly, that the *person* even of the smallest Christian was to be counted superior to that of John; for this would not suit the first part of the declaration. It is the *stand-point* of one dispensation that is compared with that of the other; in such way as to affirm the endless superiority of the second over the first.

Particular periods, however, may be held up to our view, that seem wholly at variance with our affirmation; periods in which religious life has almost entirely failed, and dark superstition, or daring unbelief, or both perhaps together, have reigned supreme in the Church. Such was the tenth century, emphatically designated dark; also the fifteenth, when papal corruption was at its height; and then, again, the eighteenth, in which rationalism and religious indifference took possession of almost every Protestant land. But here we refer to our previous exposition,

in which we have shown that the development before us is carried forward through diseases, that cause the vital energy to give way at times for a season; only, however, that it may afterwards, as soon as the disease has been overcome, display itself again more actively than before. Just before creative epochs in particular, there is usually a falling away, in which old truths, forms and usages, are torn down, to make room for a new structure. These are transition periods accordingly, which are also necessary in order to progress. Compared merely with the previous state, they form a deterioration; but still they are nearer the redemption of a new epoch, and in this respect higher, as viewed in connexion with the subsequent course of history.*

Finally, we may be referred to our Lord's prediction concerning the moral state of the world at his

* Comp. the excellent remarks of *Dr. Nevin*, in his Introduction to the "Principle of Protestantism," p. 21, sq.: "Assuredly those who hold the idea of historical progress, with any proper knowledge, do not conceive of it as a continuous movement, under the same form, in the same direction. They mean by it only a movement, whose general, ultimate tendency is forwards and not backwards; and which, though it may seem at times to be differently turned, is still found in the end steadily recovering and pursuing its original course; as a stream of water, carried aside, or pressed back upon itself, by some obstruction, does but force for itself a more circuitous way, or only gather strength to burst or overflow the barrier, that so it may roll onward as before. Truth can be said to advance, only as error is surmounted and thrown into its rear. But this requires that the error should always in the first place, make itself known and felt. A position in which the elements of a still latent error are included, is of course less advanced than a position, which has been gained by overcoming the same error after it has come to light; and as this can be reached only through the manifestation of the error, we may say that the intermediate stage itself in which such manifestation takes place, though it may seem to be a falling away as compared with the period before, is nevertheless also an onward movement in fact."

second coming, (Matt. xxiv. 37—39,) and to other similar passages, that foretell an increase of *corruption*, as militating against our view. But we have already shown, that along with the kingdom of Christ, that of Antichrist also is steadily advancing to its completion, in the opposite way. The tares grow towards full ripeness, as well as the wheat in the midst of which they stand; but only to be cast in the end into the fire and burned, while the last is gathered into the store-house of eternal life. The more advanced the state of the Church may be, the more dangerous will be found the power of the world with which she is called to contend. Partly, because the world itself appropriates what Christianity has won in the way of culture, in order to employ it by abuse against the Church; and partly, because the prince of darkness may be expected of course to increase the vigour of his assaults, in proportion to the vigour with which he is withstood. Thus, for example, the popish errors and abuses were a worse enemy to the cause of Christ, than pagan Rome with all its persecutions; and Protestant infidelity, as it has been systematically perfected, especially in connexion with the German theology, is more dangerous again, and more profoundly and directly opposed to the truth, than all the superstition of the Roman Catholic church at the time of the Reformation.

11. The last feature of the development of the Church which we shall mention, is found in its *geographical* course. This proceeds in general, like that of the sun, from *east to west*. The cradle of Christianity, as also of history and cultivation generally, is the orient; and in particular that remarkable land, which by its central relation to three quarters of the globe, has been found so peculiarly fitted to be the birth-place of a universal religion. But even in the time of the apostles, the gospel passed over from Palestine to Asia Minor, Greece and Italy. In the centuries next following, the Greek Church held the

rudder of Church History. She fulfilled especially, by means of her philosophic culture, the momentous task of unfolding the objective, fundamental doctrines, of the trinity, the divine incarnation, and the two natures in the God-man. During this period, the rise of the Latin Church took place, from the time of Tertullian, in Africa. In Augustine, who may be regarded as the reproduction of Tertullian's spirit under a higher and more perfect form, the philosophical acumen and theological depth of the Grecian mind were united with the practical tendency of the West. He brought out in the controversy with Pelagius, the subjective anthropological dogmas of human freedom and the work of grace. His boundless spiritual wealth, and noble greatness of heart, fell as an inheritance to the Latin Church. This now fixed its centre for centuries, in the world metropolis; whose bishop gradually raised himself from the rank of co-ordinate patriarchs to that of universal Christian pope; while the Greek Church in time, separated from the West, lost all its historical significance and weight. Meanwhile, from Rome as a centre, the Germanic nations of the north of Europe and the Anglo-Saxons of the British Islands, were Christianized, the arts and sciences advanced, the idea formed of catholicity that should embrace all lands and pervade all relations, and the unity and independence of the Church triumphantly defended against the particular, secular interests of single States. Towards the close of the Middle Ages, the spiritual strength of the Church appears already in the progress of transplantation from its old seat. France and the university of Paris, became the central ground of theology. The celebrated chancellor of this university, John Gerson, it is well known, Nicholas of Clamenge and Peter d'Alliaco, exerted the most important influence, with their liberal principles, on the great reformatory councils of the fifteenth century. With the Reformation of the century following,

Germany became the birth-place of a new epoch in Church history, and Wittemberg is made to take the place of Paris. The power of the papacy, in the feudal system of former times, is broken in its principle, and its historical importance henceforward, which is by no means lost, comes to rest mainly upon its antagonism to the new creation, by which it has been thrown into the shade. Protestantism shakes the whole vast structure of the Roman Church, and in particular gains possession of that wonderful island also, that is to succeed Rome, and the Romano-Germanic empire, in the supremacy of the world. Whilst Protestant theology still finds its congenial home in Germany, the heart of Europe, England on the other hand represents the political world-force of the evangelical Church, by a dominion on which the sun never sets.

From England and Scotland mainly, the northern half of the new world has been settled. The United States of America are essentially a Protestant land; as in language and manners, so also in religion and church life, the daughter of Great Britain. They are in an eminent sense the land of the future. It is pleasing, and natural at the same time, to look upon this free and friendly asylum for all pilgrims from Europe, now growing old and weary of life, as the main theatre of world and church history in time to come. From this country again perhaps, when its civilization shall reach to Oregon, may proceed principally the evangelization of China and India, still bearing the gospel westward in its sun-like course; till finally it shall return, with the millennium and the coming of the Lord in his glory, to the point from which it started on its circuit round the globe. At present, we lie in the birth throes of a new creation. All still rolls in wild confusion. But the time is not far, when the divine word shall sound, *Let there be light!* and a beautiful world shall rise from the midst of the struggling chaos. As the church of the Fu-

ture is called to take up into herself the truth of all previous development, and to be thus the proper sum of all Church History, it is quite in order that all the divisions of Protestantism should be represented in our land, and Catholicism too as a sort of counterpoise to any extreme on the opposite side. This imparts to our religious condition an aspect of disorder, and constitutes our free land an arena of violent ecclesiastical conflict, on which the European is inclined to look down with a compassionate smile. But such wild fermentation always characterizes the transition periods, that go before a reformation; and the more manifold and mighty the conflicting elements may be, the more rich must the result prove to which they ultimately give birth. May our American church soon come to the consciousness of this her great calling; subordinate her sectarian activities to the general interest that lies far beyond that of any single existing denomination; assume in this struggle towards a better future, the genuine historical stand-point; and never forget, at the same time, what she owes to the old world, not excepting the still so much misunderstood and reviled German theology, from whose ideas in the end whole protestantism lives and thrives, nor how much she ought still to learn from the history of her fathers.

SECTION III.

PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF A RIGHT VIEW OF CHURCH HISTORY.

Such in general are the laws and conditions that rule the development of the kingdom of God in the world. The correctness of our view can be fully established only by an actual representation of Church History itself; a work that is worthy to engross a whole life. It devolves upon us now, to present some practical observations, that flow from the whole

subject. Truth, so far as it has life, is never simply theoretic, but includes always a bearing also on practice. Our beloved America has especially the great merit of at once turning all thoughts into flesh and blood, life and deed. The practical consequences of any theory, form the best test of its truth, according to the old maxim, "By their fruits ye shall know them." The foregoing view of history, it is believed, has no reason to shrink from the test; as we shall now attempt to show.

The study of history in general has its use at large in this, that it promotes a proper understanding of the present, and serves thus to secure efficiency and success to the labours which have respect to the future. Only such points, however, as follow with necessity from the peculiar theory of Church History, which has now been exhibited, will here be brought into notice.

1. This view first inspires us with a genuine *living interest in the study of Church History.* It is regarded as the evolution of God's plan of redemption, proceeding according to rational and necessary laws. All that it includes, is bound together in a living way. Nothing comes too soon, and nothing too late. Every period possesses its own peculiar greatness, its imperishable worth, and is entitled to our attention and admiration. Every great and truly considerable manifestation has indeed a mortal body, but reveals also an undying soul, and positively or negatively, with will or without it, must ever issue in the glory of God and the salvation of the Church. Such a spectacle, whether in a scientific or religious point of view, cannot fail to be in a high degree attractive. We may well say indeed, that history must become in this way a study of the first interest, a fountain of the richest spiritual enjoyment and instruction. The mighty dead, who have died in the Lord, rise from their dust, and move before us, clothed in flesh and blood, as though they belonged

to our own time. Like the different tones of a glorious anthem, they hymn the praise of their Redeemer, in whose blood they have washed their garments white. Every one has a word to say to us, in the way of consolation, exhortation, animation. Every one becomes to us a lively monument of God's mercy and truth. We feel ourselves happy and at home, in their society. The wonderful riddle of the communion of the saints, comprehending heaven and earth, eternity and time, is solved; and we fall down in adoration before him, who has caused his grace to abound, under such manifold forms, in all Christian lands, and nations, and times.

How all is changed, when history is viewed as a mere outward conglomeration of facts, numbers and names, that are held together by no living principle, and etherialized by no everlasting thought. In such an atomistic heap no interest can be taken, unless by one who uses mechanically his memory only, without thought. What attraction can be found, for instance, in the study of the middle ages, where one has his head crammed full beforehand with the prejudice, that darkness and corruption only, hatred to the truth and hostility to all true religion, ruled throughout this whole period the Catholic Church? It were much better, certainly, in such a case, to be employed with other things entirely, that might be expected to refresh and edify the spirit; and it is not strange accordingly, that so few of our Protestant theologians, in consequence of such prejudice, which has wrought itself into the character of a stiff tradition, should be found to possess even a tolerable acquaintance with the school divinity, mysticism, and other forms of spiritual grandeur, belonging to the mediæval church.

2. A second practical fruit of the theory, is found in the *satisfaction* and *comfort*, which the idea of an ever advancing development of the Church imparts to the mind, in looking at the past and present. The ra-

tionalistic imagination, that history at last is but a tangled web of human passions, a fruitless contest for words and systems, is well suited to lead an earnest spirit to despair. And certainly the view of many who count themselves orthodox, is not much better; according to which, during certain centuries at least, God has as it were withdrawn himself from the stage, and abandoned humanity wholly to itself; so that whole vast periods, in particular the middle ages, are to be set down as times of pure deterioration, spiritually void and waste, a moral blank at best, or horrible yawning chasm; by which the present, instead of being joined with the past, is only sundered from it, and that must be overleaped entirely, in order that all things may go forward again as by a fresh, original, start. Appalling imagination, if it only were fairly and solemnly laid to heart! It turns, not only the fallen world as such, but the new creation in Christ also, who is the principle of all order and life, into a formless chaos! The doctrine of an all-comprehending divine Providence, in which we live and move and have our being, affirmed by the Bible and all Christian experience, it completely overturns.

According to our view, on the other hand, Church History presents on every one of its pages, an impressive confirmation of the truth of our Lord's precious promise: "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world!" and constitutes thus one of the most powerful arguments for the divine origin of Christianity. On one who is able thus to discern the footsteps of the Lord in the Church, as a power that has bid defiance to the gates of hell in all ages, no impression will be made against the gospel by any objections, however plausible they may appear. The overwhelming might of history, has already long since demolished them in the way of fact. Such a one can look also with confidence and comfort, towards the present and future. Confused as may be the first, and dark as may be the second, the

past still gives him the assurance that the omnipotent head of Zion will unravel the confusion and cause the darkness to become light, and to bring his most frantic enemies to bow at his feet.

The man, who in the midst of such a heaving, tumultuating time as our own, for instance, is found resting on his own mere private judgment, or that of his party, has under him the most unstable ground, and cannot come to any true and solid quiet in his own spirit at the last. Our nature involves in itself a demand for communion with the general and universal, that must sooner or later, in every such case, make itself painfully felt. The subjectivity, that affects to carry itself high towards objective history, closes its ear against the voice of centuries, and retires self-sufficient into its own poor and narrow life, is deserving of contempt, or at least compassion. We will bear in mind, that Christianity, in its very nature, seeks communion. We will cherish sympathy then with the whole family of Christian nations, and feel our own heart's blood in the veins of every century. We will make the gain of history, true mistress of experience, to become our own. Thus have we a solid rock, on which to rest secure. And when we know not, as we gaze into the future, what is to be done, in order to help the hurt of Israel and loose the bands of Zion, we are still not disconcerted. A thousand examples teach us, that it is not we that make history, but history that makes us. There moves in the whole onward course of time a spirit of infinite wisdom and love, in whose hand we are simple instruments. The general reigns over the single. This objective force of history will, at the proper season, bring the right remedy; and it belongs to us only to follow freely the working of the divine Spirit, and obediently to execute his commands. When Luther posted his 95 theses on the castle-church at Wittemberg, he had no presentiment what consequences this seemly unimportant event

would draw in its train. Most innocently, we may say, did he become a reformer. The force of history bore him forward from one act to another, and before he himself dreamed of it, the church had taken another form. Only such a creation on the part of the individual, as is at the same time a creation wrought by history through him, can have any permanent stability. A purely subjective fabrication, however skilfully and vigorously framed, goes quickly as it comes. The presumptuous spirits that bark against her, history hurls unmercifully to the ground, and proceeds in triumph over the golgotha of their impotent deeds. Luther's work still stands; because it was called forth by the necessity of history. The artificial effort of Julian, the apostate, to restore Judaism to life, went to ruin with its author, with the tragic cry: Galilaeus vicisti! The English "Book of Common Prayer," which gathered into itself, with reverential affection, the liturgical creations of the ancient church, continues to this day a rich source of edification and the pride of the Episcopal Church; while the numerous liturgies and hymn-books of Rationalism and unhistorical Protestantism generally, have been able to maintain themselves only for a short time. The German Churches in this country, might have spared themselves the trouble of manufacturing so many new liturgies and hymn-books, had they but respected more the treasures of the primitive Church and the Reformation.—This leads us to another point, which we will notice separately.

3. It is only the conservative historical standpoint that can authorize any right *satisfaction in our own work*. Unbelieving Rationalism and believing Puritanism alike, with their revolutionary attitude towards history, have properly no right whatever to expect that they shall be regarded and loved by those who come after them. He that despises his spiritual ancestry, should reckon upon no grateful posterity.

If the work of whole *centuries* has been vain, so that there is nothing better than to extirpate it root and branch, how should *we* then be able to bring any thing permanent to pass? Are we formed of higher material than our predecessors? Are we not men, even as they were? It is a ridiculous, if not wicked, presumption, for any one to exalt his own individuality, as such, over the authority of all history.

The man, on the other hand, who knows how to join the royal rights of freedom, as they are included in the very idea of personality wherever found, with due reverence for authority, may calculate that to him also the tribute of free respect and love will be paid in time to come. He that holds the works of the past in honour, and attaches himself with self-renouncing love to existing relations, holding fast in them what is of divine right, and correcting their defects with wise forbearance, has ground to hope that his own work too, appointed of God, will leave behind it some benefit for following generations. Robespierre and Danton are branded names. Voltaire, Bahrdt and Bruno Bauer, are mentioned with horror. Thomas Münzer has become as a spectral dream. Even men like Carlstadt and Cromwell, though of a much higher nature, on account of their wild, stormful behaviour towards the work of their fathers, enjoy but a very qualified respect in a small circle. But the men of reverence, that holy power which exalts the man while it causes him to bow—an Augustine, Anselm, Thomas a Kempis, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Leighton, Spener, Zinzendorf, J. A. Bengel—rise from their centuries like light-towers for all times, and will continue to live in blessed remembrance with the Church for ever.

4. The modern German view of history tends to overthrow all *narrow party spirit* and *intolerant party zeal*. What rashness it is, to bind the Spirit of God to a fixed form and party! Only too often, however, do we find this done. Especially also in the war

against the Church of Rome. How many forget, over the dross of this system, the gold of catholicity still contained in it, which is much older than popery. We must maintain for this Church a historical respect, and may not consent for any price, that on account of its great and terrible errors, the evangelical truths also which are among them, and which we too hold, should be assailed with profane hand. Under the influence of such blind zeal, that casts away the wheat with the chaff, the mind shrinks within itself more and more, and loses all capacity for development. With the mind, at the same time, the heart and character are also contracted. Love and humanity die, and dark intolerance, a fanatical persecuting temper, takes full possession of the soul.

With *our* principle of history, on the contrary, we remain open continually to humiliation, encouragement, instruction, enlargement of every sort. We gather with fond affection the flowers of the Christian life, out of all times and generations, and adorn with them our own altars. Nihil humani, et multo magis nihil Christiani, a me alienum puto, is our watchword; sympathy with all that is great, and noble, and beautiful, though under a rough shell, our high and cherished enjoyment. We seek to stand in living communion with the saints of all centuries, of whatever tongue or confession, and however much the form of their piety also may differ from ours. In a common garden we find various flowers, and it is the intermingling of all sorts of hues and odours, precisely that serves most to regale the senses. And shall the Church, the garden of the Lord, be characterized by tedious, monotonous uniformity?

We are ready thus to turn to account, in our own Church activity, all the treasures that history brings within our reach; even though derived in part from the so called dark ages themselves. Let us leave to the papists the spirit of uncharitable intolerance;

we will count it our honour to admit instruction, though with self-denial, even from them. Let us leave to the Seceders and *Alt-lutheraner* the fancy, that they alone are the elect, possessed of the pure and perfect doctrine of Christ. We envy them not their principle of stagnation and their self sufficiency. With the apostle Paul, we hold that we have not yet attained the whole of Christianity, nor become perfect; and forgetting what lies behind, we reach joyfully after that which is before, towards the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

5. Closely connected with what has just been said, is the last and most important point to be presented. I mean, the bearing of this view of Church History on the great work of *Christian Union.* The Church of Christ, and in particular the Protestant Church in our own country, is at present so deplorably divided, the professors of the same faith are so filled with envy and jealousy, and so sadly estranged from one another, by bitter, uncharitable, sectarian feuds, that even those who have the least church feeling begin at last to see the evil; and, God be praised, thousands are brought to sigh after a permanent deliverance from such vast curse. While Rome triumphs maliciously over our divisions, and some are urged, in despair of the future, and dazzled with the show of unity exhibited by this corrupt Church, to forsake the ranks of Protestantism and throw themselves into her bosom; we have various plans proposed among ourselves for a union of our scattered strength; and in August of the present year a grand universal Protestant council is to be held in London with reference to this very object, in prosecution of steps already taken by the convention of last year at Liverpool. We will not suffer ourselves to be deceived, however, with this fair talk of union. We acknowledge with joy indeed the right feeling that lies at the ground of these movements. They show a painful sense of the wrong state of the Church at

the present time, and a desire for something better. They are a practical testimony furnished by the conscience of the Church against the great evil of sects, which some are so ready to extenuate and excuse theoretically. But, notwithstanding all this, we must enter our decided dissent from the general movement. Many appear to wish a union of Protestants, only in order to a more successful conflict with the power of Rome. This is to sink the interest to a mere instrument, in the service too of a party motive. But it should be remembered, that church unity is not a means simply for something else, but an end in itself; which requires to be sought accordingly for its own sake. We should long for it, and struggle to reach it, as the object for which our Lord himself so solemnly prayed, when about to leave the world. We should seek to realize it, because it is involved in the very conception of the Church as the one body of Christ, as the organic communion of saints, that it should be united. So far as it is divided, it falls short of its own idea, in its actual form among men.

And then, it is besides an altogether too contracted conception of union, to confine it exclusively to the Protestant world; as though *all* Christianity belonged to this, and the elements of a perfect church organization were *all* at hand in it, *as it now stands.* It is surely an intolerant and narrow imagination, to regard the whole Roman and Greek communions, so far exceeding us as they do in numbers, as out of the Church entirely, and only worthy of course to be blotted out of history altogether as a gigantic spiritual zero. Thus to excommunicate the greatest part of Christendom at a single stroke, is to imitate the bigotry of Rome herself, and cast a reproach upon the whole Protestant profession. We mean not assuredly to plead the cause of Rome, as such; and think of no union with the false power, that involves a return to her bosom, constituted as the Church is

at the present time; with the whole strength and beauty of her original catholic life infolded in the deadly coils of the papacy, and wickedly refusing to acknowledge God's truth as saved by the Reformation. We go not *back* to that hard, iron captivity, which has been left full three hundred years behind in the onward march of the true Israel of God. But we have no right to say, that *all* truth and life have departed from this Church. It will yet be brought to occupy new and higher ground; or rather the truth and life which it includes be carried forwards and upwards as a constituent element at least, not simply to the present posture of protestantism, (which no sound mind can hold to be itself complete,) but to that last best state of Christianity, in which full justice shall be done to the truth on all sides, and the Church shall appear one and universal in fact as she is now one and universal in idea. We dream of no other union. But for this we long and pray, even as we long and pray for the coming of the millennium itself; and shall be hindered from doing so by no fanatical intolerance, either on the one side or on the other.

Another defect too generally characteristic of our efforts for union, is doctrinal indifferentism and an undervaluation of history. The differences that exist among religious parties are viewed as of small account; and so to make room for union, peculiarities of doctrine are to be surrendered, for which our fathers contended and made the greatest sacrifices, as for points of vital solemnity. Whole centuries of separation are to be sunk into nothing, only to come together again at the common point of departure. The process must be from the definite to the indefinite, from the concrete and particular backwards to abstract generalities. Thus, for instance, the Apostles' Creed, or some loose compilation made up of the most formal propositions, (anti-papistical in particular) from the different protestant symbols, are to

represent these symbols themselves! With such a so called "United Apostolical Protestant Confession," we have been lately favoured in fact, from a worthy and zealous leader in the cause of Christian union.* But what a full mistake it is to project a symbol before the body is formed that shall take it for its confession! It is as though one should think to speak before he has a mouth, or to walk before he has feet. What is a symbol, in its only true and proper sense? A formal representation on the part of the church, of a *common living faith already at hand.*† It supposes the presence of a certain form

* "Overture for Christian Union, submitted for the consideration of the evangelical denominations in the United States;" subscribed by quite a number of distinguished names.

† We would respectfully submit to our honoured friend, *Dr. S. Schmucker*, the author of this symbol, the following words of one of the most eminent German theologians, for consideration: "True confessions again, such as are grounded in a specific, living, deep-rooted conviction, are not accustomed to make their appearance as this one, (the symbol formed by the adherents of Ronge at the council of Leipzig) has done. They start not, in their original form at least, from the joint action of many, met to discuss, and to consult and vote, and concerned to produce by suppression and concession, something that may satisfy all. Rather, in the quiet, holy depths of a soul that has passed through great trials and conflicts, a mind possessed of the power of faith and pervaded with the noblest cultivation of the time, there springs up a new, fuller, purer apprehension of Christianity; along with this faith is kindled a fire, that with contagious force lays hold also of other spirits; in common, inspiring and inspired, they break a new path of religious knowledge, a new highway of salvation; and then they give to that with which all are filled, a clear utterance also in the way of confession, to lay the ground thus of an enduring communion. Always, however, where things have their natural course, what thus becomes the word of confession for many, will be found to have been in the first place the original, full life of some prominent, spiritually mighty individual man, from whom, as a germ, the whole communion grows. But for this very reason, a new faith, a new con-

of life, in its very nature, of which it is simply the expression and transcript. The Apostles' Creed appeared long after the time of the apostles; the Augsburg Confession full thirteen years after the commencement of the Lutheran Reformation; the Heidelberg Catechism, and other protestant symbols, still much later. But where now is the United Protestant church, in which Lutherans, German Reformed, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, &c., join hands fraternally in *twelve* articles of faith? It has not yet come to light; and it will not be called into being, I am afraid, by this "United, Apostolic, Protestant Confession." A church is not to be fabricated in the study, by simply extracting, and putting together in an outward way, some propositions of apparently like sound, out of different symbolical books. It comes not by the pious wish and operation of a human individual as such. God alone can produce a union, by the objective course of history itself; which does indeed concentrate, and as it were corporealize itself, in single towering personalities; but in doing so, forms these also as organs for its service, and thrusts them forward in it as by a divine force, instead of allowing itself to be fashioned according to their pleasure, or even to be anticipated by them in any way.

And what a wretched union must not that be

fession, is not made; it rises, it becomes, it grows. It is not the man who has the faith, but the faith has the man, and seeks to express itself through him. And hence it follows again; first, that a system of faith, a confession, is not so quickly and easily brought to pass, but involves earnest and great spiritual toil; and secondly, that where the work proceeds properly, the contents of the system will be such, as are acknowledged to be, not something made by the man himself, ordered and settled according to his pleasure, but something divinely true, a higher power, before which he bows and prostrates himself in his inmost soul." *Ullmann*. Studien und Kritiken, 1845. Heft. 4. S. 1011 ff.

counted in the end, which might thus be constructed, in any case, only on the ruins of history! Have the dogmatic struggles of our ancestors then been all in vain? Has the peculiar development of the different branches of Protestantism gone forward thus far, without meaning or fruit? After the toil of so many hundred years, must we go back again to the most indefinite beginnings, the A B C we may say, of our church life? Is it not in fact an enormous presumption, when we look at it properly, to suppose that a few men of the 19th century, in such an outward mechanical way, should succeed in bringing something permanently stable to pass, where the whole Christian past is practically charged with having laboured to no purpose?

No; if a union is to come, as we pray and hope in reliance upon Christ's promise, it will not present itself destructively towards history, but take up rather the whole contents of it into its own life. Every single denomination, every Christian people, every Christian century, has something to contribute to this great result. The end then plainly requires, as the means by which it may be best reached, that the different branches of the church should be brought, by a thorough study of her history, to know and respect and love one another more; and thus come more and more clearly to the consciousness, that no one of them is perfect, but that they are mutually necessary one to the other, and should severally leave their faults behind, and unite their advantages and virtues into a harmonious whole. The exposition which we have now attempted to give of the nature of Church History, is sufficient to show its importance as it regards this object. In the light in which it has been presented, it is precisely adapted to awaken and promote such a genuine catholic spirit of union as the case requires; and thus we come to the result, that a thorough knowledge of the historical development of the body of Christ, in all its

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parts, is an indispensable condition to the farther advancement of the church, and to a permanent union of its different branches. The cultivation of Church History, and that of the church itself, go hand in hand together. Here lies the strongest challenge to an unremitting prosecution of the study, for all who are called to take part in the solution of the great church questions of the present time, and who are concerned to build, not upon the sand, but upon an immoveable rock.

FINIS.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION TO THE "GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO CHURCH HISTORY" IN *HISTORY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH*

In a preface to his *History of the Apostolic Church* Schaff wrote that in addition to the valuable English translations of important volumes of German theology and historical research,

> We need still more, works written, so to speak, from the *Anglo*-German point of view--works which are influenced and pervaded by the earnest, energetic, and pious mind of England as well as that of Germany--and which will modify and apply the best results of German thought and scholarship to the peculiar wants of the Anglo-Saxon world. I have honestly laboured to prepare the way for a more intimate union and harmonious co-operation of the German and English mind in the department of Historical Theology, which increases in importance every year, and must exert a growing influence on the final solution of the great problems of our age.

His *History of the Apostolic Church* included a "General Introduction to Church History," the text of which follows. It represents an expansion of his views on the nature, method, and importance of church history.

He again pointed out that an "accurate acquaintance with the past" is á basic foundation for understanding the present. The church cannot understand itself without clearly discerning its origin and growth. As in *What is Church History?* Schaff reemphasized the validity of the "organic development" pattern, the standpoint of modern German historiography. It was the best approach to help one appreciate and write about the history of the church. The introduction also offered Schaff the occasion for describing and evaluating the contributions of a large number of continental thinkers such as Neander, Dorner, Thiersch, Rothe, Baur, and Strauss.

Not the least of the significant facets of this important essay was Schaff's call for a "higher union of Protestantism and Catholicism." He acknowledged the partnership of his friend, John Williamson Nevin, in this hope. On the last two pages he observed:

> The United States may be expected, at no distant day, to make important contributions to historical theology, proceeding mainly from a combination of the English and German mind, and serving the interests of a sound evangelical catholic Protestantism.

Philip Schaff was himself a major figure in trying to bring this forecast to reality.

HISTORY

OF THE

APOSTOLIC CHURCH

WITH A

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO CHURCH HISTORY.

BY

PHILIP SCHAFF,

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VOLUME FIRST.

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PREFACE.

To present from original sources, in a faithful, clear, and life-like picture, the history of the church of Jesus Christ, the God-man and Saviour of the world; to reproduce, with ardent love of truth and with genuine catholicity, her inward and outward experience, her conflicts and triumphs, her sufferings and joys, her thoughts, her words, and her deeds; and to hold up to the present age this panorama of eighteen centuries as the most complete apology for Christianity, full of encouragement and warning, of precept and example;—this is a task well worthy the energies of a long life, and offering in itself the amplest reward, but at the same time so vast and comprehensive, that it cannot be accomplished to any satisfaction, except by the co-operation of all varieties of talent. The individual must feel sufficiently fortunate and honoured, if he succeed in furnishing a few blocks for a gigantic edifice, which, in the nature of the case, cannot be finished till the church shall have reached the goal of her militant stage. For science grows with experience, and with it alone becomes complete.

Two years ago, I published in the retired village of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, with discouraging prospects and at my own risk, the first volume of a General History of the Christian Church in the German language, and dedicated it to the memory of my late honoured teacher and friend, Dr Augustus Neander (by his permission granted to me, with the kindest wishes for my suc-

cess, shortly before his lamented death), as a token of my high veneration for the profound and conscientious scholarship, the liberal and catholic spirit, and the deep-toned, humble, and child-like piety of this truly great and good man, the "father of modern church history." Although very limited in circulation, it was received with unexpected favour on both sides of the Atlantic by most competent judges of different evangelical denominations; and I feel under special obligations to the Rev. Doctors J. A. Alexander of the Presbyterian Church, J. W. Nevin of the German Reformed, C. P. Krauth of the Lutheran, J. M'Clintock of the Methodist Episcopal, C. E. Stowe of the Congregational, also to Prof. Dr Jul. Müller of Halle, and Dr C. Bunsen, the learned Prussian ambassador at London, for their very flattering and encouraging public notices of my unpretending book. This favourable reception, and the earnest call expressed from various quarters, both publicly and privately, for an English translation, have induced me to issue it in that language, which alone can open to it a respectable circulation in this country and in England.

I have revised the whole work with reference to what has appeared in the same department since its publication, and have made some additions, especially in the fourth chapter of the General Introduction, and in the last chapter of the fifth book on the Heresies of the Apostolic Age. The translation (including the re-translation of those portions which had been previously published, as separate articles, in various American Reviews) has been executed by my friend, the Rev. Edward D. Yeomans, a gentleman of excellent character and fine talents, who will no doubt make himself favourably known also in course of time by original contributions to our American theological literature. Having carefully revised the translation before sending it to the

press, I can vouch for its faithfulness ; while at the same time the style, I think, will be found as free and easy as that of an original English work. By this arrangement the translation appears much sooner, and to much better advantage, than if I had undertaken it myself. For the careful reading of the proof I express my grateful acknowledgments to my learned friend, the Rev. John Lillie of New York.

I prefer, for several reasons, to publish this volume as a separate work on the Apostolic Church, with a full General Introduction, which contains the Outlines of a Philosophy of Church History, and will supply, I hope, a defect in this department of our literature. It is my wish and intention, however, if God spares my life and strength, to bring the history down to the present time ; and thus, so far as lies within my humble abilities, to give from reliable sources, under the guidance of our Lord's twin parables of the mustard-seed and leaven, a complete, true, and graphic account of the development of Christ's kingdom on earth, for the theoretical and practical benefit especially of ministers and students of theology. As regards compass, I propose to steer midway between the synoptical brevity of a mere compend and the voluminous fulness of a work which seeks to exhaust its subject, and is designed simply for the professional scholar. Each of the nine periods, according to the scheme proposed in the General Introduction, § 17, will probably require a moderate volume.[1]

With these remarks, I send this book forth to the public, fully conscious of its many imperfections, yet not without hope, that under the blessing of Almighty God it may accomplish some

[1] I regret that the large and valuable work of Conybeare and Howson, "*The Life and Epistles of St Paul*," 2 vols., London, 1853 (embellished with many splendid plates), did not reach me till after the greater part of the manuscript was already in the hands of the printer.

good, so long as its time may last. With modest claims, and the most peaceful intentions, polemical and uncompromising only towards rationalism and infidelity, whether of German or English origin, but conservative, conciliatory, and respectful towards the various forms of positive Christianity, and reaching the hand of fellowship to all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and in truth, it sails into the ocean of a deeply distracted, yet most interesting and hopeful age, where, amid powerful fermentations and keen birth-throes, a new era of church history seems to be preparing. Whatever the future may bring, we know, that the church of Christ is built upon a rock, against which even the gates of hell shall never prevail; that she must go on conquering and to conquer, until the whole world shall bow to the peaceful sceptre of the cross; and that all obstructions and persecutions, all heresies and schisms, all wickedness and corruption of men, will only tend at last, in the hands of infinite wisdom and mercy, to bring out her glorious attributes of unity, catholicity, and holiness, in brighter colours and with more triumphant power. May the great Head of the Church use this representation of her history as an humble instrument to promote His own glory, to serve the cause of truth, unity, and peace, and to strengthen the faith of His people in the divine character, immovable foundation, and ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God!

PHILIP SCHAFF.

Mercersburg, Pennsylvania,
September 1853.

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

By an arrangement concluded with Messrs Clark, which extends also over the subsequent volumes promised in the Preface to the American edition, I appear before the English public with this work on the most important and most interesting period of church history. In doing so, I feel not as a stranger amongst strangers, but as a friend amongst friends and fellow-labourers in the same vineyard of our common Lord and Saviour. For although a Swiss by birth and a German by education, I have now lived ten years in America, which is substantially a continuation of England in religion as well as in language, politics, and social life, and have had ample opportunity to come in contact with the various branches of English and Anglo-American theology and Christianity. I have, therefore, made frequent reference to English literature, as far as it touches on the same subject; and, in the proposed continuation of the work to the present time, I intend to devote much more space to the history of the church in Great Britain and the United States than is generally done by German authors, who can hardly be expected to have a full and adequate conception of the Anglo-American world, and its important bearings upon all the interests of Christ's kingdom.

I am fully convinced that the idealistic and theoretical German can learn as much from the predominantly realistic and practical tendency of the English and American mind, as the latter from the former. The peculiarities of both are equally

necessary and important for the interests of science and religion, and ought therefore harmoniously to co-operate for the same common end. However different in their historical development and present condition, the Anglo-Saxon and German minds are still of the same Teutonic root, and can coalesce much easier than those of any other nationalities. Such an amalgamation becomes even a physical necessity and a social duty in the United States, where all the nations of Europe, especially the English and German, meet in the various relations of life, to undergo a process of renovation and transformation, and to constitute the one American nationality; so that this will continue to be, as it already is, predominantly English, but will embody at the same time, we hope, the best elements of the other nations represented there, particularly the German inorganic union.

We have had of late years, especially from the press of Messrs Clark of Edinburgh, excellent translations of learned and pious German works on the various departments of theology. These have served, and will continue to serve, the important object of bringing English Christians in contact with the thorough scholarship, the minute criticism, the earnest investigation, and the evangelical spirit, which characterize the better portion of the recent literature of Germany. With all their defects and imperfections, inseparable from all human works, they contain, not only a great deal of valuable learning and useful information, but also many deep and noble ideas, which cannot but enrich and fertilize the theology of England and Scotland, and excite it to new vigorous activity.

But mere translations cannot satisfy our wants in this direction. We need still more, works written, so to speak, from the *Anglo*-German point of view—works which are influenced and pervaded by the earnest, energetic, and pious mind of England

as well as that of Germany—and which will modify and apply the best results of German thought and scholarship to the peculiar practical wants of the Anglo-Saxon world. I have honestly laboured to prepare the way for a more intimate union and harmonious co-operation of the German and English mind in the department of Historical Theology, which increases in importance every year, and must exert a growing influence on the final solution of the great problems of our age. How far I have succeeded in this difficult task is, of course, not for me to decide.

I will only add, that I intend, after my return to America, from a visit to good old Europe, to devote my best time and strength to the continuation of this work, and that I have made such arrangements with Messrs Clark, as will enable them to issue the subsequent volumes in Edinburgh simultaneously with the American edition.

And now may the blessing of the Apostolic Church accompany this humble effort to illustrate its history, and to present its inexhaustible treasures, that it may benefit the present age and tend to the glory of God.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

BERLIN, *April* 15, 1854.

ADDENDA.

AFTER the final revision of the present volume was concluded, the following works on the early history of the Church have appeared, which would find their proper place in §§ 36 and 37.

1. Dr BAUR of Tübingen: *Das Christenthum und die Christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte.* 1853. It is of the

same character as the other works of the Tübingen school, mentioned in § 36, and gives a short but comprehensive summary of the Author's peculiar views on early Christianity.

2. Dr Chr. Fr. Schmid, late Professor of Theology in Tübingen: *Biblische Theologie des N. Testaments*, 2 vols., published after the death of the Author († 1852), by Dr Weizsäcker. 1853. They are very valuable for the theology of the apostolic age; and as I had the benefit of the oral instruction of the learned and pious Dr Schmid, I alluded to these lectures in a note to § 157.

3. Dr J. P. Lange (formerly at Zürich, now at Bonn): *Geschichte des Apostolischen Zeitalters*, 2 vols. 1853–54. It forms the first part of a General History of the Church, laid out on an extensive scale. The first volume is almost entirely occupied with introductory matter, and a far too lengthy review of the Tübingen speculations. This is an evident want of proportion and proper literary economy. The book generally has the same virtues and defects as the "Life of Christ," and the numerous other works of this genial, pious, and amiable, but almost too prolific author, in whom theology and poetry extend to each other the hand of friendship, and exchange parts occasionally. They are fresh and suggestive, full of original, spirited, and interesting ideas, but unsatisfactory in a scientific point of view, and contain many inaccuracies and additions of a rich imagination, which will not stand the test of sober criticism.

Finally, I would observe, that Dr Rothe is now no more at Bonn, as stated in § 37 (p. 140), and that Dr Dorner has followed a call to Göttingen.

Berlin, *April* 15, 1854.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY.

§ 1. *Idea of History.*

THE object of this General Introduction is to obtain a clear view of the nature and purpose of Church History, and thus to gain the proper position for the contemplation of its details. A perfect understanding of it can be attained, indeed, only at the close of the historical course; for the best definition of any science is the thing itself. But some preliminary explanation is indispensable, to give us, at least, a general idea of church history, and to serve as a directory for the study of the whole and its parts. Our best method will be, to resolve the compound conception into its two constituents, and to inquire into the nature, first of *history*, secondly of the *church*, thirdly of *church history;* with a fourth chapter on the *progress* of Church History as a *science*. Thus the introduction will be, at the same time, a sort of *philosophy* of church history.

By *history* in the *objective* sense we understand the sum of what has happened, or, more precisely, of all that pertains to the outward or inward life of humanity, and enters essentially into its social, political, intellectual, moral, and religious progress and development. It comprehends the thoughts, words, and deeds, and the prosperous and adverse events which consti-

tute the past, and which have produced the existing state of civilized society. Hence barbarians have no history of their own, and figure in that of the world merely as rude material, or as blind forces operating as it were from without.

History in the *subjective* sense is the science of events, or the apprehension and representation in language of what has thus taken place in the course of time. Its value depends altogether on its faithfulness as a copy of the *objective* history; and requires that the historian surrender himself wholly to his object —be it the history of the world at large, or any portion of it— reproduce it in a living way in his own mind, and thus become a conscientious organ, a faithful mirror of the past, making the representation exactly answerable to the actual occurrence.[1]

History in the objective sense, with which we are here mainly concerned, is either *secular*, or *sacred*. The former comprehends the natural life of humanity, and those actions and events which relate primarily to temporal existence in its external and internal aspect, under the general guidance of Divine Providence. The latter has to do with the special revelation of the triune God for the salvation of men, with the process of redemption, and the fortunes of regenerate humanity. Here again we must distinguish *sacred* history in the proper and narrow sense of the term, that is, the history of the revelation of God as deposited in an authoritative and infallible form in the books of the Old and New Testaments, from *church* history. The latter is the continuation of the former, though in perpetual contact with secular history, and more or less disturbed by it.

The general relation, then, between secular or profane, and sacred history (including church history), is substantially the same as that between nature and grace, reason and revelation, time and eternity. The former constitutes the natural basis and preparation for the latter. The "Father draweth to the Son" (John vi. 44). All history before Christ prepared the way for the incarnation; all history since Christ must ultimately,

[1] The English word *history* refers primarily to this subjective meaning; being derived through the Latin from the Greek ἱστορία (from the verb ἱστορέω), signifying first research, then what is known by research, then science generally, and in particular the science of events, or history proper. The corresponding German word, *Geschichte*, comes from "geschehen," to happen, to occur, and thus expresses primarily the objective sense.

either directly or indirectly, serve to glorify His name and extend His everlasting kingdom. Sacred history, on the other hand, exerts a regenerating and sanctifying influence upon secular, or, as it is frequently called, the world's history. It is the leaven, which is gradually to leaven the whole lump (Matt. xiii. 33). Both departments, however, are in continual conflict. The world, as far as it is under the influence of sin and error, still hates and persecutes the church, as it hated and persecuted Christ and his Apostles. But the final issue of the conflict, according to the infallible word of prophecy, will be the complete triumph of the kingdom of Christ over the dominions and powers of this world, so that He shall reign King of nations, as He now reigns King of saints. A representation of all history, both sacred and secular, making the fact of the incarnation the centre and turning-point of the whole, would be *Universal* History in the widest sense. It is evident, that as the life of the human race is a unit, and as therefore the different departments of history have an intimate relation, no one branch can be fully understood, or satisfactorily presented, without reference to the whole.

For history, under any aspect, is not, as is frequently supposed even by a certain class of so-called historians, a mere aggregate of names, dates, and deeds, more or less accidental, without fixed plan or sure purpose. It is a living organism, whose parts have an inward, vital connection, each requiring and completing the rest. All nations form but one family, having one origin and one destiny; and all periods are but the several stages of its life, which, though constantly changing its form, is always substantially one and the same. History, moreover, while it involves indeed the freedom and accountability of man, is yet, as already intimated, even in its secular departments, under the guidance of Divine Providence; it proceeds on an eternal, unchangeable plan of infinite wisdom, and tends therefore, as by an irresistible necessity, to a definite end. This end is the same as that of the creation at large, the glorifying of God, the Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of the world, through the free worship of His intelligent creatures, who at the same time in this worship attain their highest happiness.

§ 2. *The Factors of History.*

History is thus to be viewed as always the product of two factors or agencies. The first and highest factor is *God* himself, in whom "we live and move and have our being,"—who turns the hearts of men "as the rivers of water,"—who worketh in the good "both to will and to do,"—and ruleth the wrath of the wicked to His own praise,—yea, maketh Satan himself tributary to His will. In this view history may be styled a *self-evolution of God* in *time*—in distinction from nature, which is a revelation of the Creator in *space*—a continuous exhibition of His omnipotence and wisdom, and more particularly of His moral attributes, justice, holiness, patience, long-suffering, love, and mercy. A history which leaves this out of sight, and makes God an idle spectator of the actions and fortunes of men, is *deistic*, *rationalistic*, and ultimately *atheistic*, and thus in reality without spirit, without life, without interest, without consolation. Such a history must be at best a cold statue, without beaming eye or beating heart.

God works in history, however, not as in nature, through blind laws, but through *living persons*, whom He has created after His own image, and endowed with reason and will. By these endowments He has assigned to men a certain sphere of conscious, free activity, for which He holds them responsible; intending not to force them to His worship, but to form them to a moral communion, the fellowship of love, with Himself. Thus *men* form a relative, secondary factor of history, receiving the reward of their words and deeds, whether they be good or evil. To deny such subjective causality, and make men mere passive channels or machines of the Divine activity, is to go to the opposite extreme of *pantheism* and *fatalism*, abolishing of course all human accountability, nay, in the end, all distinction between good and evil, virtue and vice.

These two causes, the divine and the human, the objective and the subjective, the absolute and the relative, are to be conceived, not in a mere abstract, mechanical way, as operating collaterally or independently, but as working *in* and *through one another*. With our present knowledge, which, though ever on the advance, must still be imperfect till we shall "see face to face" (1 Cor.

xiii. 9–12), we may not be able to draw the line clearly between the finite and the infinite causes; yet the general recognition of both is the first condition of any just conception of history. And it is this that makes history a lofty, unbroken anthem of praise to Divine wisdom and love—an humbling mirror of human weakness and guilt—and, in either view, the richest repository of instruction, encouragement, and edification. As the biography of humanity, which unfolds its relations to itself, to nature, and to God, it must of course embrace all that deserves to be known, —all that is beautiful, great, noble, and glorious in the course of the world's life. In it are treasured all the outward and inward experiences of our race,—all its thoughts, feelings, views, wishes, endeavours, and achievements,—all its sorrows and all its joys. Divine revelation itself belongs to history. It forms the very marrow of its life—the golden thread which runs through all its leaves. Thus, in the nature of the case, there can be no study more comprehensive, more instructive, and more entertaining, than the study of history in the wide sense. Of the two wonders which filled the mind of the philosopher Kant, according to his own confession, with ever-growing reverence and delight—"the starry heavens above us" and "the moral law within us"—the latter is certainly the greater. And the study of history, or of the progressive unfolding of this moral law, and of all the intellectual powers of man, is as far above the study of the natural sciences in importance and interest, as the immortal mind is above matter, its perishing abode,—a man, formed in the image of God is superior to nature, his servant.

This co-operation of two factors holds good in *secular* or *profane* history, as well as in *sacred;* but with a twofold difference. In the first the human agency is most prominent; in the second the divine takes the lead, and makes its presence felt at every step. Then again both the factors appear under different characters. There God acts as Creator, Preserver, and Ruler of the world, and man, in his natural, fallen state; here God manifests himself as the Saviour and Sanctifier of the world, and man comes into view as an object of redeeming love, and as a member of the kingdom of grace. Secular history is the theatre of Elohim, or God under his general character, as the Father of Gentiles as well as Jews. Sacred history and its continua-

tion, church history, is the sanctuary of Jehovah, the God of the covenant, the Lord of a chosen people.

§ 3. *The Central Position of Religion in History.*

Universal history, like the life of humanity itself, comes before us, of course, in various departments; which, however, are all more or less connected, and form each the complement of the rest. There is a history of government, of trade, of social life, of the different sciences and arts, of morality, and of religion. Of these, the last is plainly the deepest, most central, and most interesting. For *religion*, or the relation of man to God,—the principle which ennobles man's earthly existence,—the bond which binds him to the fountain of all life and peace, to the invisible world of spirits, and to a blissful eternity,—is the most sacred element of his nature, the source of his loftiest thoughts, his mightiest deeds, his sweetest and purest enjoyments. It is his sabbath, his glory, his crown, in the consciousness of all nations. It is the region of eternal truth and rest, where, as it is expressed by a profound German philosopher, all mysteries of the world are solved, all contradictions of the spirit reconciled, all painful feelings hushed. It is an ether, in which all sorrow, all care is lost, either in the present feeling of devotion, or in a hope which transforms the darkest clouds of earthly tribulation into the radiance of heavenly wisdom and mercy. It cannot be expected that every man should be a scholar or an artist, a statesman or a warrior; but every one *must* be moral and pious, or his life will end in a failure. It is only by piety, without which there can be no pure morality, that man fulfils the end of his being, and actually shews himself the image of God. Without it he can neither be truly happy in time, nor blessed in eternity; and unless he secure the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven, it were better for him if he had never been born. Religion, reunion and communion with God, is the morning, noon, and evening of history; the paradise from which it starts; the haven of peace, into which, after a course of many thousand years on the storm-lashed ocean of time, it shall at last be conducted, to rest for ever from its labours, where God shall be "all in all." Even the other departments of history become most luminous and attractive only in the celestial light of religion.

All this, however, is properly applicable only to *Christianity*, the absolutely true and perfect religion, which is destined to absorb all others. As the world of nature looks to man, its head and crown, its prophet, priest, and king; so man is originally made for *Christ*, and his heart is restless until it rests in Him. *Jesus Christ*, the God-man, the Saviour of the world, has brought humanity to its perfection in Himself, reconciled it to God, and raised it to a permanent vital union with Him. Take Christ away, and the human race is without a ruling head, without a beating heart, without an animating soul, without a certain end,—an inexplicable enigma. He, the great founder of Christianity, is the vital principle and the guide, the centre and turning-point, and at the same time the key, of all history, as well as of every individual human life. His entrance into the world forms the boundary between the old and the new. From Him, the Light and the Life of the world, light and life flow backward into the night of Paganism and the twilight of Judaism, and forward in the channel of His church through all after ages. Even in ancient history, what is most remarkable and significant is the preparation for Christianity by the divine revelation in Israel, and by the longings of the benighted heathen. As to all later history, Christianity is the very pulse of its life, its heart's blood, its central stream. This is most clearly visible in the Middle Ages, when all science and art, all social culture, and the greatest political and national movements, received their impulse from the church, and were guided and ruled by her spirit, however imperfect the form may have been, under which Christianity then existed. But the history of the last three centuries also, in all its branches, rests throughout upon the great religious movements of the sixteenth century; and in the process of its development we ourselves are still involved. From this we may readily see the comprehensive import of *church* history.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH.

§ 4. *Idea of the Church.*

CHRISTIANITY, which, as the absolute religion, holds this central, ruling position in history, and on which depends the salvation of the human race, exists not merely as something subjective in single pious individuals, but also as an objective, organized, visible society, as a *kingdom of Christ on earth*, or as a *church*.[1] The church is in part a pedagogic institution, to train men for heaven, and as such destined to pass away in its present form, when the salvation shall be completed; in part the everlasting communion of the redeemed, both on earth and in heaven. In the first view, as a visible organization, it embraces all who are baptized, whether in the Greek or Roman or Protestant communion. It contains, therefore, many hypocrites and unbelievers,

[1] The word *church*, like the Scotch *kirk*, the German *kirche*, the Swedish *kyrka*, the Danish *kyrke*, and like terms in the Sclavonic languages, must be derived, through the Gothic, from the Greek κυριακόν (*i.e.*, belonging to the Lord), sc. δῶμα, or κυριακή, sc. οἰκία, Dominica, as Basilica from βασιλεύς, Regia from *rex*. It may signify the material house of God, or the local congregation, or, in the complex sense—which is the original one (Matt. xvi. 18), and in which it is used in the text—the organic unity of all believers; but it always involves etymologically the close relation of the church to the Lord as its head, by whom it is ruled, and to whom it is consecrated. Some derive the word, with less probability, from the old German *kueren*, *kiesen*, to elect, to call. Then it would nearly correspond to the Greek term ἐκκλησία (the Hebrew קָהָל), an assembly or congregation, legally called or summoned, used in the New Testament mostly in a religious sense, to denote (1.) the whole body of believers (Matt. xvi. 18; 1 Cor. x. 32; Gal. i. 13; Eph. i. 22, iii. 10, v. 23, 24, 27, 29, 32; Phil. iii. 6; 1 Tim. iii. 15, &c.); (2.) a part of this whole, a particular congregation, as that at Jerusalem, or at Antioch, or at Rome (1 Cor. xi. 18, xiv. 19, 33, ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων. Philem. v. 2, &c.). In both cases, it involves the idea of a Divine call and election to the service of the Lord, and to eternal life.

who will never be entirely separated from it until the end of the world. Hence our Lord compares the kingdom of heaven, Matt. xiii., to a field, where wheat and tares grow together until the harvest; and to a net, which "gathers of every kind." The true essence of the church, however, the eternal communion of saints, consists only of the regenerate and converted, who are united by a living faith with Christ the head, and through Him with one another.

Though the church is thus a society of men, yet it is by no means on that account a production of men, called into existence by their own invention and will, like free-masonry, for instance, temperance societies, and the various political and literary associations. It is founded by *God* himself through *Christ*, through His incarnation, His life, His sufferings, death, and resurrection, and the outpouring of the *Holy Ghost*, for His own glory, and the redemption of the world. For this very reason, the gates of hell itself can never prevail against it. It is the ark of Christianity, out of which there is no salvation,—the channel of the continuous revelation of the triune God, and the powers of eternal life.

St Paul commonly calls the church the *body of Christ*, and believers the *members* of this body.[1] As a *body* in general, the church is an organic union of many members, which have, indeed, different gifts and callings, yet are pervaded by the same life-blood, ruled by the same head, animated by the same soul, all working together towards the same end. This is set forth in a masterly and incomparable manner, particularly in the 12th and 14th chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. As the body of *Christ*, the church is the dwelling-place of Christ, in which He exerts all the powers of His theanthropic life, and also the organ, through which He acts upon the world as Redeemer; as the soul manifests its activity only through the body in which it dwells. The Lord, therefore, through the Holy Ghost, is present in the church, in all its ordinances and means of grace, especially in the word and the sacraments; present, indeed, in a mystical, invisible, incomprehensible way, but none the less real-

[1] Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. vi. 15, x. 17, xii. 20, 27; Eph. i. 23, iv. 12, v. 23, 30; Col. i. 24, &c.

ly, efficiently, and manifestly present, in His complete theanthropic person. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am *I*,"—not merely my spirit, or my word, or my influence, but my *person*—"in the midst of them" (Matt. xviii. 20). "Lo, *I* am with you"—the representatives of the whole body of saints—"alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 20). Hence Paul calls the church "the fulness of Him, that filleth all in all" (Eph. i. 23).

We may justly say, therefore, that the church is the *continuation* of the life and work of Christ upon earth, though never, indeed, so far as men in their present state are concerned, without a mixture of sin and error. In the church, the Lord is perpetually born anew in the hearts of believers, through the Holy Ghost, who reveals Christ to us, and appropriates His work and merits to the individual soul. In the church the Lord speaks words of truth and consolation to fallen man. In and through her He heals the sick, raises the dead, distributes the heavenly manna, gives Himself as spiritual food to the hungry soul. In her are repeated His sufferings and death; and in her, too, are continually celebrated anew His resurrection and ascension, and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. In her militant state, like her Head in the days of His humiliation, she bears the form of a servant. She is hated, despised, and mocked by the ungodly world. But from this lowly form beams forth a Divine radiance, "the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." In her womb must we be born again of incorruptible seed; from her breast must we be nourished into spiritual life; for she is the Lamb's bride, the dwelling of the Holy Ghost, the temple of the living God, "the pillar and ground of the truth." Those ancient maxims, *Qui ecclesiam non habet matrem, Deum non habet patrem*, and *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, though perverted by the church of Rome, and applied in a carnal and contracted sense to herself as *the* church, are yet perfectly correct, when we refer them not simply to a particular denomination but to the holy catholic church, the mystical body of Christ, the spiritual Jerusalem, "which is the mother of us all" (Gal. iv. 26). For since Christ, as Redeemer, is to be found neither in Heathenism, nor in Judaism, nor in Islamism, but only in the church,

the fundamental proposition, "Out of Christ no salvation," necessarily includes the other, "No salvation out of the church." This, of course, does not imply that mere external connection with it is of itself sufficient for salvation, but simply that salvation is not divinely guaranteed out of the Christian church. There are thousands of church-members who are not vitally united to Christ, and who will therefore be finally lost; but there are no real Christians anywhere who are not, at the same time, members of Christ's mystical body, and as such connected with some branch of his visible kingdom on earth. Church-membership is not the *principle* of salvation—which is Christ alone—but the necessary *condition* of it; because it is the divinely-appointed means of bringing the man into contact with Christ and all his benefits.

§ 5. *The Development of the Church.*

The church is not to be viewed as a thing at once finished and perfect, but as a historical fact, as a human society, subject to the laws of history, to genesis, growth, development. Only the dead is done and stagnant. All created life, even the vegetable, and especially animal and human life, though always in substance the same, is essentially motion, process, constant change, unceasing transition from the lower to the higher. Every member of the body, every faculty of the soul exists at first merely potentially or virtually, and attains its full proportions only by degrees; just as the tree grows from the germ, unfolding first the root and trunk, then the branches, leaves, blossoms, and fruit. The same law holds in the case of the new man in Christ. The believer is at first a child, a babe in Christ, born of water and of the Spirit, and rises gradually, by the faithful use of the means of grace, unto perfect manhood in Christ, the author and finisher of our faith, until this spiritual life reaches its perfection in the resurrection of the body unto life everlasting. As the church is the organic whole of individual believers, it must likewise be conceived as subject to the same law of development, or, to use the expressive figure of the Saviour, as a grain of mustard-seed, which grows at last to a mighty tree, overshadowing the world. The church, therefore,

like every individual Christian, and, indeed, like Christ himself in his human nature,[1] must be viewed, under her historical form, as having her infancy, her childhood, her youth, and her mature age.

To avoid misunderstanding, however, we must here make an important distinction. The church, in its idea, or viewed objectively in Christ, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, is from the first complete and unchangeable. So also the revealed word of Christ is eternal truth and the absolute rule of faith and practice, which the Christian world can never transcend. The doctrine of an improvement on Biblical Christianity, of an advance on the part of men beyond revelation, or beyond Christ himself, is entirely rationalistic and unchristian. Such a pretended improvement were but a deterioration, a return to the old Judaism or Paganism.

But from this idea of the church in the Divine mind, and in the person of Christ, we must distinguish its *actual manifestation* on earth; from the objective revelation itself we must discriminate the *subjective apprehension and appropriation of it in the mind of humanity at a given time.* This last is progressive. Humanity at large can no more possess itself at once of the fulness of the divine life in Christ, than the individual Christian can in a moment become a perfect saint. This complete appropriation of life is accomplished only by a gradual process, involving much trouble and toil. The church on earth advances from one degree of purity, knowledge, holiness, to another; struggles victoriously through the opposition of an ungodly world; overcomes innumerable foes within and without; surmounts all obstructions; survives all diseases; till at last, entirely purged from sin and error, and passing, at the general resurrection, from her militant to her triumphant state, she shall stand forth eternally complete. This whole process, however, is but the full actual unfolding of the church which existed potentially at the outset in Christ; a process by which the Redeemer's Spirit and life are completely appropriated and impressed on

[1] Comp. Luke ii. 52; "And Jesus *increased* in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man." Heb. v. 8; "Though he were a Son, yet *learned* he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made *perfect*, he *became* the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey Him."

every feature of humanity. Christ is thus the beginning, the middle, and the end of the entire history of the church.

The growth of the church is in the first place an *outward extension* over the earth, till all nations shall walk in the light of the gospel. It is with reference mainly to this, that our Lord compares the kingdom of God to a grain of mustard, which is the least of all seeds, yet grows to be a great tree, in whose branches the fowls of heaven lodge (Matt. xiii. 31, 32). In the second place, it consists in an *inward unfolding* of the idea of the church, in *doctrine*, *life*, *worship*, and *government;* the human nature, in all its parts, coming more and more to bear the impress of that new principle of life, which has been given in Christ to humanity, and which is yet to transform the world into a glorious and blessed kingdom of God. To this our Lord refers in the parable of the leaven, "which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened" (Matt. xiii. 33). St Paul, also, has this in view in numerous passages in his epistles, where he speaks of the *growth* and *edification* of the body of Christ, "till we all come, in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a *perfect* man, unto the measure of the *stature* of the *fulness* of Christ, that we henceforth be no more children," &c.[1]

This development, moreover, is *organic*. It is not an outward, mechanical aggregation of facts, which have no living connection. It is a process of life, which springs from within, from the vital energy implanted in the church, and which remains, in all its course, identical with itself, as man through all the stages of his life still continues man. What is untrue and imperfect in an earlier stage is done away by that which follows; what is true and essential is preserved, and made the living germ of further development. The history of all Christian nations, and of all times, from the birth of Christ to the final judgment, forms one connected whole; and only in its totality does it exhibit the entire fulness of the new creation.

But as the church on earth is in perpetual conflict with the unbelieving world, and as believers themselves are still encumbered with sin and error, this development of the church is not

[1] Eph. iv. 12–16, comp. iii. 17–19; Col. ii. 19; 1 Pet. ii. 2, 5; 2 Pet. iii. 18.

a regular and quiet process, but a constant *struggle*. It goes by extremes, through all sorts of obstructions and diseases, through innumerable heresies and schisms. But in the hand of Him, who can bring good even out of evil, these distractions themselves must ultimately serve the cause of truth and piety.

History properly allows no pause. Single lateral streams of it, indeed, may dry up; small sects, for instance, which have fulfilled their mission, or even large divisions of the church, which once played a highly important part, but have wilfully set themselves against all historical progress, may become stagnant, and congeal into dead formalism; as is the case with most of the Oriental churches. But the main stream of church history moves *uninterruptedly onward*, and *must* finally reach its divinely-appointed end. *Ecclesia non potest deficere.*

But together with the wheat, according to the parable already quoted, the tares, also, ripen for the harvest of the judgment. Accompanying the development of the good, of truth, of Christianity, there is also a development of the *evil*, of *falsehood*, of *Antichristianity*. Together with the mystery of godliness, there works also a *mystery of iniquity*. And the two processes are often in so close contact, that it requires the keenest eye to discriminate rightly between light and shade, between the work of God and the work of Satan, who, we know, often transforms himself into an angel of light. Judas was among the apostles, and Antichrist sits in the temple of God (2 Thess. ii. 4). The hand of justice, indeed, rules even here, turning wicked thoughts and deeds to shame, and punishing the enemies of God; but in the present world this retribution is only partially administered. The famous sentence of Schiller, "Die Weltgeschichte ist *das* Weltgericht," must, accordingly, be so far corrected: "The history of the world is *a* judgment of the world," distributing blessing and curse; but not the final judgment, at which alone the curse and blessing will be complete. If Goethe, in his conversations with Eckermann, says of nature; "There is in nature something approachable, and something unapproachable; many things can be only to a certain extent understood, and nature always retains something mysterious, which human faculties are insufficient to fathom;" the same may be said, still more aptly, of history. Here, too, we encounter many mysteries, which

eternity alone will fully solve. Here, too, we find everywhere the working of a revealed and a hidden God, who can be approached only by a mind reverently pious and deeply humble. All is calculated to stimulate man, who, even on the heights of science, must "eat his bread in the sweat of his face," to renewed investigation, to greater faith. As prophecy can be perfectly understood only in the light of its fulfilment; the Old Testament, only by the New; so the history of the church can be perfectly comprehended only when it shall have laid open all the fulness and variety of its contents, and shall have reached its goal. As the Jewish economy was a prophecy and type of the Christian dispensation, so the history of the church militant is but a prophecy and a type of the triumphant kingdom of God; and eternity alone will furnish a complete commentary on the developments of time.[1]

§ 6. *The Church and the World.*

The church, like Christianity itself, of which it is the vehicle, is a supernatural principle, a new creation of God through Christ, far transcending all that human intelligence and will can of themselves produce. As such, she appears at first in direct hostility to the world, which lieth in wickedness; and so far, the history of the church and that of the world (here taken in the sense of profane history) are in mutual conflict. But since Christianity is ordained for men, and is intended to raise them to their proper perfection, this opposition cannot be directed against nature as such, as it has come from God himself, and constitutes the true essence of man, but only against the corruption of nature, against sin and error; and it must cease in proportion as these ungodly elements are overcome. Christianity aims not to annihilate human nature, but to redeem and sanctify it. It can truly say:—Nihil humani a me alienum puto. Revelation is intended not to destroy reason, but to elevate it, and fill it with the light of Divine truth. The church must finally subdue the whole world, not with an arm of flesh, but with the

[1] A more extended exposition of the idea of development, which properly coincides with the idea of history itself, and is indispensable to the treatment of history with any living spirit, has been attempted in our small work: *What is Church History? A Vindication of the idea of Historical Development.* Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co., 1846. See especially p. 80, *et seq.*

weapons of faith and love, the Spirit and the Word, and lay it as a trophy at the feet of the crucified Redeemer. Thus the supernatural becomes natural. It becomes more and more at home on earth and in humanity. In this view, also, the Word becomes flesh and dwells among us, so that we can see, feel, taste, and enjoy His glory.

Nor is it merely a single department of the world's life which the kingdom of God proposes thus to pervade and control, but the world as a whole. Christianity is absolutely catholic or universal in its character; it is designed for all nations, for all times, and for all spheres of human existence. The church is humanity itself, regenerate, and on the way to perfection. The whole creation groans after redemption, and after the glorious liberty of the children of God. No moral order of the world can ever become complete, without being permeated throughout by the life of the God-man. Nay, even the body, and the system of nature, in which it belongs, are to come under the all-pervading and transforming power of the Gospel. The process of the new creation is to close with the resurrection of the body, and the manifestation of new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Hence our Lord compares the kingdom of God to leaven, which is destined to pervade the whole lump, the entire human nature, spirit, soul, and body (Matt. xiii. 33).

The several spheres of the world, in its good sense,[1] or the essential forms, ordained by God himself, for the proper unfolding of the human life, are particularly the *family*, the *state*, *science*, *art*, and *morality*.[2] On all these Christianity, in her course, exerts a purifying and sanctifying influence, making them tributary to the glory of God and the establishment of his kingdom, till God shall be all in all.

It recognises the *family*, that seminary of the state and the

[1] It is well known that the term "*world*" has various senses both in the Bible and in common parlance. It may signify: (1.) the universe—*e. g.* "God created the world"—(2.) humanity and the human life as a whole—*e. g.* "God so loved the world," &c., "Christ, the Saviour of the world"—(3.) the unconverted part of humanity, the whole mass of human sin and error, the kingdom of evil—*e. g.* "the world lieth in wickedness," "Satan, the prince of this world," &c. A similar variety of meanings attaches to the word *nature*.

[2] We take this term here in the popular sense. In a wider view the life of the family, and of the state itself, nay, all scientific and artistic activity, falls into the sphere of ethics, and has either a moral or an immoral character and tendency.

church, as a Divine institution, but raises it to a higher level than it ever occupied before. It makes monogamy a law, places the relative duties of husband and wife, parents and children, master and servant, on their highest religious ground, and consecrates the whole institution by shewing its reference to the sacred union of Christ with his church. It is in the history of Christianity, therefore, and particularly among the Germanic nations, that we behold marriage in its happiest forms, and meet with the most beautiful exhibitions of domestic life.

So also the *state* is regarded by Christianity as a Divine institution for maintaining order in human society, for encouraging good and punishing evil, and for promoting generally the public weal. But the magistrate himself is made dependent on the absolute sovereignty of God and responsible to Him, and subjects are taught to obey "in the Lord." Thus arbitrary despotism is counteracted; obedience is shorn of its slavish character; cruel and hurtful institutions are gradually abolished, and wise and wholesome laws are introduced. History, in this view, is to end in a *theocracy*, in which all dominion and power shall be given to the saints of the Most High, all nations be united into one family, and joyfully yield themselves to the Divine will as their only law.

To *science*, the investigation and knowledge of truth, Christianity owns no inherent opposition, but imparts a new impulse, and itself gives birth to the loftiest of all sciences, theology. It is always active, however, in purging science from error and egoism; it leads her to the highest source of all wisdom and knowledge, to God revealed in Christ; and will not rest, till it shall have transformed all the branches of learning into *theosophy*, and thus brought them back to the ground, from which they sprang. What Bacon says of philosophy is true of science in general:—"Philosophia obiter libata abducit a Deo, penitus hausta reducit ad eundem."

Art, also, whose object is to represent the idea of beauty, the church takes into her service, and herself produces the noblest creations in architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and poetry. For Christ is the fairest of the children of men, the actual embodiment of the highest ideal of the imagination, the complete harmony of spirit and nature, of soul and body, of thought and

form, of heaven and earth, of God and man; and the anthems of eternity can never exhaust his praise. The scope of history in this department is to spiritualize all art in *worship*, or divine service.

Lastly, Christianity transforms the whole *moral life* of individuals, and of nations; breathes into morality its true life, love to God; and ceases not till all sin is banished from the earth, and *holiness*, which is essential to the idea of the church, is fully realized in the life of redeemed humanity. God is the fountain of all law, truth, beauty, and virtue; and as all created things proceed from him, so all must return to him at last through Christ. Christ is "the way, the truth, and the life," by whom all must come to the Father; the prophet, the priest, and the king of the world.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH HISTORY.

§ 7. *General Definition.*

We are now prepared to define *church history*. It is simply the progressive execution of the scheme of the divine kingdom in the actual life of humanity; the outward and inward development of Christianity—the extension of the church over the whole earth, and the infusion of the spirit of Christ into all the spheres of human existence, the family, the state, science, art, and morality, making them all organs and expressions of this spirit for the glory of God, and for the elevation of man to his proper perfection and happiness. It is the sum of all the utterances and deeds, experiences and fortunes, all the sufferings, the conflicts, and the victories of Christianity, as well as of all the Divine manifestations in and through it.

As we have distinguished two factors, a divine and a human, in general history; so we must view church history as the joint product of Christ and of his people, or regenerate humanity. On the part of Christ, it may be called the evolution of his own life in the world, a perpetual repetition, or unbroken continuation, as it were, of his incarnation, his words and deeds, his death and his resurrection, in the hearts of individuals and of nations. On the part of men, church history is the external and internal unfolding of the life of believers collectively, who live and move and have their being in Christ. But as these are not perfect saints this side of the grave, as they still remain more or less under the influence of sin and error, and as, moreover, the church militant is associated with the ungodly world, which intrudes

into it in manifold ways, there appear, of course, in church history all kinds of sinful passions, perversions and caricatures of divine truth, heresies and schisms. We find all these in fact even in the age of the New Testament. For in proportion as the kingdom of light asserts itself, the kingdom of darkness also rouses to greater activity, and whets its weapons on Christianity itself. Judas not only stood in the sacred circle of the apostles, but wanders, like Ahasuerus, through the ecclesiastical sanctuary of all centuries. It is in opposition to the highest manifestations of the Spirit of God, that the most dangerous and hateful forms of human and diabolical perversion arise.

But, in the first place, church history shews that this opposition, and that all errors and divisions, even though they may have a long and almost universal prevalence, must in the end serve only to awaken the church to her real work, to call forth her deepest energies, to furnish the occasion for higher developments, and thus to glorify the name of God and His Son Jesus Christ. All tribulation, too, and persecutions are for the church, what they are for the individual Christian, only a powerful refining fire, in which she is to be gradually purged from all her dross; till at last, adorned as a bride at the side of her heavenly spouse upon the renovated earth, she shall celebrate the resurrection morning as her last and most glorious pentecost. When Fleury was asked, why he darkened his pages unnecessarily so much with events calculated to disgrace the church, he very properly replied, that he considered it to be a triumphant proof of the divinity of our religion that it had not been annihilated by the vices and crimes of those who preached it, and that the same God who was able to defend His work against the sword of persecution, was able also to defend it from the poison of the greatest iniquities, which seem to bring about its ruin.[1]

In the next place, however, this dark side of church history is only as it were its earthly and temporary outwork. Its inmost and permanent substance, its heart's blood, is the Divine love and wisdom itself, of which it is the manifestation. Church history first of all presents to us Christ, as he moves through all time, living and working in his people, cleansing them from all foreign elements, and conquering the world and Satan. It is

[1] D'Alembert, *Hist. des Membres de l'Acad.* iv. 180.

the repository of the manifold attestations and seals of His Holy Spirit in that bright cloud of witnesses, who have denied themselves even unto death—who have battled faithfully against all ungodliness within and without—who have preached the Gospel of peace to every creature—who have bathed in the depths of the Divine life and everlasting truth—and have brought forth and unfolded the treasures of revelation for the instruction, edification, and comfort of their contemporaries and posterity—who, with many tears and prayers, willingly bearing their master's cross, but also rejoicing in faith and hope, and triumphing over death and the grave, have passed into the upper sanctuary, to rest for ever from their labours.

§ 8. *Extent of Church History.*

The *beginning* of church history is properly the incarnation of the Son of God, the entrance of the new principle of light and life into humanity. The life of Jesus Christ forms the unchangeable theanthropic foundation of the whole structure. Hence Gieseler, Niedner, and other historians, embrace a short sketch of this in their systems, while Neander has devoted to it a separate work. But since the church, as an organic union of the disciples of Jesus, comes into view first on the day of Pentecost, we may take this point as the beginning; and this is preferable, because the mass of matter to be handled is so great, that there could be no room to do full justice to so difficult and momentous a subject as the life of Christ. At all events, however, the history of the apostolic age must be preceded by an introductory sketch of the condition of the Jewish and heathen world at the time when the church entered it as a new creation; for only thus can we obtain any clear conception of the comprehensive historical import of Christianity.

The *relative goal* of church history for any given time is the then existing present, or rather the epoch, which lies nearest the historian; since what is passing before his eyes, and is not yet finished, cannot well be freely and impartially treated. Its *absolute goal* is the final judgment. But what is for us future can of course be only the object of prophetic representation, and is therefore out of the range of any simply human history. The inspired Apocalypse only, the exposition of which belongs

to exegetical science, is a prophetic church history in grand symbols, which, like the Old Testament prophecies, can never be fully understood until all are fulfilled.

§ 9. *Relation of Church History to the other Departments of Theology.*

For us, then, church history embraces a period of eighteen centuries. This shews at once, that of all branches of theology it is by far the most copious and extensive. It is preceded by *exegesis;* that is, the exposition of the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, with all needful introductory and auxiliary sciences, as sacred philology, biblical archæology, hermeneutics, criticism, &c. The Bible being the storehouse of Divine revelation, and the infallible rule of faith and practice for the church, this exegetical department may be styled *fundamental* theology. Much exegetical matter, however, enters into history, especially in the patristic age, and in that of the Reformation, to shew how the Bible has been understood and expounded at different times, and by different theologians; and thus exegesis itself has its history. Where exegesis stops, church history begins—the two coming in contact, however, in the apostolic age. For the Acts of the Apostles and the New Testament Epistles are source and object for both sciences, only under different modes of treatment. The exegetical theologian may be compared to a miner, who brings to light the gold of Scriptural truth; the historian of the apostolic church is the artist, who works the gold and gives it shape. Then, following historical theology in natural order, is *speculative*,[1] or, as it is usually termed, *systematic* divinity (including apologetic, polemic, dogmatic, and moral theology). The province of this is,

[1] We use this term here in a wider sense than "philosophical." There are two kinds of speculation, a *philosophical* and a *theological*, which will at last coincide indeed in the absolute knowledge beyond the grave, but which start from different points, and pursue different methods. The philosophical speculation proceeds from the *self*-consciousness (*cogito, ergo sum*), and follows simply the laws of *logical thought;* the theological begins with the religious sense, or the consciousness of *God*, and seeks to understand God, man, and the world, not only in accordance with reason, but by the help of *revelation*, and in agreement with it. The measure of the first is consistency of thought; the rule of the second, harmony with the Word of God. Although the wisdom of the world must be lost at last in the wisdom of God, or theosophy, and reason ultimately find its true home in revelation, yet for the *present* stage of our knowledge both stand in a relative opposition, and ought not to be confounded.

to explain and vindicate scientifically the Christian faith and practice in their present posture. The whole organism of the science of religion is completed in *practical* theology, which, resting on exegetical, historical, and systematic divinity, gives directions for the advancement of the Christian faith and life in the people of God by means of preaching (homiletics), religious instruction (catechetics), the administration of Divine service (liturgics), and church government (theory of ecclesiastical law and discipline).

Exegesis, therefore, has to do with the *regulative charter*, with which the revelation begins; church history, with the continuation and apprehension of the revelation in time *past;* speculative theology, with the *present* scientific posture of the church; and practical theology looks to the *future*. But since the present and future are always becoming past, speculative and practical theology are continually falling into the province of church history, which, in this view again, appears as the most comprehensive department of theology.

§ 10. *Single Branches of Church History. History of Missions.*

Since the Christian religion, on account of its universal character, pervades and regenerates all the spheres of human life (§ 6), church history falls into as many corresponding branches, any one of which may be treated separately, and in fact will furnish study for a lifetime. To do anything like justice to the whole, requires of course the co-operation of innumerable learned minds; and even when a work of history rests upon the shoulders of many centuries of labour, it is after all but an imperfect fragment as compared with the objective history itself.

1. The first branch of church history, and the one too which is usually first treated, is the history of *missions*, or the spread of Christianity among unconverted nations. By some nations the Christian religion is embraced; by others, rejected; and again, different nations have very different degrees of religious susceptibility. The missionary work, which the Lord himself before his departure solemnly committed to his church, must continue so long as there are heathen, Jews, or Turks, or a single soul on earth, to whom the sound of the Gospel has not come. It is not carried on, however, at all times with the same zeal

and success. The conversion of the heathen meets us on the grandest and most effective scale in the first and second centuries; then on the threshold of the Middle Ages in the Christianizing of the Germanic nations; and lastly in our own time, when Asia, Africa, and Australia are covered with a network of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary stations.

But the church is often so much occupied with her internal affairs and conflicts, with her own purification or self-defence, that she almost forgets the poor heathen; as, for instance, in the age of the Reformation, and in the Protestant church of the seventeenth century. At such times, however, a *home* missionary activity, directed towards the waste or lifeless portions of the church itself, commonly takes the place of the *foreign* operations. Under the head of such internal or home missionary work may be reckoned the course of the Reformation through the Roman Catholic countries of Europe in the sixteenth century; the labours of the Evangelical Society in France in favour of Protestantism; the operations of the American Home Missionary Society, and of other Associations for providing the Western States of North America with evangelical ministers and the means of grace; and properly also the Protestant missions among the Abyssinians and other Oriental churches.[1]

2. A direct counterpart to the history of missions is the history of the *compression* of the church by *persecution* from hostile powers, as from the Roman empire in the first three centuries, and from Mohammedanism in the seventh and eighth. As the Lord predicted the growth of His kingdom (Matt. xiii. 31, *et seq.*), so also He foretold its persecution.[2] But what appears in one aspect as a compression, is in a higher view a purifying and strengthening process, and promotes in the end even the outward extension of the church. Under the Roman emperors "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church."

[1] Sometimes the phrase "interior or home missions" has been taken in a still wider sense, particularly of late, so as to embrace all self-denying exertions of the church, and of religious associations for allaying or removing the spiritual and temporal evils which have crept into the church mainly in consequence of modern infidelity and indifferentism, and from various other causes. But an account of such benevolent operations, societies, and institutions, as sisters of charity, deaconesses, hospitals, orphan houses, asylums for the insane, the blind, &c., belongs not so much to the history of missions, as to the history of Christian life and practical piety.

[2] John xv. 20. Matt. v. 10, 12; x. 23; xxiii. 34. Comp. 2 Tim. iii. 12.

Here, again, we may distinguish between *outward* persecution by unchristian powers, and an *inward* persecution of one part of the church by another. An instance of the latter we find in the suppression of the Reformation in Spain, Italy, Austria, and other regions, by the Roman Catholic Inquisition and the machinations of Jesuitism. Protestantism, too, has its martyrs, particularly in France, Holland, and England.

But when once Christianity has established itself in a nation, it commences the more tedious work of uprooting all the remains of heathenism, and re-casting thought and life, manners and customs, in the mould of the Gospel. The church must take root, attain a vigorous growth, and bring forth its proper flowers and fruits. This leads us to other branches of church history, far more difficult of treatment than the two now mentioned.

§ 11. *History of Doctrines.*

3. Christianity aims not to suppress the desire for knowledge and science implanted by the Creator in the human mind, but rather favours it by giving it the right direction towards the fountain of all truth. Faith itself incites to knowledge. It is always yearning after a clearer view of its object. It feels the attainment of a still deeper apprehension of God, His word, and His relation to men, to be a sacred duty and a lofty satisfaction. To this is added, as an impulse from without, the opposition of secular science and learning; and still further, the perversions of Christian doctrine by heretical sects. As the church must be always ready to give an account of her faith to every man, these attacks force her to inquiry and self-vindication. Thus, under the impulse, on the one hand, of faith from within—on the other, of assaults from without—arises *theology*, or the science of the Christian religion; which first appears in the apologetic and polemic form, in opposition to Pagan philosophy and Gnostic error. Theology is the conception of the faith of the church, as it lies in her more highly cultivated minds; and theologians are her leading intelligences—the eyes and ears, so to speak, of the body of Christ. It is in the most active and fruitful times of the church that we find divinity most flourishing—as in the time of the Fathers, in the best period of the Middle Ages, and in the period of the Reformation; while the decline of theology

is commonly attended with a relapse into ignorance and superstition, and with a general religious torpor.

The most prominent part of the history of theology is *doctrine history*—the history of the dogmas or doctrines of Christianity.[1] It constitutes the most intellectual, and in many respects the most important branch of all church history, and has, therefore, of late been honoured in Germany with a number of separate works by Münscher, Engelhardt, Baumgarten-Crusius, Hagenbach, Baur, and others. Besides this, German scholars have devoted extended, and in some instances very valuable monographs to the history of the most important doctrines; as those of Baur and Meier on the doctrine of the Trinity and the incarnation, that of Baur on the doctrine of the atonement, of Dorner on the person of Christ, of Ebrard on the Lord's Supper, &c.[2] The New Testament, the living germ of all theology, contains the whole collection of saving doctrines; not, however, in a scientific form, but in their original, living, popular, and practical character. Only Paul, who had a learned education and a mind of the most dialectic cast, approaches in his epistles, especially the Epistle to the Romans, the logical and systematic method. A *dogma* is simply a biblical doctrine, brought by means of reflection into a scientific form, and laid down as a fixed article of religion. It becomes *symbolic* when it is adopted by the whole church, or by a branch of the church, as expressing its view, true or false, of what the Scriptures teach, and is formally sanctioned as an authoritative doctrinal rule. Hence dogmas and dogmatic theology, in the strict sense, exist only from the time when the church awoke to the scientific apprehension and defence of her faith, as she did particularly under the influence of the early heresies and perversions of Christian doctrine. The dogma, of course, has its development, and is subject to change with the spirit and culture of the age; whereas the biblical truth in itself continues always the same, though ever

[1] There is no term in English which exactly corresponds to "Dogmengeschichte." *Dogmatic History*, as it is generally called, would properly denote a history of dogmatic theology, or of the scientific treatment of doctrines, thus referring more to the form than to the contents. The phrase, "History of Christian doctrine," or the term "Doctrine history," founded on the analogy of "Church history," will, perhaps, express it best.

[2] There is also an extended, philosophical, instructive, and suggestive *Introduction to Doctrine History*, by Theodore Kliefoth; 1839.

fresh and ever new. Each period of church history is called to unfold and place in clear light a particular aspect of the doctrine, to counteract a corresponding error, till the whole circle of Christian truth shall have been traversed in its natural order. Thus the Nicene period was called to assert particularly the doctrine of the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, or the doctrine of the Trinity, against the Arians and Semiarians; and the Augustinian period, to vindicate the doctrine of human sinfulness and Divine grace against the Pelagians. The doctrinal task of the Reformation lay in the field of soteriology. The work of that period was to set forth the doctrine of the inward appropriation of salvation, especially the doctrine of justification by faith, in opposition to the Roman idea of a legal righteousness. In our times the doctrine concerning the church seems to be more and more challenging the attention of theologians. And finally, eschatology, or the doctrine of the Last Things, will have its turn. But since all the doctrines of Christianity form a connected whole, no one of them, of course, can be treated without some reference to all the rest.

As theology in general is connected with the secular sciences; exegesis, with classical and oriental philology; church history with profane; Christian morality with philosophical ethics; homiletics with rhetoric, &c.; so doctrine history stands in special relation to the history of philosophy; and dogmatic theology, though it ought never to compromise its own dignity and independence, must always be more or less under the influence of philosophy. The theological views of the Greek Fathers were modified to a considerable extent by Platonism; those of the mediæval schoolmen by the logic and dialectics of Aristotle; those of later times by the systems of Descartes, Spinoza, Bacon, Locke, Leibnitz, Kant, Fries, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. Few scientific divines can absolutely emancipate themselves from the influence of the philosophy and public opinion of their age; and when they do, they have commonly their own philosophy, which is the less valuable in proportion as it is subjective, arbitrary, and out of the line of history and of the wants of the age. The history of philosophy and doctrine history move forward side by side, alternately repelling and attracting one another; till at last the natural reason shall come into perfect harmony with reve-

lation, and the wisdom of the world be lost in the wisdom of God.

§ 12. *History of Morality, Government, and Discipline.*

4. The next branch of our science is the history of *Christian practice*, or of *religious life* and *morality*. This very important and most practical part has been thus far but too much neglected. Neander, who throws it into one section with the history of worship has bestowed upon it more than the usual attention; and it is this, especially, which gives his celebrated work its peculiarly spiritual and edifying character. The doctrine of Christianity requires a corresponding holy walk. Faith must work by love. Since the Christian religion is wholly of a moral nature, having always in view the glory of God and the sanctification of the whole man, all church history is indeed, in a wide sense, a history of morality. The formation of dogmas, theology, church government, and worship, are all moral acts. But we here use the term in a narrower sense, to denote what is directly practical. To this branch of church history, then, belongs the description of the peculiar virtues and vices, the good and evil works, the characteristic manners and customs of leading individuals in the church, and of whole nations and ages. It falls to this branch to describe the influence of Christianity upon marriage, the family, the female sex, on slavery and other social evils. In this division a large space is occupied with the history of monachism, especially in the Middle Ages, when the institution split into many orders, each of which presents a more or less peculiar type of morality, and is liable also to corresponding dangers and temptations.

5. Again, the church must have a form of government, and exercise discipline on her disobedient members. Hence arises the *history of church polity* and *church discipline*. These two subjects have been commonly thrown together in one section; but they may as well be treated separately, or (as seems to us most natural) the latter in connection with the history of religious life. The constitution of the church, like its doctrine, has an unchangeable substance and a changeable form. The former is the spiritual office, established by Christ himself, to which belongs the power of binding and loosing in the name of the Lord. The lat-

ter varies with the necessities of the time, and with the particular circumstances. At first we find the apostolic constitution, where the apostles are the infallible teachers and leaders of the church. In the second century the episcopal system appears, which grows naturally into the metropolitan and patriarchal forms. The Eastern churches stop with the latter; while the Latin church in the Middle Ages concentrates all the patriarchal power in the Roman bishop, and develops the papal system. This degenerates at last into an intolerable spiritual despotism, when the Reformation produces new forms of church constitution, corresponding better with the free spirit of Protestantism, and with the idea of universal priesthood; in particular, the Presbyterian form of government, with lay representation.

Discipline is at one time strict, at another lax, according to the prevailing spirit of the church, and the nature of her relation to the temporal power.

It is chiefly in the sphere of government and discipline that the church comes into connection with the state; and this relation of church and state also appears under very different forms, and has its peculiar history. The state, for example, may take a hostile attitude towards the church, and oppress her with persecutions, as did the heathen power in the first three centuries, before the conversion of the emperor Constantine. Or the church, as a hierarchy, may rule the state, as did the Western church in the Middle Ages, and as she does to this day, where the papacy is in full power. Or the Christian state, as an imperial papacy, may rule the church, on the false principle, *cujus regio ejus religio;* as in the case even of the Byzantine emperors, who interfered very much with the external and also with the internal affairs of the Greek church; and again, in a number of Protestant establishments since the sixteenth century. Or, finally, state and church may be mutually independent, and leave each other undisturbed; this order prevails in the United States, and seems to be latterly introducing itself also into some parts of Europe, as in the case of the Free Church of Scotland.

§ 13. *History of Worship.*

6. Finally, we have to notice the history of *divine service*, or *worship*. The essential elements of it, as appointed by Christ

himself, are the preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments. And here, again, the manner of preaching, of giving religious instruction, of administering the sacraments, has its history. In addition to this, the church appoints sacred places and sacred times; produces prayers, liturgies, hymns, chorals, and all sorts of significant symbolical forms and actions; enters into alliance with the fine arts, especially architecture, painting, music, and poetry, and makes them tributary to the purposes of worship. The service may abound with these artistic forms, and indeed be overladen with them, as in the Greek and Roman church, which seeks to work upon the imagination and the feelings by imposing symbols, by outward show and pomp, especially in the service of the mass. Or it may be simple and sober, making all of the pulpit and nothing of the altar; as in the Puritan churches. Then again, each single branch of worship has its peculiar history. There is a history of the pulpit, of catechetical instruction, of liturgies, of church architecture, of religious sculpture and painting, of sacred poetry and music, &c. Here, too, much still remains to be done, especially in the department of Christian art. Hase is properly the only one among the writers of general church history, who has given it a place in his system; and even with him, the small compass of the manual confines the treatment to short, though spirited sketches.

The history of church government and the history of worship are often combined under the name of Christian *archæology*, which is usually limited to the first six centuries, as the period of the origin and development of ecclesiastical forms and laws. The most important works on this subject are Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, of which there is also a Latin translation; and the later Archæologies of Augusti (complete in twelve volumes, abridged in three), Rheinwald, Böhmer, Siegel, and the compilation of Coleman.

From all this, we may readily see the copiousness and variety of church history, and at the same time the difficulty of mastering its immense material.

In the detailed treatment, however, we cannot strictly carry out this sixfold division without becoming pedantic, and interrupting the natural order of things. In the period of the Reformation, for example, the different departments, especially the

course of outward events and the development of doctrine, are so interwoven, that a strict distribution of the matter among the several heads would do violence to the history, and would rather hinder than assist a clear view. Nor will it do to follow always the same order. In each period, that department should be placed first, which is found to be really most prominent. The development of doctrine, for instance, from the seventh century to the tenth, is almost at a stand; and hence this subject must occupy but a subordinate place in the history of that period. In some periods it is desirable to add new heads; as in the Middle Ages, for the history of the papacy, the monastic orders, and the crusades. The peculiar disposition and views of the historian, however, and his particular object also, have, of course, great influence on the plan and treatment of the material in the different periods.

§ 14. *Sources of Church History.*

Whatever furnishes information, more or less accurate, respecting the outward and inward acts and fortunes of the church, may be reckoned among the *sources* of her history. The credibility of this information must be determined by criticism on external and internal grounds. We may make a general division of these sources into *immediate* and *mediate*.

A. The IMMEDIATE or DIRECT SOURCES, being the pure, original utterances of the history itself, are the most important. They may be divided into—

a. *Written.* Here belong,

1. *Official reports and documents.* Of special importance among these are the *acts of councils.*[1] Then the *official letters of bishops*, particularly the *bulls of the popes.*[2] These decrees and bulls refer to all departments of church history, but especially to doctrine and government. Then, again, for particular branches, there are special documentary sources. In doctrine

[1] Of these there are several collections; the best by Mansi: Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio. Florent. et Venet. 1759, *et seq.*, in thirty-one folio volumes. (For the history of our American churches, the transactions of synods are likewise the most authentic immediate source.)

[2] Of these, also, there are various collections; one of special note by Cocquelines: Bullarum amplissima collectio. Rom. 1739, 28 t. fol., and Magni bullarii continuatio (1758–1830), collegit Andr. Advocatus Barbieri. Rom. 1835, *et seq.*

history, for example, we have first of all the *confessions of faith*, which set forth the church doctrine in an authoritative form.[1] In the department of Christian life, we have the various *monastic rules*;[2] in that of worship, the *liturgies*;[3] in that of government, the civil laws of the Byzantine, Frank, and German princes relating to the church.[4]

2. *Inscriptions;* particularly upon tombs. These frequently throw light upon the birth and death, the deeds and fortunes of distinguished men, and are exponents of the spirit of their age. They are not so valuable, however, for church history, as for some parts of profane.[5]

3. The *private writings of personal actors in the history.* The works of apologists and church fathers, for instance, are of the greatest importance for the history of the ancient church; the correspondence of popes and princes, of bishops and monks, the works of the schoolmen and mystics, for the history of the Middle Ages; the writings of the Reformers and their Roman adversaries, for the history of the Reformation. These records give us the liveliest image of their authors and their age. Here, however, we must first weigh, in the scales of a careful and thorough criticism, the genuineness of the writings in question, so as not to be misled by a false representation. This is especially necessary in the written monuments of the second and third centuries, when a multitude of apocryphal writings were

[1] A collection of the older symbols is given by C. W. F. Walch, in his Bibliotheca symbolica vetus, Lemgo, 1770; and more recently by A. Hahn, Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregln der apostol. kath. Kirche. Breslau, 1842. The Confessions of the Lutheran church are found complete in the editions of J. G. Walch, Rechenberg, and Hase; those of the Reformed church in the Collectio Confessionum, &c., by Niemeyer. Leipzig, 1840, and in "Bekenntnisschriften der evang. reform. Kirche," with Introduction and Notes, by E. G. A. Böckel. Leipzig, 1847.

[2] L. Holstenius: Codex regularum monasticarum. Rom. 1661, 3 t., enlarged by Brockie, 1759, 6 t.

[3] Comp. Assemani: Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ. Rom. 1749, 13 t.—Renaudot: Liturgiarum orientalium collectio. Par. 1716, 2 t.—Muratori: Liturgia rom. vetus. Venet. 1748, 2 t.

[4] The laws of the Roman emperors may be found in the Codex Theodosianus and Cod. Justinianeus; those of the Frank kings, in Baluzii Collectio capitularium regum Francorum. Par. 1677; those of the German emperors, in Heiminsfeldii Collectio constitutionum imperialium. Frcf. 1713.

[5] Among the collections of such inscriptions are Ciampini Vetera Monumenta. Rom. 1747, 3 t. fol.; Jacutii Christ. antiquitatum specimina. Rom. 1752, 4 t.; F. Münter's Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen. Altona, 1825.

fabricated. These fraudulent productions are characteristic, indeed; not, however, of the pretended authors, but only of the heretical tendencies, out of which, for the most part, they sprang. Then again we must have correct and complete editions.[1]

b. *Unwritten.* These consist of works of art; particularly church edifices and religious paintings. The Gothic domes of the Middle Ages, for instance, embody the gigantic spirit of that period. They are exponents of the prevailing conception of Christianity, and of the church; and, on this account. are of the greatest moment for the historian.

B. The MEDIATE or INDIRECT SOURCES are:

a. First of all, the *accounts* and *representations of historians.* These give us, not the history itself in its original form, as the immediate sources present it, but the view of it as apprehended by particular individuals, in the form of compilation and commentary. Among these productions, those, of course, take the first rank, which come from eye and ear witnesses, whether friends or foes. Such are almost the same as immediate sources (a. 3). Their value depends on the credibility and capacity of their authors. Thus the Acts of the Apostles by Luke, even aside from its canonical character, is of great importance for the history of the apostolic age; the reports of the churches of Smyrna and Lyons, for the history of the early persecutions; the historical works of Eusebius, for the age of Constantine; the annals and chronicles of the monks, for the Middle Ages; Spalatin's Annales Reformationis, the biographies of Luther by Melancthon and Mathesius, Sleidan's Commentarii, Beza's History of the Reformed Church in France, &c., &c., for the Reformation.

Historians, who have lived *after* the occurrence of events they relate, may be considered sources, when they have drawn upon reliable documents, monuments, and the reports of eye-witnesses,

[1] Of all the important church fathers good editions have been published, especially in the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. (See Walch's Bibliotheca patristica.) We have also valuable collections of patristic literature, as, for instance, Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum, etc. Lugd., 1677, 28 t. fol.; Gallandi: Bibliotheca vett. patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiast., postremâ Lugdunensi locupletior. Venet. 1765–88, 14 t. fol.; and Migne: Patrologiæ cursus completus, sive Bibliotheca universalis integra, uniformis, commoda, œconomica, omnium S. S. patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiast. qui ab aevo apostolico ad usque Innocentii III. tempora floruerunt, etc. Paris (Siron), 1844, *et seq.*

which have since been either entirely lost, like several of the writings used by Eusebius, or placed beyond our reach, as is partially the case with the treasures of the Vatican library. Important documents of this kind are the biographies of prominent individuals in the church. Such biographies, especially of the saints and martyrs, we have in great numbers.[1]

b. Finally, we may place among the mediate sources, though in a very subordinate rank, oral *traditions*, *legends*, and *popular sayings*, which are often characteristic of the spirit of their age; the saying, for example, current throughout the Middle Ages, that the church, since her union with the state under Constantine, had lost her virginity; and that which arose in the time of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, that Frederic II. would return, or that an eagle would rise out of his ashes, to destroy the papacy—shewing, in a portion at least of the German people, an early opposition to Rome.

For the professional historian a critical study of at least the principal sources is indispensable; and this again requires a vast amount of preliminary knowledge, especially an intimate acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages, in which most of the direct sources are written. For the general need, however, and for practical purposes, such works will answer as are based on a thorough study of sources. The most valuable Protestant works of this kind are the church histories of Neander and Gieseler, which, however, are both as yet unfinished. Neander unites with the most extensive reading, especially in the patristic literature, the finest sense of truth and justice—an inward sympathy with all forms and types of the Christian spirit and life—a great talent for apprehending and genetically unfolding the spirit of leading persons and tendencies—and a lovely, childlike disposition—qualities which have justly gained

[1] The most important collection of this kind, which, however, on account of the fables interwoven with it, must be very cautiously used, is the Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur, edd. Bollandus et alii (Bollandistæ). Antwerp, 1643–1794, in fifty-three folio volumes. It is composed by Jesuits, and arranged according to the days of the month, reaching to the 6th of October. The apparatus for this work alone embraces about seven hundred manuscripts, found in a castle in the province of Antwerp. A similar work, though far less extensive, and better adapted for popular use, is "The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal saints, compiled from original monuments, and other authentic records, by the Rev. Alban Butler," of which several editions have been published in England and America.

him the title "father of modern church history," and which make us almost forget the defects of his immortal work. One of his greatest faults is the carelessness and often wearisome diffuseness of his style. Gieseler's text is very meagre, and betrays rather an outward, spiritless, rationalistic conception of history; but his work is invaluable for its copious extracts from sources, selected with vast diligence and skill, which occupy by far the largest space, and enable the reader to see and judge for himself.

But besides such general works, there are also many exceedingly instructive and interesting monographs by modern German scholars on distinguished theologians and their times. These especially should be consulted on account of their minuteness of detail, which in many cases almost supersedes the necessity of a study of sources. Such monographs we have, for instance, on Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Anselm, Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugo of St Victor, Gregory VII., Innocent III., Alexander III., on the Forerunners of the Reformation, on almost all the Reformers, —on Spener, Franke, Zinzendorf, Bengel, &c.; as also on the most important parts of doctrine history, and on single branches and periods of the church. This monographic literature is continually increasing. German diligence, especially since Neander has led the way in this department also, is almost every year adding some new and valuable work, and is not likely to rest till every nook and corner of church history is explored, and the entire past is reproduced before us.

§ 15. *Auxiliary Sciences.*

Science in its widest sense, or the investigation and knowledge of truth, is, like truth itself, an organic whole, having its origin, its centre, and its end in God. It is impossible, therefore, absolutely to separate any one science from the others. All the sciences are, directly or indirectly, more or less connected, each preparing for, illustrating, completing, and confirming the rest. Historical theology, in particular, presupposes the knowledge of the following auxiliary sciences:—

1. Ecclesiastical *Philology*, or the knowledge of those lan-

guages in which the sources of church history are written. These ancient records are by no means all translated; and even though they were, the scientific and critical scholar cannot rely upon translations, but must go as much as possible to the original. Among the ecclesiastical languages the most important are the *Greek* and *Latin*, in which a great majority of the documents of the Eastern and Western churches have been composed. The Latin especially, throughout the Middle Ages, and even down to the seventeenth century, was the learned language of Europe, and is to this day extensively used in the Roman Catholic church for theology, government, and worship. The ecclesiastical Greek and Latin, however, differs somewhat from the classic, as it is adapted to a new world of ideas, lying far beyond the horizon of the ancient heathen authors. Hence the necessity of having special Greek and Latin dictionaries for the elucidation of the older ecclesiastical writers.[1] But ecclesiastical philology, in a wider sense, includes also all the other oriental, medieval, and modern European languages, whose literature is more or less important to church history. Since the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the Latin has gradually ceased to be the exclusive, or even the principal medium of literary and ecclesiastical communication, and has given way to the living and popular languages. The German, French, and English are the languages now most prominent, and most generally used in the modern history of the church as well as of the world.

2. Ecclesiastical *Geography*, the description of the locality or stage on which church history moves. The theatre of history is not in the air, but on the firm soil of this earth; and the peculiarities of the place or country are not without their effect upon the national character, which again forms the natural basis of the religious complexion of the people. Who can deny, for instance, that the constitutional peculiarities of the Greek, Roman, French, German, Dutch, and English nations reappear in a

[1] The principal works of this kind are Suicer's Thesaurus ecclesiasticus e patribus Græcis; and Carol. du Frésne's (Domin. du Cange) Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ Græcitatis (Lugd. 1688, 2 tom. fol.); also his Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis (Par. 1733-36, 6 t. fol.), with Carpentier's supplement in 4 vols. fol. The last and most complete edition of Du Frésne's Latin Glossary is that of Henschel, Paris, 1840-50. 7 vols. 4to.

higher form, in the Greek, Roman Catholic, Gallican, Lutheran, and Reformed churches? Nor is it merely accidental, that Catholicism is still predominant in Southern countries, where feeling and imagination are strongly developed; while Protestantism has established itself most firmly among the colder, but more energetic and active nations of the North.

Ecclesiastical geography differs from political, as church history differs from secular. It is governed throughout by the idea of Christianity. It describes countries from an ecclesiastical point of view, dividing the Christian portions from those occupied by false religions, marking the territorial limits of different confessions and denominations, the number and boundaries of patriarchates, dioceses, synodical districts, and charges, and pointing out those places which are memorable for distinguished persons or events of church history. The history of the primitive church is confined almost entirely to the limits of the old Roman empire, *i. e.* to the countries lying around the Mediterranean Sea. But as fast as the kingdom of Christ spreads, the field of ecclesiastical geography and statistics widens; and the modern missionary operations carry us into the most distant parts of the world.[1]

3. Ecclesiastical *Chronology*, *i. e.* the science of the various systems of chronology (ab urbe condita, aera Seleucidarum, aera Hispanica, aera Diocletiana, aera Dionysiana, &c.), and of determining the dates of ecclesiastical events.[2]

4. Ecclesiastical *Diplomatics* (diplomatica, ars diplomatica), *i.e.* the science of diplomas or documents, teaching the value, the criticism, and the right use of the different documentary instruments, such as bulls, breves, statutes, patents, &c. This department includes the special sciences of Palæography, the science of ancient writings and manuscripts of the Bible, church

[1] The best work in this department is the Handbuch der kirklichen Geographie und Statistik von den Zeiten der Apostel bis zum Anfang des 16ten Jahzhunderts, 2 vols. Berlin, 1846, by J. E. Th. Wiltsch, in connection with the same author's Atlas sacer sive ecclesiasticus, Gotha, 1843, fol. On the geography of Palestine in particular we have a number of excellent books and maps, among which those of Raumer, Ritter, and Robinson merit special praise.

[2] The general works on chronology, by Gatterer, Ideler, Brinkmaier, are mentioned in Gieseler's Ch. Hist. Int. § 3, note 7. A special work on ecclesiastical chronology is furnished by Piper: Kirchenrechnung. Berlin, 1841.

fathers, &c.; Sphragistics, the science of seals; Numismatics, of coins; Heraldics, of weapons.[1]

5. *General History* of the world. This is intimately connected, nay, interwoven with church history, and is indispensable to a clear view of it.[2] The church exists, not outside of the world and humanity, but in the midst of them. At every step it comes into contact, either friendly or hostile, with the manners, institutions, deeds, and fortunes of men. Without an acquaintance with Judaism and heathenism, and with the external and internal condition of humanity at the time of Christ's appearance on earth, we can form no adequate estimate of the position and importance of Christianity in the history of the world. In the first three centuries the church gives most striking exhibitions of her moral power in her victorious conflict with the Roman empire, and with heathen philosophy. During the Middle Ages the history of the papacy is interwoven throughout with the history of the German empire. The Reformation was not merely a religious, but also a political and social convulsion, particularly in France, Holland, England, and Scotland, and most of its champions and opponents figure in secular history as well as in ecclesiastical. Hence theological and secular writers are constantly meeting on this field, as may readily be observed in any of the histories of England—for instance, by Hume, Lingard, and Macaulay. Even in the United States, whose

[1] The science of diplomatics was started by the Belgian Jesuit, Daniel Papelroth, one of the principal authors of the Acta Sanctorum, in his Propylaeum antiquarium, A.D. 1675. This called forth the most important work on general diplomatics by the learned French Benedictine, Mabillon, De re diplomatica libri VI., in quibus quidquid ad veterum instrumentorum antiquitatem, materiam, scripturam et stilum, quidquid ad sigilla, monogrammata, subscriptiones ac notas chronologicas, quidquid inde ad antiquariam historicam forensemque disciplinam pertinet, explicatur et illustratur, etc. Par. 1681; then 1709: and, with additions by others, Naples, 1789. It is illustrated with more than two hundred documents, from the fifth century to the twelfth, and a great number of excellent impressions. Respecting the later diplomatic works of Montfaucon (Palæographia Græca, etc.), the Benedictines, Tassin and Tonstin (Mabillon's commentators), Gatterer, Schönemann, &c., the reader is referred to the comprehensive article "Diplomatik," in Ersch and Gruber's large Encyclopædia, Sec. i., part 25, p. 441, *et seq.*

[2] Universal history, in its widest sense, includes church history as its most important part, representing the deepest life of humanity (comp. § 3). Some modern writers still seem to have the childish notion, that history is simply an account of outward facts – kings, dynasties, wars, and bloodshed—as if the infinitely more important intellectual, moral, and religious life of humanity had no history at all!

church and state are separate, it is impossible to understand the religious life, without an insight into the national character, and the political and social condition of the country.

The special branches of church history correspond then more particularly to special departments of secular history. In the history of missions, a knowledge of the false religions of the respective nations will be of good service, to shew their contrast with Christianity. The history of church government and discipline frequently comes in contact with the history of politics. The history of theology and Christian doctrines and that of philosophy and general literature run parallel, and exert a reciprocal influence. The history of divine worship is intimately connected with the history of the fine arts; and in the Middle Ages, when architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and poetry, stood almost exclusively in the service of the church, the two nearly coincide.[1]

§ 16. *Method of writing Church History.*

We come now to consider the way of arranging and presenting the material of church history.

1. As to the *external* method, or the disposition of the matter, it is best to combine the two modes of dividing—by *time*, and by *subjects*. The *chronological* method, which has hitherto been in much favour, has its advantages, but is very external and mechanical, when carried out by itself, especially in the form of Annals. It degrades history to a mere chronicle, and interrupts the flow of events, so that things which should go together are sundered, and not unfrequently a heterogeneous mass is crowded into one section, because it belongs in one chronological division. This is the case, to some extent, even with the division into *centuries*, adopted by the Magdeburg centuriators, Mosheim and others. For though we may attribute to each century a peculiar spirit, yet the epochs of history by no means coincide with the beginnings and ends of centuries.[2]

[1] It is impossible here to enumerate even the most important works on general history, which have more or less bearing on church history. See Gieseler, Intr. § 3, note 1–6.

[2] Goethe also remarks, in his *Farbenlehre*, ii., 169:—"To divide a historical work according to centuries, has its inconveniences. With none are the events formally closed; man's life and activity reach from one into the other." Dr D. Welsh, of the Free Church of Scotland, in his *Elements of Ch. Hist.*, i. p. 475, calls the division of church

The apostolic period commences with the year 30; the age of Constantine, A.D. 311; that of Hildebrand, A.D. 1049; that of the Reformation, A.D. 1517. The divisions ought never to be arbitrarily made upon a preconceived scheme; they should grow out of the history itself. But it is equally inconvenient to arrange rigidly and exclusively by *subjects*, distributing the material under certain heads, as missions, doctrine, government, &c., and following out each single head, irrespective of the others, from the beginning to the present time. This would make history a number of independent, parallel lines. It would afford no view of the inward connection and mutual influence of the different departments—no complete general view of any one period.

In view of these disadvantages on either side, the best way will be so to combine the two methods, as to have the benefit of both. While we follow the course of time, we may make our division of it depend upon the character and succession of events, and pursue those things which naturally belong together to their relative goal, whether this goal coincide with the end of a year or century, or not. Thus, by dividing the entire history into periods, which correspond to the stages of the development itself, we meet the chronological demand; while, by arranging the material, within these periods, under particular sections or heads, as many as each period may need, we conform to the order of things.

2. The *internal* method of the historian is that of *genetic development*, *i. e.* the natural reproduction of the history itself, or the representation of it exactly as it has occurred. This method differs, on the one hand, from simple *narration*, which arranges facts and names in a mere outward juxtaposition, without rising to general views and a philosophical survey; and, on the other hand, from *a priori construction*, which adjusts the history to a preconceived scheme, and for the spirit of a past age substitutes that of the writer himself.[1] The historian must

history by centuries the most objectionable, the most arbitrary, and most calculated to destroy all historical interest, and to distract and perplex the mind. "It is as if we were to study the geology of a country, not by examining continuously the natural position of the strata, but by determining the spaces for observation by concentric circles at the distance of milestones."

[1] Against such historians the couplet of the poet holds good:—

"Was sie den Geist der Zeiten heissen,
Das ist der Herren *eigner* Geist."

give himself up entirely to his object; in the first place, accurately and conscientiously investigating the facts—then identifying himself in spirit with the different men and times, which have produced the facts—and then so presenting the facts, instinct with their proper spirit and life, that the whole process of development shall be repeated before the eyes of the reader, and the actors stand forth in living forms. History is neither all body, nor all soul, but an inseparable union of both; therefore both the body and the soul, the fact and the idea, in their mutual vital relation, must be recognised and brought into view. The older historians have done invaluable service in the accumulation of material, but their works lack generally the character of impartial criticism and living freedom. Historians of the modern school penetrate more to the marrow of history, discover the hidden springs of its life, and lay all open to our view. The two methods do not of necessity absolutely exclude each other, though they call for different kinds of talent; but each completes the other, and only by the intimate union of the two can the entire fulness of the history be presented.

Truth and fidelity are, therefore, the highest aim of the historian. As a fallible man, he can never indeed perfectly attain it; yet he is bound to keep it always before his eyes. He must divest himself of all prejudice—of all party interest, so as to present the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Not, as some have unreasonably demanded, that he should lay aside his own mental agency, his character, nay, even his religion, and become a mere *tabula rasa*. For, in the first place, this is an absolute impossibility. A man can know nothing without the exercise of his own thought and judgment; and it is plain, that those very persons who make the greatest boast of their philosophical freedom from all prepossession, as Strauss, for instance, in his notorious "Leben Jesu," are most under the dominion of preconceived opinions and principles, with which they seek to master history, instead of sitting as modest learners at her feet. Then again, the very first condition of all right knowledge is a pre-existing sympathy with the object to be known. He who would know truth, must himself stand in the truth; only the philosopher can understand philosophy; only the poet, poetry; only the pious man, religion. So also the

church historian, to do justice to his subject, must live and move in Christianity. And as Christianity is the centre of the world's life, and is truth itself, it throws the clearest light on all other history. Nor can it be said, that according to the same rule only a heathen can understand heathenism; only a Jew Judaism; only a rationalist, rationalism. For it is from above that we survey what is below, and not the reverse. It is only by means of truth that we can comprehend error; whereas error understands not even itself. *Verum index sui et falsi.* Paganism, as opposed to Christianity, is a false religion; and whatever of truth it may contain, such as its longing after redemption, is found complete in Christianity. The same is true of sects in their relation to the Biblical truth in the church. And as to Judaism, it is but a direct preparation for Christianity, which is its completion: and hence the Christian can obtain clearer views of Judaism than the Jew, just as the man is able to understand the child, while the child can have no proper apprehension of himself. Hence Augustine, with perfect propriety, says: "*Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet, Vetus in Novo patet.*

The object, then, after which the historian must always strive, though he may never, in this life, fully attain it, is truth itself, which can be found only in Christ. In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and he is the soul of church history. This truth is, at the same time, inseparable from justice; it allows no partiality, no violation of the *suum cuique.* Such impartiality, however, as springs from a self-denying, tender sensibility to truth, and from a spirit of comprehensive love to the Lord, and to all his followers, of whatever name, time, or nation, is totally different from that colourless neutrality and indifferentism, which treats all religions, churches, and sects, with equal interest, or rather want of interest, and is, in reality, a hidden enmity to the truth and moral earnestness of Christianity.

§ 17. *Division of Church History.*

The development of the church has various stadia, or stages, called *periods.* The close of one period and beginning of the next is an *epoch*, literally a stopping-place (ἐποχή). It marks the

entrance of a new principle; and an event or idea which forms an epoch is one which turns the course of history in a new direction. Such events were the first Christian Pentecost; the conversion of Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles; the destruction of Jerusalem; the union of church and state under Constantine; the rise of Gregory VII.; the posting of the ninety-five theses by Luther; Calvin's appearance in Geneva; the accession of Queen Elizabeth; the landing of the Puritan pilgrims at Plymouth; the appearance of Spener, Zinzendorf, Wesley; the outbreak of the French Revolution; the year 1848; &c. A period, then, is the circuit (*περίοδος*) between two epochs, or the time within which a new idea or view of the world, and a new series of events unfold themselves. Among periods themselves, again, we may distinguish greater and smaller. The larger periods may be called, for the sake of perspicuity, *ages*. A new age will commence, where the church, with a grand and momentous revolution, not only passes into an entirely new outward state, but also takes, in her inward development, a wholly different direction. Such an age then falls into several sections or smaller periods, each of which presents some particular aspect of the general principle which rules the age.

The whole history of the church, down to the present time, may be divided into three ages, and each age into three periods, as follows:—

FIRST AGE.

The ANCIENT, or the GRÆCO-LATIN (Eastern and Western) UNIVERSAL CHURCH, from its foundation on the day of Pentecost to Gregory the Great (A.D. 30–590); thus embracing the first six centuries.

First Period: The *Apostolic* church, from the first Christian Pentecost to the death of the apostles (A.D. 30–100).

Second Period: The *Persecuted* church (ecclesia pressa), to the reign of Constantine (311).

Third Period: The *established* church of the *Græco-Roman empire*, and amidst the barbarian storms, to Gregory the Great (590).

SECOND AGE.

The MEDIEVAL CHURCH, or the ROMANO-GERMANIC CATHOLICISM, from Gregory the Great to the Reformation (A.D. 590–1517).

Fourth Period: The *commencement* of the Middle Ages, the planting of the church among the Germanic nations, to the time of Hildebrand (1049).

Fifth Period: The *flourishing period* of the Middle Ages, the summit of the papacy, monachism, scholastic and mystic theology, to Boniface VIII. (1303).

Sixth Period: The *dissolution* of the Middle Ages, and *preparation for the Reformation*, to 1517.

THIRD AGE.

The MODERN, or EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT CHURCH, in conflict with the *Roman Catholic* Church, from the Reformation to the present time.

Seventh Period: The *Reformation*, or *productive* Protestantism and reacting Romanism (sixteenth century).

Eighth Period: Orthodox-confessional and *scholastic* Protestantism, in conflict with ultramontane Jesuitism, and this again with semi-protestant Jansenism (seventeenth century and first part of the eighteenth).

Ninth Period: Subjective and *negative* Protestantism (Rationalism and Sectarianism), and *positive preparation* for a new age in both churches, (from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present time).

This division differs somewhat from that of other historians. Neander, as well as nearly all modern writers, commences new epochs, it is true, with Constantine, Gregory the Great, Gregory VII., and Boniface VIII. But what forms, with us, the fourth period, and the transition from the Patristic to the Middle Age, he divides into two periods; the first extending from Gre-

gory the Great to Charlemagne, the second from Charlemagne to Gregory VII. (1073). These two sections, however, are so much alike in their general character, that such a division seems uncalled for. And besides, it occasions a great disproportion, in the amount of contents, between these periods and the others; as appears in the fact, that each of these two sections occupies but one volume (in the German edition), while each of the other periods, so far as the work extends, fills two large volumes. Gieseler makes four periods: (1.) from Christ to Constantine, the church under outward pressure; (2.) to the beginning of the image controversy (which, however, is hardly of sufficient importance to constitute an epoch), Christianity as the prevailing religion of the Roman empire; (3.) to the Reformation, the development of the papacy; (4.) the development of Protestantism. These periods he subdivides into a great many smaller sections; thus cutting up the whole too much, and making it very difficult to take a comprehensive survey. His lines of demarcation, moreover, are sometimes rather arbitrarily drawn. He dates new epochs, for instance, at the time of Adrian (117), and Septimus Severus (193), in the first period; at the council of Chalcedon (451), and the appearance of Mohammed (622), in the second; at the pseudo-Isodorian decretals (858), and the transfer of the papal see to Avignon (1305), in the third. Hase's division is more simple,—three ages, and in each age two periods; thus: (1.) *Ancient* church history, to the formation of the holy Roman empire of the German nation, (*a*) to Constantine, (*b*) to Charlemagne (800); (2.) *Medieval* church history, to the Reformation, (*a*) to Innocent III. (1216), (*b*) to the Reformation (1517); (3.) *Modern* church history, (*a*) to the treaty of Westphalia (1648), (*b*) to the present time. The last or sixth period he characterizes as a "struggle between ecclesiastical tradition and religious independence." Very similar to this is the scheme proposed, but not carried out, by the Roman Catholic theologian Möhler, in his Introduction to Church History.[1] He, too, distinguishes three ages, and in each age two periods, but differs somewhat in assigning their limits. He closes the first age with John of Damascus for the Greek church, and with Boniface, the apostle of Germany,

[1] Published from his literary remains by Döllinger, in Möhler's *Gesammelte Schriften und Aufsaätze*, 1839. Vol. ii., 277.

for the Latin; and the second, he continues only to the end of the fifteenth century. Constantine the Great, Gregory VII., and the end of the eighteenth century, mark his subdivisions. In modern church history he would, of course, make the development of the Roman Catholic church the basis of division; whereas the Protestant historian looks upon Protestantism as representing the main current of modern Christianity.

§ 18. *General Character of the Three Ages of Church History.*

Our division can be justified, in detail, only by the history itself. It may be proper here, however, in some degree, to verify the main division into three ages by a preliminary survey of their general character.

1. The *Ancient* church, from her foundation to the close of the sixth century, has her local theatre in the countries immediately around the Mediterranean Sea; viz., Western Asia (particularly Palestine and Asia Minor), Southern Europe (Greece, Italy, Southern Gaul), and Northern Africa (Egypt, Numidia, &c.) Thus was she planted in the very centre of the old world and its heathen culture. Emanating from the bosom of the Jewish nation, Christianity, even in the days of the apostles, incorporated itself into the Grecian and Roman nationality; and this national substratum reaches through the whole first age. Hence we have good reason to style this the age of the *Græco-Roman*, or, which is here the same thing, the *Eastern and Western Universal* church. For the Grecian mind, at that time, ruled not only in Greece Proper, but also in all the East, and in Egypt; nay, in such cities as Alexandria and Antioch it was, in its later character, even more active and vigorous, and therefore more important for church history, than in the mother country. Western Asia and Egypt, since the conquest of Alexander the Great, had lost their former character, and become Grecian in language and culture. Even the Jewish nationality, stiff as it was, could not withstand this foreign pressure; as the writings of Philo and Josephus abundantly prove. Hence the oldest Christian literature is predominantly Greek. So, on the other hand, the Roman mind held sway not only over Italy, but over the whole western portion of the empire.

Christianity, at first, had to sustain a mighty conflict with Judaism and heathenism; and with the latter, too, in its most cultivated and powerful form. Hence, together with the history of the spread of the church, an important place belongs also to the history of its persecution, partly by the Roman sword, and partly by Grecian science and art. But in this conflict, the church, by her moral power in life and in death, on the one hand, and by her new view of the world on the other, comes off triumphant. She appropriates the classic language and culture, fills them with Christian contents, and produces the imposing literature of the fathers, which has had a fertilizing influence on all subsequent periods. The Eastern or Greek church, as the main channel of the development, occupies the foreground. In this age she gives birth to her greatest heroes, as Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius and Chrysostom. At this time she displays her highest power, and unfolds her fairest blossoms, especially in the field of theology proper. With great depth of speculation and dialectic skill, she establishes the fundamental doctrines of the divinity of Christ and the Holy Ghost, and of the Trinity; whence her complacency in the title of the *orthodox* church. The Latin church, also, enters the field, but moves more slowly and steadily, and exhibits a more practical spirit; bearing the impress of the old Roman national character, as distinct from the scientific and artistic turn of the Greek genius. For theology and general culture she, at first, depends altogether on the Greek church; but in government and religious life she pursues a path of her own. It is a remarkable fact, that the Romanized Punic nationality comes into view before the Roman proper. The North-African church, in the second period and part of the third, displays far more activity than the Italian. Through Tertullian she lays the foundation for a Latin theology. Through Cyprian she takes a prominent part in the development of the episcopal hierarchy. And finally, in St Augustine, she furnishes the most pious, profound, and spirited of all the fathers; one who took the lead in the doctrinal controversies of his time; directed theological investigation in the most important practical questions, in anthropology, and the doctrines of sin and grace; and, by his writings, exerted the greatest influence upon the

whole Middle Age, and even upon the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

This first age forms, in dogma, polity, and worship, the foundation for all subsequent centuries; the common ground, out of which the main branches of the church have since sprung. In this age, too, the church presents, even outwardly and visibly, an imposing unity, joined, at the same time, with great freedom and diversity; and she commands our admiration by her power to overcome, with the moral heroism of martyrdom and with the weapons of the Spirit and the truth, not only Judaism and Paganism without, but also the most dangerous errors and schisms within.

2. The church of the *Middle Ages*, though, in one view, the product and legitimate succession of the primitive church, is yet, both externally and internally, very different. In the first place, the territorial field changes. It moves west and north into the heart of Europe, to Italy, Spain, France, Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, Russia. The one universal church splits into two great halves. The Eastern church, separated from the Western, gradually loses her vitality; a part of it stiffening into dead formalism; a part yielding to a new enemy from without, Mohammedanism, before which also the North-African church, after having first been conquered by the Arian Vandals at the death of Augustine (A.D. 430), is forced to give way. This loss in the East, however, is amply compensated by a gain in the West. The Latin church receives into her bosom an entirely new national element, barbarian, indeed, at first, but possessed of most valuable endowments and vast native force. The *Germanic* hordes, pouring from the north like a flood upon the rotten empire of Rome, ruthlessly destroy her political institutions and literary treasures, but, at the same time, found upon the ruins a succession of new states full of energy and promise. The church rescues from the rubbish the Roman language and the remains of ancient culture, together with her own literature; from Rome as her centre she Christianizes and civilizes these rude tribes; and thus brings on the Middle Ages, in which the pope represents the supreme spiritual power; the German emperor, the highest temporal; and the church rules all social relations and popular movements of the West. This is, therefore, the age of

Romano-Germanic Catholicism. Here we meet the colossal phenomena of the papacy, in league or conflict with the German imperial power; the monastic orders, the scholastic and mystic divinity, the Gothic architecture and other arts, vying with each other in adorning the worship of the church.

But in this activity the church gradually loses sight of her apostolical foundation, and becomes, like Judaism in the hands of the Pharisees, encumbered with all sorts of human additions and impurities, which made "the word of God of none effect" (Mark vii. 13). The papacy becomes an intellectual and spiritual despotism; the school divinity degenerates into empty forms and useless subtleties; and the whole religious life assumes a legal, Pelagian character, in which outward good works are substituted for an inward living faith in the only Saviour. Against this oppression of the hierarchy with its human ordinances, the deeper life of the church, the spirit of evangelical freedom, reacts.

3. Thus, after due preparation, not only outside of the mediæval Catholicism, but still more, in its very bosom, comes the *Reformation* of the sixteenth century, which gives the stream of church history an entirely different direction, and opens a new age, in the progress of which we ourselves have our place. The *Modern* church has its birthplace in *Germany* and *Switzerland*, where the Reformation broke out in two simultaneous movements, and was inwardly matured. This gives it, in a national point of view, a predominantly Germanic character. It spreads, however, with rapid triumph, into the Scandinavian North, into France, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and finally, by emigration, into North America. And this latter country, gradually rising into view from the beginning of the seventeenth century, filling up with both the good and the evil of the old world, particularly of Great Britain and Germany, and representing, in unbounded freedom and endless diversity, the various tendencies of Protestantism, together with the renovated life of Roman Catholicism, promises to become even the main theatre of the church history of the future.

As, in the second age, the Greek and Latin churches fell asunder; so, in the beginning of the third age, the Latin church itself divides into the Roman and the Protestant, the latter separating again into the Lutheran and Reformed branches. As, in

the Middle Ages, the Roman Catholic church was the spring of all great movements, while the Greek church, which now, indeed, seems to have a new future before her in the vast empire of Russia, had stagnated at an earlier stage; so Protestantism is plainly the centre of life for modern history. The Roman church herself, though numerically the stronger branch, owes her activity mainly to the impulse she receives, directly or indirectly, from the Protestant. This third grand division of the history may, therefore, be fitly termed, as to its leading characteristic, the age of the *Evangelical Protestant* church.

§ 19. *Character of the Three Ages, continued.*

The most general mutual relation and difference of these three ages may be best described by means of the comprehensive philosophical distinction of *objectivity* and *subjectivity*.

The first age presents the *immediate union of objectivity* and *subjectivity;* that is, the two great moral principles, on which the individual human life, as well as all history, turns, the *authority* of the general and the *freedom* of the individual, appear tolerably balanced, but still only in their first stage, without any clear definition of their relative limits. In the primitive church we meet a highly productive activity and diversity of Christian life and Christian science, and a multitude of deformities, also, of dangerous heresies and divisions. But over all these individual and national tendencies, views, and characters, the mind of the universal church holds sway, separating the false element with infallible instinct, and, in ecumenical councils, settling doctrines and promulgating ecclesiastical laws, to which individual Christians and nations submit. The prevailing tendency of this early Christianity, however, in doctrine, government, worship, and practical piety, is essentially Catholic, and prepares the way for that system, which reached its full proportions in the Middle Ages.

Afterwards these two principles of objectivity and subjectivity, the outward and the inward, the general and the individual, authority and freedom, appear, each in turn, in disproportionate prominence. And in the nature of the case, the principle of *objectivity* first prevails. In the Catholic church of the Middle Ages Christianity appears chiefly as law, as a pedagogical insti-

tution, a power from without, controlling the whole life of nations and individuals. Hence this may be termed the age of *Christian legalism*, of *church authority*. Personal freedom is here, to a great extent, lost in slavish subjection to fixed, traditional rules and forms. The individual subject is of account, only as the organ and medium of the general spirit of the church. All secular powers, the state, science, art, are under the guardianship of the hierarchy, and must everywhere serve its ends. This is emphatically the era of grand universal enterprises, of colossal works, whose completion required the co-operation of nations and centuries; the age of the supreme outward sovereignty of the visible church. Such a well ordered and imposing system of authority was necessary for the training of the Romanic and Germanic nations, to raise them from barbarism to the consciousness and rational use of freedom. Parental discipline must precede independence; children must first be governed, before they can govern themselves; the law is still, as in the days of Moses, a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ. This consciousness of independence awoke, even before the close of the Middle Ages. The more the dominion of Rome degenerated from a patriarchal government into a tyranny over conscience and all free thought, the more powerfully was the national and subjective spirit roused to shake off the ignominious yoke.

All this agitation of awakened freedom was at last concentrated in a decisive historical movement, and assumed a positive, religious character in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Here begins the age of *subjectivity* and *individuality*;—a name which may be given it both in praise and in censure. It is the characteristic feature of Protestantism, and its great merit, that it views religion as a *personal* concern, which every man, as an individual, and for himself, has to settle with God and with his own conscience. It breaks down the walls of partition between Christ and the believer, and teaches every one to go to the fountain of the Divine Word, without the medium of human traditions, and to converse, not through interceding saints and priests, but directly, with his Saviour, individually appropriating Christ's merit by a living faith, and rejoicing in his own personal salvation, while he ascribes all the glory of it to the Divine mercy alone. Evangelical Protestantism, in its genuine form, moves throughout in

the element of that freedom into which Christ has brought us, and naturally calls forth vast individual activity in literary culture, social improvement, and practical piety. What Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, Scotland, and the United States have accomplished during the last three centuries in religion, literature, and politics, is all more or less connected with the memorable Reformation of the sixteenth century. We ourselves are all involved in its development. Our present Protestant theology and piety breathe in its atmosphere. The Puritanism of the seventeenth century, the Pietism and Methodism of the eighteenth, and most of the religious movements of our day, are but continued vibrations of the Reformation; essentially the same Protestant principle of religious subjectivity, variously modified and applied.

But, on the other hand, what thus constitutes the strength of Protestantism, may be called also its weakness. Every right principle is liable to abuse. Every truth may be caricatured, and turned into dangerous error, by being carried to an extreme, and placed in a hostile attitude towards other truths equally important and necessary. Thus, together with its evangelical religious life, the Protestant movement includes also revolutionary and destructive elements, and dangerous tendencies to licentiousness and dissolution in church and state. True, the Reformers themselves aimed to free the Christian world only from the oppressive authority of human ordinances, and not by any means from the authority of God. On the contrary, they sought to make reason obedient to the word of God, and the natural will subject to His grace. They wanted no licentiousness, but a freedom pervaded by faith, and ruled by the Holy Scriptures. Nay, so many churchly and Catholic elements did they retain, that much of our present Protestantism must be considered an apostasy from the position of Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin. But as history, by reason of human sinfulness, which is always attended with error, proceeds only by opposites and extremes, the Protestant subjectivity gradually degenerated, to a fearful extent, into the corresponding extreme of division, arbitrary judgment, and contempt for every sort of authority. This has been the case, especially since the middle of the last century, theoretically in *Rationalism*, practically in *Sectarianism*.

Rationalism has grown, indeed, into a learned and scientific system, chiefly among the Germans, a predominantly theoretic and thinking people, and in the Lutheran church, which has been styled the church of theologians. But in substance it exists also in other European countries, and in North America, under various forms, as Arminianism, Deism, Unitarianism, Universalism, Indifferentism, and downright infidelity; and it infects, to some extent, the theology even of the orthodox denominations. It places private judgment, as is well known, not only above the pope and the church, but also above the Bible itself, receiving only so much of the word of God as can be grasped by the natural understanding or reason (*ratio*, whence *rationalism*).

The system of sect and denomination has sprung more from the bosom of the Reformed church, the church of congregational life, and owes its form to the practical English character, which has a tendency to organize every new principle into a party, and to substitute sects for mere schools. In North America, under the banner of full religious freedom, it has reached its height; but in its essence it belongs properly to Protestant Christianity as a whole. All our Protestantism is sadly wanting in unity, at least in outward, visible unity, which is as necessary a fruit of inward unity as works are of faith. The sects, indeed, do not commonly reject the Bible. On the contrary, they stiffly adhere to it, in their own way. But they rely on it in opposition to all history, and in the conceit that they alone are in possession of its true sense. Thus their appealing to the Bible, after all, practically amounts in the end to rationalism; since, by the Bible, they always mean *their own sense* of it, and thus, in fact, follow merely their private judgment.

Finally, the principle of false subjectivity reveals itself in the fact, that since the Reformation the various departments of the world's activity, science, art, politics, and social life, have gradually separated from the church, and pursue their own independent course. In this wide-spread rationalism, in this frittering of the church into innumerable party interests, and in her consequent weakness in relation to all the spheres of human life, and especially in relation to the state, we see the operation of a bad, diseased subjectivity, which forms just the opposite pole

to the stiff, petrified, and burdensome objectivity of degenerate Catholicism.

But against these evils the deeper life of the church, which can never be extinguished, again reacts. In opposition to Rationalism there arises victoriously a new evangelical theology, which aims to satisfy the demands of science as well as of faith. And, on the other hand, against the sect system there comes up a more and more painful sense of its evils, which calls forth a longing for church union. This practical want presses the question of the nature and form of the church prominently into the foreground. The deeper, though by no means the prevailing and popular tendency of the time is thus towards objectivity; not, indeed, towards that of the Middle Ages, or even of the Romanism of our day,—for history can no more flow backwards, than a stream up hill,—but to an objectivity enriched with all the experience and diversified energies of the age of subjectivity to a *higher union of Protestantism and Catholicism* in their pure forms, freed from their respective errors and infirmities. These yearnings of the present, when properly matured, will doubtless issue in a reformation far more glorious than any the church has yet seen. And then will open a new age, in which human activity, in all its branches, shall freely come back into league with the church; science and art join to glorify the name of God; and all nations and dominions, according to the word of prophecy, be given to the saints of the Most High.

We may find a parallel to this development of the Christian church in the history of the Jewish theocracy, which is everywhere typical of the experience of Christ's people. The age of the Primitive church corresponds to the Patriarchal age, which already contained in embryo the two succeeding periods. Mediæval Catholicism may be compared to the Mosaic period, when law and authority, and the organization of the Jewish commonwealth, were fully developed. And the Modern, or Evangelical Protestant church is not without resemblance to the age of the Old Testament prophets, in whom the evangelical element, the Messianic hope, predominated, and who stood, to a certain extent, in a hostile attitude towards the unfaithful hierarchy, and towards the dead formalism and ceremonialism of the people. Law and prophecy, the two poles of the Old Testament religion,

after having been separately developed, appeared at last united, and, as it were, incarnate, in the person of John the Baptist, immediately before the first advent of Christ. Perhaps in this point, also, the analogy will hold; and then we might indulge the hope that a union, or at least a friendly approach of the two greatest principles of church history, and of the pious portions of the two most hostile sections of Christendom, will precede the second coming of our Lord, and the perfection of His kingdom, when there shall be one fold and one shepherd. Such private speculations, however, must not be too much trusted, and by no means permitted to influence the representation of facts. Philosophy, instead of presuming to dictate the course of history, and to accommodate it to a preconceived theory, must be made to depend upon it, and must draw her wisdom from its teachings.

§ 20. *Uses of Church History.*

1. It is in the knowledge of her history, that the church has a sense of her own development; and this knowledge, therefore, has an *intrinsic* value. On this we must lay stress, in opposition to a contracted utilitarian view, in which church history is cultivated only for certain party interests, and thus degraded to a mere tool for temporary purposes. The present is the result of the past, and cannot possibly be fully understood without a thorough knowledge of the past. The church cannot properly comprehend herself, without a clear view of her origin and growth. Her past deeds, sufferings, and fortunes, belong to the substance of her life. They are constituent elements of her being, which require the gradual course of time for its evolution. We wait no outward impulse to engage our interest in the history of the kingdom of God. Faith itself, in its nature, prompts every one to this investigation, according to his inward calling and outward opportunity. Continually striving after a clearer apprehension of its object, it takes the deepest interest in the ways of God, the words and deeds of His servants, the innumerable witnesses of the past. If man, as man, according to the old saying, *homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto*, is prompted and bound to take an interest in everything properly human; the Christian, also, as a Christian, should cultivate the liveliest sympathy with the deeds and fortunes of all his brethren in the faith,

with whom he is joined in one body. Theology, apprehended and cultivated in the right spirit, is in no department a mere theoretical matter, but Divine worship. Church history, therefore, deserves to be studied for its own sake, as an essential part of that knowledge of the Triune God, which is life eternal (John xvii. 3).

From this high, intrinsic, and abiding worth of church history arise its practical utility and necessity for particular purposes and callings, especially for the teachers and leaders of the Christian community. This science, like all human knowledge and action, should be made subservient to the glory of God, and the advancement of his kingdom.

2. Thus the knowledge of church history is also one of the most powerful *helps to successful action in the service of the kingdom of God.* The present is not only the product of the past, but the fertile soil of the future, which he who would cultivate must understand. But the present can be thoroughly understood only by an accurate acquaintance with the past. No one, for example, is prepared to govern a state *well*, and to advance its interests, who has not made himself familiar with its wants and its history. Ignorance can produce but a bungling work, which must soon again fall to pieces. History is, next to the Word of God, the richest source of wisdom and experience. Her treasures are inexhaustible. Whence the ephemeral character of so many productions in church and in state? Their authors were ignorant and regardless of history. That tree only defies the storm whose roots strike deep. And that work only can stand which is built on the solid foundation of the past.

3. Again, church history is the best and most complete *defence of Christianity*, and is therefore pre-eminently fitted to strengthen faith, and to minister abundant comfort and edification. It is a continuous commentary on the promise of our Lord: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." The Saviour moves along, with the fulness of his grace, through the centuries of Christianity, revealing Himself in the most diverse personalities, and making them organs of his Spirit, his will, his truth, and his peace. The apostles and martyrs, the apologists and church fathers, the schoolmen and mystics, the reformers, and all those countless witnesses whose names are

indelibly traced on the pages of church history, form one choir, sending up an eternal anthem of praise to the Redeemer, and most emphatically declaring, that the Gospel is no fable, no fancy, but power and life, peace and joy, in short, all that man can wish of good or glory. Such examples, bearing the actual impress of the life of the God-man, and, as it were, embodying Christ, speak far more forcibly than any intellectual demonstration or abstract theory.

So, also, church history furnishes the strongest evidence of the indestructibility of Christianity. To the words of our Lord: "On this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," every century responds, Yea! and Amen! There is no power on or under the earth which has not sworn hostility to the band of the redeemed, and done its utmost to annihilate the infant community. But the church has vanquished them all. Stiff-necked and blinded Judaism laid its hand upon the Anointed of the Lord and his servants. But the Saviour has risen from the dead; his followers have beheld with adoration his wonderful judgments upon Jerusalem; the chosen people are scattered, without a shepherd, and without a sanctuary, through all nations and times, a perpetual living witness to the truth of the Divine threatenings; and "this generation shall not pass away" till the Lord come again in his glory. Greece applied all her art and philosophy to confute the doctrine of the cross, and make it ridiculous in the eyes of the cultivated world. But her wisdom was turned into foolishness, or made a bridge to Christianity. Rome, proud mistress of the world, devised the most inhuman torments to torture Christians to death, and root out their name from the earth. But tender virgins faced eternity more firmly than tried soldiers or Stoic philosophers; and after two centuries of the most bloody persecution, lo! the Roman emperor himself casts his crown at the feet of the despised Nazarene, and receives baptism in His name. The crescent of Islam thought to outshine the sun of Christianity, and moved, blood-red, along the horizon of the Eastern and African churches, passing over even into Spain and France. But the messengers of the Lord have driven back the false prophet, and his kingdom is now a mouldering corpse. Heresies and schisms of all sorts arose in the bosom of the

church itself, even in its earliest history, and seemed for a long time to have displaced the pure doctrine of the Gospel. But the truth has always broken for itself a new path, and forced the hosts of error to submission. The Middle Ages loaded the simple doctrine of salvation with so many human additions, that it could scarcely be decerned, and was made almost "of none effect" (Mark vii. 13). But the inward energy of the church powerfully worked its way through the superincumbent mass—placed the candle of the pure word again on its candlestick—and set conscience free from the fetters of the hierarchy. Deists, materialists, and atheists, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, poured contempt upon the Bible; nay, the heroes of the French Revolution, in their mad fanaticism, even set aside the God of Christians, and, in the midst of scenes of the most frightful cruelty, placed the goddess of Reason on the throne of the world. But they soon had to undo their own folly. The Lord in heaven laughed, and had them in derision. Napoleon, the greatest potentate and captain of modern times, proposed to substitute for the universal dominion of Christianity the universal dominion of his own sword, and to degrade the church into an instrument for his own political ends. But the Lord of the Church hurled him from his throne; and the giant, who had thrown all Europe out of joint, must die of a broken heart—a prisoner on a lonely rock of the ocean. In the bosom of Protestantism has arisen, within the last and present century, a Rationalism, which, wielding all the powers of learning and philosophy, has gradually advanced to the denial of a personal God, and of immortality, and has turned the history of the Saviour into a book of myths. But it has been promptly met by a believing theology, which has triumphantly driven its objections from the field, while division has broken out in the camp of the enemy itself, and one system of unbelief is found actively refuting another. Indifferentism and spiritual death have spread, in the train of Rationalism, over whole sections of the church. But the Christian life already celebrates its own resurrection. Banished from one land, it flourishes with fresh vigour in another, and pushes its activity even to the uttermost parts of the heathen world. The mightiest empires, the most perfect systems of human wisdom, have perished; while the

simple faith of the Galilean fishermen shews itself to-day as powerful as ever—regenerating the most hardened sinners—imparting strength to do good, joy in affliction, and triumph in death. The Lord of Hosts has ever been a wall round about his Zion. The gates of hell, through eighteen centuries, have not prevailed against the church; as little will they prevail against her in time to come. To have weathered so many storms, coming forth only purer and stronger from them all, she must indeed be made of indestructible material. Church history, studied with a truth-loving spirit, places this beyond a doubt. It is, therefore, next to the Word of God, the richest and most edifying book of devotion, forbidding despair, even when thick darkness rests upon the present, and the walls of Zion are beset with foes.

4. Finally, church history, in proportion as it strengthens our faith in the Divine origin and indestructible nature of Christianity, must also exert a wholesome *moral influence* on our character and conduct, and thus prove a help to *practical piety*. It is morality in the form of facts—Divine philosophy taught by examples—a preaching of Christ and his Gospel from the annals of his kingdom.[1] Its shining examples of godly men powerfully challenge our imitation; that we, like them, may consecrate our thought and life to the honour of the Lord and the welfare of man, and may leave a lasting, hallowed influence behind us when we die. The study of history is especially fitted to free our minds from all prejudice, narrowness, party and sectarian feeling, and to fill us with a truly catholic spirit; with that love which joyfully accords due praise to the most diverse forms of the Christian life, adores the wonderful wisdom of the heavenly gardener in the variegated splendour of the garden of the Lord, and feels itself vitally united with the pious of all

[1] Luther strikingly says; "There is a rare value in histories; for all that philosophy, wise men, and universal reason can teach or devise, which is profitable for an honourable life, history forcibly presents by examples in actual fact, and sets immediately before the eyes, as though we were by, and saw it acted. And if we look at it deeply, almost all rights, art, good counsel, warning, threatening, terror, consolation, strength, instruction, providence, prudence, together with all virtues, gush forth from histories and annals, as from a living fountain. In this view, histories are but the advertisement, memorial, and token of the work and judgment of God—of the way in which he upholds, governs, hinders, advances, punishes, and rewards the world, and especially men, as each may deserve, be it evil or good."

ages and nations; with that love, which must be poured out copiously upon the church, before her present mournful divisions can be healed, the precious promise of one fold and one shepherd be accomplished, and the prayer of our great High Priest be fulfilled: "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

Here, of course, all depends on the spirit in which church history is studied. Like every other science, and like the Bible itself, it may be, and often has been, scandalously perverted to the service of bad ends. This will sufficiently appear from the history of our science, to which we shall devote the last chapter of the General Introduction.[1]

[1] On the subject of this section, compare the third division of my tract: *What is Church History?* p. 114, *et seq.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRINCIPAL WORKS ON CHURCH HISTORY, OR THE PROGRESS OF CHURCH HISTORY AS A SCIENCE.

§ 21. *Progress of Church Historiography.*

CHURCH historiography, like every other branch of science, has its history, in which its true object and proper method are continually coming more and more clearly to view. At first it existed merely as a collection of material. The next step was the addition of critical research and discrimination. Then came the pragmatic elucidation and combination of events, shewing the nexus of cause and effect. And finally, the scientific mastery, artistic construction, and organic reproduction of the objective history itself. We shall not fatigue the reader with a dry catalogue of books, but confine ourselves to an account of the leading works, paying particular attention to the peculiar lights in which the different historians, especially since the Reformation, view church history, and the method they pursue; and to the progress of church history as a science.[1] We may divide the historians into three classes: (1.) The *old Catholic* church historians, from Eusebius to the Reformation; (2.) *Roman Catholic* historians since the split of the Latin church; (3.) *Protestant* historians, who again branch into various schools, particularly in Germany, reflecting, as in a mirror, the different theological phases through which Protestantism has passed.

I. CHURCH HISTORIANS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

§ 22. *The Patristic Period.*

The old Catholic historians belong partly to the *Patristic*

[1] The same subject is treated on a somewhat different plan in the tract: *What is Church History? A Vindication of the Idea of Historical Development*, p. 41-80.

period, or the first six centuries; partly to the *Middle Ages*. In the Patristic period we must again distinguish the *Greek* fathers and the *Latin*.

1. As in all other departments of theology, so also in church history, the *Greek* church leads the way. Leaving out of view the Acts of the Apostles by ST LUKE, which belong to the canonical literature of the New Testament, and the five books of Ecclesiastical Memoirs by HEGESIPPUS, a Jewish Christian writer of the second century (150), of which only a few fragments have been preserved, the title "father of church history," belongs undoubtedly to the learned, candid, and moderate EUSEBIUS (†340), bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine; in the same sense in which Herodotus is called the father of profane history.[1] In his *Church History*, which reaches, in ten books, from the Incarnation to the year 324, he has made faithful use of the libraries of his friend Pamphilus of Cæsarea, and of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem; of the canonical and apocryphal writings; of the works of the apostolic fathers (the immediate disciples of the apostles), the apologists, and the oldest church writers, including many valuable documents, which have since been lost.[2] His *Biography of Constantine the Great* is not so trust-worthy. He was too much blinded by the favour which this emperor shewed to the church, not to sacrifice the character of the historian frequently to that of the panegyrist. His *Chronicle* gives a short account of general history from the beginning of the world to Constantine the Great, with chronological tables. For a long time it was only partly known, through the free translation of Jerome; until found, in the year 1792, in a complete Armenian copy, and published in Latin and Greek by Angelo Mai (Rome, 1833), and others. The historical works of Eusebius are chiefly valuable for their material and antiquity, and for the interesting position of the writer, who lived while persecution was still raging, and also witnessed the great change caused by Constantine's conversion. As regards style and method, he is far surpassed by the classical historians of Greece and Rome. His mild disposition, love of peace, and aversion to

[1] Comp. the Dissertation of Dr Baur: *Comparatur Eusebius Cæs. Historiæ ecclesiasticæ parens cum parente historiarum Herodoto Halic.* Tübing. 1834.

[2] A detailed account of his sources, sixty in number, is given by Flügge: *Versuch einer Geschichte der theolog. Wissenchaften.* Halle, 1797. Part ii. p. 321, *et seq.*

doctrinal controversies and exclusive formulas of orthodoxy, have brought upon him the suspicion of having favoured the Arian or Semiarian heresy, but without sufficient foundation. It is certain that he signed the symbol of Nice, and at least substantially agreed to it; though for himself he preferred the looser terminology of his favourite, Origen, concerning the divinity of Christ.

The work of Eusebius was continued in the fifth century, first, by two jurists of Constantinople; SOCRATES, who brought down the history, in seven books, from the accession of Constantine (306), to the year 439, in unpretending, often careless style, but without prejudice, and with greater critical tact than Eusebius; and HERMIAS SOZOMENUS, a Palestinian, whose nine books embrace the same period (323–423), but have more regard to monasticism, of which he was an enthusiastic admirer. Then comes THEODORET, bishop of Cyrus in Mesopotamia, who wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* in five books (covering the period 325–429), about the year 450, and excels both the last named authors, and even Eusebius, in style, spirit, and richness of matter. In his *Lives of Thirty Hermits* (φιλόθεος ἱστορία), however, he relates sometimes the most wonderful things respecting his heroes, without leaving the least room for doubt. His *Fabulæ Hæreticæ* are valuable for doctrine history.

Besides these Catholic authors, there was also PHILOSTORGIUS, who wrote in the interest of Arianism; but of his twelve books (reaching from 318 to 425), we possess only extracts in the Bibliotheca of Photius.

In the sixth century we have THEODORUS of Constantinople, who continued the history to the year 518; and the Syrian lawyer, EVAGRIUS of Antioch, who brought it down to 594. Photius extols this latter author, as more orthodox than all his predecessors.[1]

All these historians, except the heretical Philostorgius, view the history from essentially the same position, and follow the same general method. Where one breaks off, another commences, and continues the narrative in the same spirit. Their

[1] All these seven historians have been published together, in Greek and Latin, with notes, by Valesius (du Valois), in three volumes folio (Par. 1659–73, also Amstelod. 1695, and Cantabr. 1720). A spirited, but one-sided review of the Greek historians may be found in Dr Baur's *Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung*. Tübing. 1852, p. 7, *et seq.*

works all have an apologetical character, bearing the marks of the struggle of the youthful church against prevailing Judaism and heathenism, and reflecting the moral glory of martyrdom.

The later Greek church, whose general course, since its separation from the Latin, may be styled a progressive stagnation, has done but little for our science. In the fourteenth century, NICEPHORUS CALLISTI (son of Callistus), a monk of Constantinople (about 1333), compiled from the older historians a new church history, in twenty-three books; but only eighteen of them (to A.D. 610), are preserved in a single manuscript of the Vienna library, and edited by Ducæus (le Duc), Par. 1630. From the close connection between church and state in the Byzantine empire, however, all the so-called SCRIPTORES BYZANTINI, from the seventh century to the fifteenth, may also be considered as in part belonging to the literature of church history.[1]

2. The *Latin* church historians were wholly dependent on Greek models. RUFINUS, presbyter of Aquileia (†410), translated the church history of Eusebius, and added two books, extending it to the death of Theodosius the Great, A.D. 395. The learned JEROME (†419) furnished very valuable material for the biography of the early ecclesiastical writers, in his *Catalogus virorum illustrium sive scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, which was afterwards continued by the Gallic presbyter, GENNADIUS (†490), and the Spanish bishop, ISIDOR OF SEVILLA (†636), SULPICIUS SEVERUS, a presbyter of Gaul († about 420) wrote, in good Latin, a *Historia Sacra*, from the creation of the world to A.D. 400; but it scarcely merits the name of a history. Of still less account are the *Seven Books of History against the Heathens*, by the Spanish presbyter, PAULUS OROSIUS, of the fifth century. CASSIODORUS, consul and monk, († about 562), towards the close of his life, from the works of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, which were translated for him into Latin by his friend Epiphanius Scholasticus, compiled his *Historia tripartita*, in twelve books; and this extract served the Latin church as a manual through the whole Middle Age.

[1] Historiæ byzant. scriptores. Par. 42 t. fol. 1645–1711. Corpus scriptor. hist. byz. consilio Niebuhrii. Bonnæ. 1828, *et seq.* They include the Chronicon paschale, the works of Syncellus, Theophanes, Nicephorus, Metaphrastes, Zonaras, Leo Diaconus, Acropolita, Pachymeres, and others.

§ 23. *Historians of the Middle Ages.*

The Middle Ages furnished no independent works of general church history. The *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ* of HAYMO, bishop of Halberstadt (†853), in ten books, is a mere extract from Rufinus' translation of Eusebius; and the *Historia ecclesiastica, sive chronographia tripartita*, of the Roman presbyter and librarian ANASTASIUS († about 886), is in part a translation of the Chronography of Nicephorus, and in part an extract from the works of Syncellus and Theophanes. We have, on the other hand, in this period a multitude of chronicles, biographies of saints, histories of single convents and monastic orders, and of distinguished popes and bishops, which are mostly indeed simple, often uncritical narrations, but full of valuable material. Then, again, there are histories of the churches of particular nations; the history of *the Gallic Church*, for instance, by GREGORY OF TOURS (†595), to the year 591; of the *Old British and Anglo-Saxon Church*, by the VENERABLE BEDE (†735), to the year 731; the four books of the canon, ADAM OF BREMEN, on *the Period from Charlemagne to the year* 1076, which give important information respecting the spread of Christianity among the Saxons and in Scandinavia, especially respecting the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen.

Most of the historians and annalists of the Middle Ages were monks, whose literary labours and missionary zeal give them, in other respects, a prominent place in the history of European civilization.

The revival of classical studies in the fifteenth century aroused here and there the spirit of critical research. An example of this we have in the Roman canon LAURENTIUS VALLA (†1457), who ventured to prove[1] the utter groundlessness of Constantine's donation to Pope Sylvester, and also attacked the traditional opinion that the apostles each composed a part of the Apostles' Creed. Such bold attempts at historical criticism and free investigation, were, however, though unconsciously, forerunners of the Reformation.

All these works of the time before the Reformation, invaluable as they are in their way, exhibit but the infancy or child-

[1] In his book, *De falso credita et ementita donatione Constantini M.*

hood of our science. The church was engaged more in making history than in writing it. She had not yet begun to reflect, in an independent manner, on her own existence, her origin, her development. She was so firmly convinced of her divine character, that she left no room for scepticism or doubt. She enjoyed her wonderful legends in childlike faith and superstition, as though they were all pure historical realities. The old and the new, the distant and the near, poetry and truth, she combined, without discrimination, in one grand structure, which is itself, however, one of the most imposing creations of history, and a most worthy subject of historical research and representation. In a word, the power of tradition was yet unshaken. This occasioned an almost entire want of the spirit of free inquiry, and of genuine scientific method. The whole conception of what constitutes history was imperfect. It properly embraced only facts, the outward activity of the spirit. Doctrine history, in any proper sense, was wholly excluded, as implying that the doctrine of the church itself passes through a living process of development. The only form in which this most important branch of historical theology existed, and made its first appearance, was that of the history of *heresies;* as may be seen in the principal works of ecclesiastical antiquity on this subject, by EPIPHANIUS[1] and THEODORET.[2]

II. ROMAN CATHOLIC HISTORIANS SINCE THE REFORMATION.

§ 24. *General Character of Roman Catholic Historiography.*

From the old Catholic historians we pass directly to those of the *Roman Catholic* church since the Reformation, as in spirit and tendency most nearly related to the former. In these, also, the idea of development is wanting, and with it all free, unbiassed criticism. Their position is determined for them beforehand. It is that of *fixed orthodoxy* and *exclusive churchliness.* Their doctrine of the infallible authority of the papacy cramps inquiry in every direction; and, since they conceive of the church as identical with the Roman church, they look upon

[1] In his Πανάριον, or *Laboratory,* written about A.D. 374, against eighty heresies; where the intolerant zeal of a fanatical orthodoxy reaches its height.

[2] *Fabulæ Hæreticæ.*

every deviation from it as apostacy and corruption, as damnable heresy and schism. They cannot, therefore, be expected to do justice to non-Catholic and anti-Romanist movements. This exclusiveness comes out most harshly in the treatment of the last three centuries, which, it is plain, have been chiefly ruled by the spirit of the Reformation. The purely historical character of their works is here impaired by apologetic interest for the papacy, and polemic zeal against everything Protestant. The constant effort is, to trace back the Roman doctrines and institutions into the earliest antiquity, and to claim for them, if possible, apostolic authority; and this, of course, involves often the greatest violence to history. Yet among the Roman Catholic historians there is no lack of extensive learning. In what concerns their own church, they have gone into the most ingenious and profound investigations, under the very impulse, mainly, of Protestant opposition; and in general they have done our science much meritorious service, especially by laborious antiquarian research and collections, and by critical editions of the fathers, decrees of councils, papal bulls, and other valuable sources of church history. And then, too, they could not fail, particularly the most important of them in France and Germany, to proceed more cautiously than the older historians; giving up many manifest fables and superstitions, which had before been received without question, as historical facts, and accommodating themselves more, both in matter and manner, to modern taste.

§ 25. (*a*) *Italian Historians. Cæsar Baronius.*

The first Protestant church history, the Magdeburg Centuries, made such a sensation, that the Roman church was forced to cast about in earnest for a reply in the same form. This service was undertaken by a Neapolitan, CÆSAR BARONIUS, properly BARONIO, at the instance of his teacher, Philip Neri, in a very learned and ingenious work, on which he laboured for thirty years, till his death (A.D. 1607), with unwearied diligence; and for which he was rewarded with the dignity of a cardinal. His *Annales ecclesiastici*, which appeared first at Rome (1588–1607), and have since been many times reprinted, extracted from, translated, and continued, though with less skill, by others, embrace, in twelve folio volumes, as many centuries, from the birth of

Christ to A.D. 1198. They furnish, from the papal archives, and from many libraries, particularly the Vatican, a host of documents and public papers previously unknown; and in general, with all their faults, they are of so much value, that even at this day, in a thorough course of study, they cannot well be dispensed with. The cardinal comes forward under the conviction that he is presenting the first true church history. He censures Eusebius for leaning towards Arianism; Socrates and Sozomen for favouring the Novatians; and all his predecessors for going to work without critical discrimination. The Magdeburg Centuries he considers "Centuries of Satan;"[1] though, in his profound contempt for them, he seldom refers to them directly, but rather lets history speak for itself, and refute his Protestant opponents in a positive way, by copiously unfolding its authentic testimonies. And in many instances he undoubtedly has the decided advantage, and is backed by an overwhelming mass of authorities. He wrote unconditionally in the interest of absolute Romanism. He endeavours to shew that the papacy was instituted by Christ; that it always remained, in doctrine and constitution, the same; and that the Reformation was an apostacy from the true church, and a rebellion against the ordinance of God. But for this purpose he is compelled to call in the aid of many fictitious or corrupted narratives and spurious documents, and, on the other hand, to suppress or distort important public records. This drew forth opposition, not only from the Protestants, particularly from *Casaubonus*, *Fr. Spanheim*, and *Sam. Basnage*, but, upon subordinate points at least, from the more liberal Catholics themselves, especially from the profoundly learned French Franciscan ANTON PAGI, who paid special attention to the correction of chronological mistakes.[2]

In connection with the Annals of Baronius, we should here mention those authors who have continued them in the same spirit; especially ODORICUS RAYNALDUS, an Italian, who extended them to the year 1565; and HENR. SPONDANUS (Sponde),

[1] Thus they are styled in the *Parentalia Justi Baronii in obitum Cæsaris Baronii*, prefixed to the first volume.

[2] In his *Critica historico-chronologica in Annales Baronii*. Antwerp, 1705, 4 t., fol.—The best edition of the Annals of Baronius, including *Raynaldi continuatio*, *Pagii critica*, and other explanatory writings, was published by Mansi, at Lucca, between the years 1738 59, in 38 volumes folio.

a Frenchman, originally of the Reformed church, who wrote two volumes, bringing the narrative down to 1640. CASPAR SACHARELLI, towards the end of the eighteenth century, wrote an independent work on church history, in twenty-five volumes.[1]

For single portions of church history, valuable collections of documents, and editions of older writers, special credit is due, among the Italians, to MURATORI, ZACCAGNI, ZACCARIA, MANSI, and GALLANDI; also to the three ASSEMANI, celebrated oriental and antiquarian scholars, originally from Syria, but residents of Rome in the last century; and in our own age, to Cardinal ANGELO MAI, the indefatigable collector and editor of valuable unpublished manuscripts from the treasures of the Vatican and other libraries.[2] The most gifted and free-minded among the Italian historians was the Venetian monk PAOLO SARPI (†1623); but from him we unfortunately have only a *History of the Council of Trent.* This work is written with almost Protestant boldness and independence, and in excellent style. The Cardinal PALLAVICINI has only partially succeeded in his learned attempt to refute it.

§ 26. (*b*) *French Historians.*

The first merit, in Catholic historiography, belongs, on the whole, to the French, whose more independent posture in relation to the Roman See has here served a good purpose, however objectionable Gallicanism may be in other respects. It was in part, indeed, the very defence of the Gallican church freedom, which called forth the most interesting and thorough investigations. With this purpose appeared, first, the work of Bishop GODEAU, of Venice, in popular form (1635), but coming down only to the end of the ninth century; then that of the far more learned Dominican NATALIS ALEXANDER (Noël) in twenty-four volumes (1676–86), reaching to A.D. 1600. The latter writer, in direct opposition to Baronius, vindicates the rights of the church, and of secular princes against the popes, and declares the reformatory councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, to be ecumenical; yet he justifies the cruel persecution of the Albigenses, and is full of zeal against the Protestant heretics. In-

[2] *Historia ecclesiastica.* Rom. 1772-95. 25 vols. 4to.

[1] Comp. Mai's *Collectio scriptorum veterum,* 1825, *et seq.*

nocent XI., in 1684, prohibited this work on pain of excommunication; but thirty years later, Benedict XIII., himself a Dominican, set it free again. In 1690, CLAUDE FLEURY, abbot of a Cistercian convent, after 1716 confessor of Louis XV., but living as an anchoret at court (†1723), began the publication of his *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, which reaches, in twenty volumes, to the year 1414, and was continued by FABRE, though with no genius, down to A.D. 1595. Fleury writes diffusely, and in the spirit of a monk, but with taste, skill, mildness, and decided love for the church and Christianity, and with a view to edify as well as to instruct. He follows the order of time, though not slavishly; and some volumes he prefaces with general views. He, too, defends antiquity and the Gallican ecclesiastical constitution, though without at all compromising the credit of the church, its general tradition, or the necessity of the pope, as its head. His principal concern is with doctrine, discipline, and practical piety. The spirited and eloquent bishop of Meaux, BOSSUET (†1704), also a Gallican, in his *Universal History* (Discours sur l'histoire universelle, 1681), reaching from the Creation to Charlemagne, presents with brilliant genius religion and the church as the soul and centre of all history. In his polemic work on the *Variations of Protestantism* (Histoire des variations des églises protestantes), he appears more as a learned and skilful controversialist and partizan, than as an impartial historian.[1] The Jansenist TILLEMONT (†1698) pursued a new plan. He composed a church history of the first six centuries, in sixteen volumes (1693–1712), purely from original sources, with the most accurate and conscientious fidelity, adding his learned investigations in the form of notes. The

[1] His argument against the Protestants comes to this: Your history is a history of constant changes and contradictions; therefore you cannot have the truth, which is in its nature unchangeable. The celebrated historian, Gibbon, when a student at Oxford, was converted to the Roman church by this work of Bossuet, but afterwards became an infidel. In his Autobiography, published by Lord Sheffield, ch. viii., he says; "I read, I applauded, I believed, the English translations of two famous works of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, the Exposition of the Catholic doctrine, and the History of the Protestant variations, achieved my conversion, and I surely fell by a noble hand. . . . . In the History, a bold and well-aimed attack, he displays, with a happy mixture of narrative and argument, the faults and follies, the changes and contradictions of our first reformers, whose variations (as he dexterously contends) are the mark of historical error, while the perpetual unity of the Catholic church is the sign and test of infallible truth."

latest large French work on general church history is that of ROHRBACHER, Prof. in Louvain, in twenty-nine volumes, coming down to the present time, a second edition of which has been published, 1850, *et seq.* A Roman Catholic reviewer describes this work as "wanting method, sometimes a little crude and indigested, and not always consistent with itself, but at the same time as a work of extensive erudition, written from a truly Roman Catholic (ultra-montane) point of view, with great sincerity, earnestness, and vigour."

But in addition to these general works, many single portions of church history, costly editions of the fathers, and other valuable helps to our science, have issued from the learned monastic institutions of France. Among the authors of such works, special mention is due to the St Maur Benedictines, D'ACHERY, RUINART, MABILLON, MASSUET, MARTENE, DURAND, MONTFAUCON;[1] and to the Jesuits, SIRMOND and PETAU (Petavius) whose celebrated and very learned work, *De theologicis dogmatibus* (1644-50), marks an epoch in doctrine history.

§ 27. *German and English Historians.*

No free and independent interest in church history shewed itself among the Catholics of Germany, till the Josephine period; nor then was the spirit thoroughly aroused, till it received the impulse of the Protestant theology. The productions of Germany, therefore, in this department, are chiefly of recent date. General works—some of them, however, unfinished—have been furnished by ROYKO, DANNENMAYR, the well-known pious and amiable poet and convert Count FR. L. VON STOLBERG,[2] KATER-

[1] In the congregation of St Maur there was a complete system of study. In extensive literary enterprises, the general was authorized to assign parts to the different members according to their talents and tastes;—to one, the collection of material; to another, the arrangement of it; to a third, the manufacture; to a fourth, the finishing; to a fifth, the charge of the press, &c. Each was required to labour, not for personal renown, but only for the good of the church and the honour of his order. The authors are often not even named. This co-operation of various scholars, who were free from all temporal care, and favoured with wealth and the most ample literary helps, brought out vast works, such as even an academy of sciences could hardly undertake. The best editions of the church fathers, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, Bernard of Clairvaux, &c., we owe to the diligence of the St Maurists, which, in literary matters, surpassed that of the Jesuits.

[2] Geschichte der Religion Jesu. Hamburg, 1806–19. 15 vols. continued by F. von Kerz, vols. 16–38, coming down to the twelfth century. Hase strikingly says of Stol-

KAMP, RITTER, LOCHERER, HORTIG, ALZOG, DÖLLINGER; valuable monographs by the genial GOERRES (*Geschichte der christlichen Mystik*), the distinguished convert and Austrian historiographer HURTER,[1] by HEFELE, STAUDENMAIER, and others. The finest endowments for a historian must be conceded to the spirited and pious MÖHLER (†1838), the greatest Roman Catholic theologian since Bellarmine and Bossuet. He has aided his church in coming to herself again, and has inspired her with new polemic zeal against Protestantism; though, in truth, he himself everywhere reveals the influence of the Protestant theology, especially that of Schleiermacher and Neander, and of all the modern German culture, upon his own idealistic apprehension and defence of Catholic doctrine and usage. He wrote no complete church history, indeed; but his larger works (*Symbolik*, *Patristik*, *Athanasius M.*), and his smaller tracts (on *Anselm*, the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, *Gnosticism*, *Monasticism*, &c.), almost all have more or less to do with history, particularly with doctrine history; and in depth and freshness of spirit, as well as in graceful, animated style, they surpass all the productions of the authors now mentioned. Of his disciples, JOHANN ALZOG, whom we might call in some respects the Roman Catholic Hase, has made use, according to his own confession, of Möhler's unpublished lectures, and furnished a Manual of general church history (fifth edition, 1850), which commends itself highly by a comparatively liberal spirit, clear arrangement, vivacity and beauty of style, and may upon the whole be pronounced the best work of the kind which has issued from the Roman Catholic press of Germany. The Roman Catholic church-dictionaries (*Kirchenlexica*) lately issued, the one by ASCHBACH (1846–51), the other by

berg, that "he has written and poetically decked out (geschrieben und *gedichtet*) the history of the Jewish nation, as well as of the ancient church, with the zeal, unction, and unreserved devotion of a proselyte, but also with a heart full of enthusiasm and love."

[1] HURTER, when he wrote his learned and ingenious work on Innocent III. (in four volumes), was, it is true, still Antistes of the Reformed church in Schaffhausen. But even in that history he unmistakably betrays his Romanizing tendency, in his unqualified praise of his hero and his age, and in his marked predilection for a brilliant hierarchy and a gorgeous ceremonial. It is everywhere visible that the author, in his infatuated partiality for the Middle Ages, esteems the dome of St Peter's above the manger of Bethlehem, and the decretals of the popes above the word of God. His dissatisfaction with the moral insecurity of the present age, and with the politico-religious confusion of his own country, afterwards decided and fully justified to his own conscience a transition, which was inwardly complete long before.

WETZER and WELTE (1847, *et seq.*), contain also many learned and valuable historical articles, especially from the pens of Alzog and Hefele.

The Roman Catholics of England have thus far contributed very little to historical theology. Quite recently, however, an author has arisen among them, who, for accurate study of sources, and calm, simple, clear, and dignified representation, takes rank with the first historians of the age. DR JOHN LINGARD, priest of the Catholic chapel of Hornby in England (†1851), in his "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church," has furnished perhaps the most satisfactory and reliable work we have on the church history of England before the Norman conquest. His larger and excellent "History of England," which extends in thirteen volumes (new ed. 1848, *et seq.*), from the first invasion by the Romans to the accession of William the Third (1688), contains chiefly the political history of that country, but has its ecclesiastical history interwoven. The author, however, with all his love of truth, with all his comparatively mild and liberal spirit, and his general accuracy in the statement of facts, is by no means free from religious bias, and can, therefore, not always be trusted. In his accounts of distinguished Protestants, as Edward VI., Somerset, Cranmer, Knox, and especially Elizabeth, in whom he finds hardly anything praiseworthy but her talents, he involuntarily becomes Polemical; while for the bloody Mary, Mary Stuart (that "innocent and much injured woman," as he calls her), and other Roman Catholics, he always at least indirectly, and sometimes directly, apologizes. Thus he himself gives proof of what he says in the preface to the first volume; that the historian, "as he is always exposed to the danger, will occasionally suffer himself to be misled by the secret prejudices or the unfair statements of the authors whom it is his duty to consult."

A considerable addition to English Catholic literature may be expected from the recent Puseyite converts to Romanism, several of whom, especially DR NEWMAN, are men of extensive learning and highly cultivated mind. Their productions, thus far, however, since their conversion, have been mostly of a polemical or devotional character, or translations and compilations from older and continental Romish works. It remains to be

seen, whether the ingenious theory of development which Dr Newman brought forth in his "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine" (1845) immediately before his conversion, and which he has not since retracted, will have a material influence upon the future literature of Roman Catholic historians.[1] His theory, however, comes only to this, that the Catholic system was not complete and fully unfolded from the start, but is the product of a living process of gradual evolution.[2] As to Protestantism, he excludes it entirely from the process, and treats it as an apostasy from Historical Christianity, and a progressive corruption which must ultimately run into infidelity.

[1] O. A. Brownson of Boston, the well-known convert from Puritanism and infidelity to extreme Romanism, has, in several articles of his able but fanatically anti-protestant Review, vehemently opposed this theory of development as essentially anti-catholic, and as preparing the way for a new and dangerous heresy in the Roman church, unless it be checked in time by the proper authorities. We are inclined to believe that he does personally great injustice to Newman, and seems to be unconsciously under the influence of jealousy of his distinguished fellow-converts of the ex-Puseyite school, but, at the same time, that the strictly ultra-montane standpoint which he occupies does not admit any theory of development, but rests rather on the principle of absolute immutability. Newman's theory, says Brownson (Quarterly Review for July 1846, p. 342, *et seq.*), "is essentially anti-catholic and Protestant. It is not only not necessary to the defence of the church, but is utterly repugnant to her claims to be the authoritative and infallible church of God. . . . . Newman forgets that she sprang into existence full-grown, and armed at all points, as Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, and that she is withdrawn from the ordinary law of human systems and institutions by her supernatural origin, nature, character, and protection." It is easy to make such a bold assertion, but impossible to prove it historically. With Mr Brownson, however, and his like, history must *nolens volens* bend to his preconceived creed and logic.

[2] "The following essay," says Newman, p. 19 (Americ. ed.), "is directed towards a solution of the difficulty which has been stated—the difficulty which lies in the way of using the testimony of our most natural informant concerning the doctrine and worship of Christianity, viz., the history of eighteen hundred years. The view on which it is written has at all times, perhaps, been implicitly adopted by theologians, and, I believe, has recently been illustrated by several distinguished writers of the Continent, such as De Maistre and Möhler: viz., that the increase and expansion of the Christian Creed and Ritual, and the variations which have attended the process in the case of individual writers and churches, are the necessary attendants on any philosophy or polity which takes possession of the intellect and heart, and has had any wide or extended dominion; that, from the nature of the human mind, time is necessary for the full comprehension and perfection of great ideas; and that the highest and most wonderful truths, though communicated to the world once for all by inspired teachers, could not be comprehended all at once by the recipients, but as received and transmitted by minds not inspired, and through media which were human, have required only the longer time and deeper thought for their full elucidation. This may be called the Theory of Developments."

III. PROTESTANT HISTORIANS.

§ 28. *General Character of Protestant Historiography.*

As the Reformation of the sixteenth century opens a new age for the church, and for theology in general, so also it forms an epoch in the history of our science. In fact we may say, it was only the Reformation which made church history properly free and independent. Before that time, the historian was, so to speak, of one growth with his subject. Now, he rose, by reflection, above it; and instead of at once receiving on authority everything Catholic as true, and condemning everything not Catholic as false, he began to subject the whole development of the church itself to critical examination, judging it without regard to papal decrees, according to the word of God and common reason. This opened the door, indeed, to a false freedom and emancipation from lawful authority, to a negative tendency, an entire contempt and rejection of history, such as we meet with in Rationalism and among sects; but at the same time it prepared the way for such impartial research as would bring the mind, by free conviction, into harmony with the objective course of the kingdom of God, as a truly rational and necessary unfolding of His plan of salvation. And to this result the most important labours in later historiography seem inevitably to tend.

It was a long time, however, before Protestant science here attained a clear perception of its mission. It had to pass, in its own history, through various periods, widely different in their mode of viewing and treating the past. We may distinguish five such periods: the *orthodox-polemical*, the *unchurchly-pietistic*, the *pragmatic-supranaturalistic*, the *negative-rationalistic*, and the *evangelical-catholic*. Of these periods, the first and the fourth are related to each other as opposite extremes; the second and third, as stages of transition from the position of church orthodoxy to that of rationalism; while the fifth seeks to combine the excellencies of all the others without their faults; and is, moreover, itself divided into so many different schools, that it cannot easily be brought under any general designation.

§ 29. (*a*) *Period of Polemic Orthodoxy. Flacius.*

This period embraces the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Reformers themselves did nothing directly for church history, except as they gave it a mighty impulse, and waked up a new spirit of inquiry; which, however, is of itself no small merit. They were too much occupied with polemics, and with the creation of new material for subsequent historians, to possess the calmness and leisure required for the writing of history.[1] Besides, their theological activity was mainly directed to the settlement of articles of faith, and to the exposition of the Scriptures. But argument from Scripture alone could not permanently satisfy. As the Catholics continually appealed to the fathers, and declared the Reformation to be an innovation, which had no ground at all in the past, it became an object with the Protestants to wrest the historical argument from their opponents, by drawing ecclesiastical antiquity to their own side. For to admit that pure Christianity had vanished from the earth, and had not come to light again till the sixteenth century, was impossible for them in the face of their Lord's promise to be with his church always, even to the end of the world; and they wished also to be counted not heretics, but true Catholics. Thus the apologetic interest in the struggle with Rome forced the Protestants to the study of history. This, however, gave their first productions throughout a character either directly or indirectly polemical. During the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries church history was viewed exclusively from the standpoint of some particular confession or denomination, and made subservient to party ends. Not only the Roman Catholics, but also the Protestants, with the same zeal, and almost the same intolerance, converted history into an armory to furnish them weapons against their ecclesiastical opponents. The object of each party was always to shew that *they* were truly orthodox, either, on the one hand, as the heirs, or, on the other, as the restorers of the pure catholic doctrine and practice; and to represent the opposite party as

[1] The Reformers of the second generation, however, could look back upon this great movement as an accomplished fact. Thus Matthesius wrote the life of Luther; Camerarius, that of Melancthon; Bullinger, Zuingli's successor, composed the history of the Helvetic Reformation; Beza, with the skill of a master, the fortunes of French Protestantism down to the year 1563, and the life of his predecessor and friend, Calvin.

heretics, who either, as the Romanists, corrupted the true faith, or, as the charge ran against the Protestants, set it aside, and substituted arbitrary innovations. In abhorring the heretics of the primitive church, as the Gnostics, Arians, Semiarians, Sabellians, Nestorians, Monophysites, Pelagians, and others, both parties agreed; for the Reformation had expressly indorsed the ecumenical symbols. But in the treatment of the Middle Ages they widely differed. The one extolled them as the ages of faith; the other abused them as the period of growing darkness and superstition. Even such institutions and doctrines as are now acknowledged to be of later origin, the Roman church tried, partly by means of spurious, or at least suspicious documents, to date back to the remotest antiquity; while it viewed the Reformation as having sprung from the most impure motives, as a rebellion against God, and as the fruitful source of all disorder and confusion. The Protestants, on the other hand, misrepresented, with the same fanatical party zeal, the history of the Roman Catholic church. They refused to acknowledge her great merits in Christianizing and civilizing the Romanic and Germanic nations; while, after the example of Flacius, they glorified, as heroes of faith and "*witnesses of truth*" (testes veritatis), even those of her opponents, who, on closer inspection, are found to have rejected the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and of the Reformation itself.[1] The only defence of Protestantism known in those days was such as included a wholesale condemnation of Popery, as essentially anti-Christian. The noblest and most effectual way of opposing Catholicism is, to shew that it was necessary in its time, and, in the hand of Providence, like Judaism before the advent of Christ, served high moral ends; and, at the same time, to view the Reformation as the grand product of the Middle Ages themselves, representing a higher and more free, evangelical development in the life of Christianity. But this liberal and comprehensive view has only recently taken root in some portions of Protestantism.

[1] It will not now be denied by unprejudiced scholars, that the older Protestant historians do still greater violence to history, than the Roman Catholic, who, in the most important points of controversy, have the weight of the church before the Reformation, up to the second century, plainly on their side. This is admitted even by Dr Baur, a radical ultra-Protestant, in his comparison of Baronius with the authors of the Magdeburg Centuries: *Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtschr.*, p. 81.

The *Lutheran* and *Reformed* historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while they substantially agreed in their opposition to Romanism, as a corruption of the Dark Ages, differed between themselves. Each confession was anxious to find its own doctrinal system in the age of the fathers. But this effort rests, to a considerable extent, on an illusion. A full and unbiassed investigation makes it more and more evident, that the church of the first six centuries was strictly neither Lutheran, nor Calvinistic, nor Anglican, but essentially Catholic in the reigning spirit of its theology and religious life, already containing the proper germs of scholasticism, monachism, and the hierarchy and worship of the Middle Ages. This is shewn by the Greek church, which is known to cling with the most obstinate tenacity to primitive traditions, and to be, in doctrine and discipline, much nearer akin to the Roman church, than to the Protestant.

But, irrespective of this defect in their historical standpoint, the Polemico-historical works of the older Protestant orthodoxy, like those of its opponents, have great merits, and mark an important advance by their most industrious accumulation of material, and laborious and minute investigation of ancient documents. Some of them, relating to particular points of controversy, are unsurpassed in this respect even to this day. The *Reformed* church, especially in France, Holland, and England, furnished perhaps a greater number of thorough, persevering, and accurate scholars in the seventeenth century than she has ever since done. The polemical and denominational party interest, moreover, awakened the spirit of criticism ; still leaving it, however, entirely under the control of dogmatism.

1. The *Lutheran* church takes the lead; and in this church, not the moderate and pacific school of Melancthon, but that party which set itself stiffly against all attempts at reconciliation with the Catholics and the Reformed, and afterwards expressed itself symbolically in the Form of Concord. MATTHIAS FLACIUS, one of the most zealous and violent controversialists of his age, in the year 1552, while settled at Magdeburg, commenced, in connection with several rigid Lutheran divines (Wigand, Judex, Faber, Corvinus, Holzhuter), and younger assistants, the celebrated *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, as the work

is called; making use of a vast amount of published and unpublished sources, and supported in his undertaking by the liberality of princes and cities. This work, which marks an epoch in historiography, presents, in thirteen folio volumes, first published at Basle (1559–74), as many centuries of the Christian era, each century in sixteen sections; the express design being to vindicate the doctrines of the Reformation as catholic and orthodox, and to confute the papacy, as an innovation and apostasy.[1] Hence the controversial character of the work. The Centuries found so much favour, that, for a hundred years after, it was counted sufficient, in the Lutheran Church, to compile text-books from their material, and in their spirit. Among these extracts and continuations, that of the Wurtemberg divine, LUCAS OSIANDER (in nine quarto vols., Tübingen, 1592–1604), was most approved.

On the other hand, in the dogmatic works of the seventeenth century, especially in CHEMNITZIUS' *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, GERHARD'S *Loci theologici*, and QUENSTEDT'S *Theologia dogmatico-polemica*, all in the same controversial tone, we find a vast accumulation of material for doctrine history, some of which is still of great value. Among works on particular periods the most important place belongs to the Latin *History of the German Reformation*, by LUD. A SECKENDORF (died at Halle, A.D. 1692). It is a triumphant refutation of the history, or rather caricature, of Lutheranism, by *Maimbourg*, the French Jesuit (Par. 1680).

[1] As the preface states: "Est igitur admodum dulce pio pectori in tali historia cognoscere, quod hæc ipsa doctrinæ forma, quam nunc in ecclesiis nostris ex ingenti Dei beneficio habemus, sit illa ipsa vetus, non nova, germana, non adulterina, non commenticia," &c. Flacius had the same polemical and apologetical object in view in his previous work, entitled *Catalogus testium veritatis* (A.D. 1556), the materials for which he collected from all sorts of libraries and convents, with the most persevering industry, and at great expense. It was intended to prove, that as God, in the times of the prophet Elijah, had seven thousand left, who had never bowed the knee to Baal, and who constituted the true Israel; so in the Christian church there had always been, even in the darkest ages, "witnesses of truth," who protested against the prevailing errors and corruptions, and saved the light of the gospel from extinction, till at last it broke forth in all its primitive splendour in the reformation of Dr Martin Luther. But such a catalogue of all kinds of Anti-Romanists, including the Albigenses, Cathari, Paulicians, and other Manichæan sects, is a poor substitute for the unbroken succession of a holy catholic church. It is absolutely vain to try to make out such a succession, without including the Roman Catholic church of the Middle Ages. For the greatest saints of those times, Anselm, Bernard, Thomas a Kempis, and a host of others, are found, not among the opponents, but among the very champions and heroes of this church.

Another Lutheran divine of the seventeenth century, GEORGE CALIXTUS (†1656), merits honourable mention, as, in the spirit of his writings, an exception to the general rule, and a forerunner of a more liberal view of church history, the representative, in the midst of a polemic age, of a peaceful theology, which concerned itself with practical and essential points. In opposition to the intolerant party spirit and bigotry of his orthodox contemporaries, who vehemently cried him down as a dangerous Syncretist, he endeavoured in various historical publications, to find elements of truth in all confessions, and to point out a truly catholic church as standing above the parties; going back for this purpose to the primitive age, as the common ground from which the various visible churches sprang. He and such men as *Arndt*, the pious author of "True Christianity," sowed the seed of the Pietistic movement of Spener and Franke.

2. In the *Reformed* church, JOHN H. HOTTINGER of Zurich proposed to furnish a counterpart to the Centuries. His work[1] evinces great knowledge, particularly of the East, with love of order and justice. But it is unequal, devoting five volumes to the sixteenth century alone. It drags in, too, according to the taste of these times, much foreign matter; the history, for instance, of the Jews, Pagans, and Mohammedans; accounts of remarkable natural phenomena, earthquakes, locusts, famines, floods, monstrosities, eclipses of the sun and moon, &c., as foretokening the fortunes of the church. FREDERICK SPANHEIM, of Leyden, founded his *Summa historiæ eccl.* (A.D. 1689) upon a most accurate and conscientious use of sources and a searching criticism, with a view to the refutation of Baronius. The two Frenchmen, JAMES BASNAGE,[2] minister at the Hague, and SAMUEL BASNAGE,[3] minister in Zütphen, wrote, the former against Bossuet, the latter against Baronius; both, especially James, with the purpose of shewing that the true church of Christ has never failed, and has, at all times, had faithful witnesses.

But from the latter part of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, the Reformed church, particularly in France, Holland, and England, was far more successful in culti-

[1] In nine vols. Tig. 1655-67.

[2] Histoire de l' église depuis Jésus Chr. jusqu' à présent. Rotterd. 1699.

[3] Annales politico-ecclesiastici, etc. 1706. 3 vols. (reaching only to A.D. 602.)

vating, under the impulse of learned curiosity and antiquarian taste, as well as of opposition to Rome, *single portions* of history, shedding light on patristic antiquity, the course of the papacy, and of the Reformation, with profound learning and keen penetration, though not without a strong controversial bias. Such monographs, some of which are still highly valuable, have distinguished the names of BULLINGER, HOSPINIAN, J. JACOB HOTTINGER (son of John Henry, and author of the Helvetic Church History), and HEIDEGGER, among the German Swiss; BEZA, DU PLESSIS MORNAY, PIERRE DU MOULIN, DAVID BLONDEL, JEAN DAILLÉ (Dallaeus), CL. SAUMAISE (Salmasius), JEAN CLAUDE, and later, ISAAC BEAUSOBRE and J. LENFANT,[1] among the French; FR. SPANHEIM, the elder VOSSIUS, GERDES, and later, VITRINGA, among the Dutch; Archbishop USHER, J. PEARSON, W. BEVERIDGE, GILBERT BURNET, STRYPE, JOSEPH BINGHAM, GEORGE BULL, W. CAVE, J. E. GRABE,[2] WHITBY, PRIDEAUX, to whom we may add the dissenter, NATH. LARDNER, of the eighteenth century, among the English. The Anglicans directed their attention chiefly to the government and antiquities of the church, with an eye to the Presbyterian controversy, as well as to that with Rome.

Before passing to the next period we must mention also the name of the celebrated PETER BAYLE, son of a Huguenot minister, educated first by his father, then by the Jesuits. He was for eighteen months a Roman Catholic, but was afterwards re-converted to Protestantism, and died at Rotterdam, A.D. 1706. Though he defended Calvinism with great success against the aspersions of the French Jesuit Maimbourg, who was master of the art of "turning history into romance and romance into history," yet he occupied an original position very different from that of his orthodox contemporaries, and, in his scepticism, must be considered a forerunner of the French infidels of the eighteenth century. But, in extent of historical information, critical acumen, and bold research, he was inferior to none of his age. His large *Dictionnaire historique et critique* is also a miracle of learning, and not without value even at the present time.

[1] The last two, French Reformed preachers in Berlin, were already influenced, to a considerable extent, by Arnold's new view of the relation of the sects to the church, as may be seen in Beausobre's *History of Manicheism*.

[2] Originally a German Lutheran, who passed over to the Episcopal church, (†1711).

§ 30. (*b*) *Pietistic Period. Arnold. Milner.*

The next period in church historiography after that of the Magdeburg Centuries was introduced by the *Impartial History of the Church and of Heretics from the beginning of the New Testament to the year* 1688 (Frankf. 1699, *et seq.*), by GOTTFRIED ARNOLD (†1714), a friend and follower of *Spener*, and a short time professor at Giessen. He precisely reversed the principle which reigned before. He made, not the dominant church, but the *sects*, the main line of development, and the channel of the Christian life; and is, accordingly, the historian of *unchurchly, separatistic piety*. The great body of historical Christianity, before and after the Reformation, especially the ruling clergy, are, with him, the apostasy predicted in the New Testament; whilst the persecuted minority, the dissenting sects and individuals, constitute the true church, the bride of Christ, like the apostles in the midst of the reigning Judaism of their day, and the confessors and martyrs of the second century in the vast Roman empire.[1] This view of church history grew out of the one-sided practical tendency of pietism, and the violent resistance it met with from Lutheran orthodoxy. Arnold placed the essence of Christianity in subjective, experimental piety. This, he thought, was to be found in the oppressed and persecuted minority; while the great visible church, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic, was looked upon as haughty, worldly,

[1] The following passage from the Preface of his work, § 30 and 31, is but a mild specimen of its general tone: "Many may, perhaps, again bring forward the common objection: Our dear mother, the Christian church, ought not to be so prostituted, seeing she has already had so much to suffer. To this I reply, first, that it is hard for the inexperienced to see which of those outward church assemblies is to be counted the true church; since every one, according to his own inclinations and interest, will have that religion to be the true one into which he himself has happened to be born. Besides, it is not a Scriptural expression and opinion that the church is a mother. The Scriptures know of but one mother of all saints, the Jerusalem above, Gal. iv. 26; Heb. xii. 22. But they have never given those ungodly pretenders and hypocrites, much less the apostate clergy, liberty to call themselves a mother, and in this way to entrench and secure themselves against all testimony, admonition, and improvement. The true, pure congregation of the Lord has been, from the beginning of the gospel and the times of the apostles, a virgin, and the bride of Christ. But the false, apostate church, according to the testimony of the first teachers, and the report hereafter to follow in this history, has become a harlot; and by means of the miscellaneous and inconsiderate introduction of all hypocrites and wicked men, under Constantine the Great, as also by the natural increase and propagation of false Christians, has given birth to many millions of bastards, with whom, however, no true member of Christ has anything to do."

and intolerant. It is true, the orthodox church historians of the seventeenth century also took the part of the Albigenses and Waldenses, of Wickliffe, Huss, and other "witnesses of the truth" in the Middle Ages against the reigning Catholicism. But Arnold, making his own personal experience the measure and rule of all church history, carried the same way of thinking back even into the first six centuries, or at least to the age of Constantine, and forward into the Protestant church; which, of course, made a very material difference. He had the pious courage to become the patron and eulogist of all persons of ill repute in church history. Yet, after all, he could not carry out his own principle with absolute consistency. Being a pious man, and holding fast to the essential doctrines of the gospel, he stood in reality more in harmony with the ancient church orthodoxy, than with the Gnostics, Manicheans, Arians, Pelagians, and other such sects; though, as far as possible, he espoused their cause.

But while Arnold thus endeavoured, as no historian before him had done, to shew fair play to all sorts of heretics and schismatics, enthusiasts, and fanatics, particularly to the Mystics, for whom he had a special predilection, he did the grossest injustice to the representatives of orthodoxy. He imputed to them the basest motives. He passed over their merits in silence. He dwelt almost exclusively on their human imperfections, and aspersed their character in every possible way. His work, therefore, in contradiction to its own title, is but a production of passionate party spirit against the Catholics, still more against the orthodox Protestants, and above all against the Lutherans,—simply a faithful mirror of his own one-sided subjectivity, and of the sympathies and antipathies of his own time. It makes a most gloomy impression, and is adapted to upset all faith in one holy apostolic church, to undermine all confidence in the presence of God in history, and in the final triumph of good, and thus to promote a hopeless scepticism. Many Pietists, it is true, were highly pleased with the History of Heretics; and the celebrated *Thomasius*, of Halle, who stood midway between Pietism and the rationalistic Illuminationism, declared it, next to the Bible, the best of books. But *Spener*, the pious and amiable leader of the Pietistic movement, was by no means satisfied with it; and the orthodox Lutherans, *Cyprian*, for instance, *Vejel*, *Corvinus*,

Götz, *Löscher*, *Faustking*, *Wachter*, exposed a mass of perversions and errors in it, by replies, which were, however, not only vehement, but in most cases equally one-sided.[1]

With all these imperfections, Arnold must be awarded the decided merit, not only of having collected a great mass of material for the history of sects, especially in the seventeenth century,[2] but also of having introduced a new and more liberal treatment of the sects, and of having brought out the relation of church history to practical piety. He was, moreover, the first who wrote church history in the German language instead of the Latin; though in that tasteless periwig style, full of half and whole Latinisms, which characterizes the period from Opitz to Bodmer, and makes it the most gloomy in the history of German literature.

With Arnold may be named, as in some measure akin, the later historian, JOSEPH MILNER (†1797), a pious minister of the English Episcopal church. His *Church History*, with the continuation of his like-minded brother, the Dean of Carlisle, in five volumes, following the current centurial division, comes down to the Reformation, which he treats with special minuteness. He, too, looked on the sects, even the Paulicians and Cathari, as the main depositors of piety; and hence, in the Middle Ages, which he handles with very little favour, he devotes by far the largest space to the Waldenses. He, too, wrote for edification, in the spirit of Methodistic piety, which bears a close affinity to that of the Pietists, though it has less sympathy with the inward, contemplative life, and with the various forms of Mysticism. Greatly surpassed by Arnold in learning and original research, Milner, on the other hand, excels him in popular style, and in fairness towards the reigning church of the first six centuries. Pope Gregory the Great, for example, fares much better at his hands. His object, also, is *exclusively* prac-

[1] These writings are found quoted in the third volume of J. G. Walch's *Bibliotheca theologica selecta*, Jenæ, p. 129, *et seq.* They appear at large, with replies and illustrations, in the third volume of the Schaffhausen edition of Arnold's History (1742).

[2] On this point Schröckh, who is by no means a friend of Arnold, says of him (*Kirchengeschichte*, vol. i., p. 185, 2d ed,): "If one wishes to know what sorts of small sects, enthusiasts, dreamers, new prophets, senseless mystics, unlucky reformers, and other spiritual monsters, there have been, especially within the last two centuries, in and out of our (Lutheran) church, he must betake himself to their common rendezvous, Arnold's Ketzerhistorie."

tical, and leads him, therefore, to omit entirely all subjects which, in his own narrow view, serve not for edification; as, for instance, church government, most of the theological controversies, the scholastic and mystic divinity, ecclesiastical art and learning. His simple aim is, to exhibit the moral *life* of the *invisible* church.[1] Milner's work is, accordingly, almost entirely free from the polemic spirit with which Arnold's overflows, and is, so far, much better adapted for practical and popular use, and still well worthy of commendation. Nay, it may be said to have been the best church history of *this* sort, till Neander asserted anew the claims of practical piety, and fully carried out the good intentions of Pietism and Methodism, but with incomparably greater knowledge, and on a scale so much more liberal, as to require no sacrifice of other interests to this.

§ 31. (*c*) *Pragmatic Supranaturalistic Period. Mosheim. Schröckh. Planck.*

From a combination or compromise of the Old Orthodox and the Pietistic principles, now arose the third form of Protestant historiography, which may be called the *pragmatic supranaturalistic*. By *supranaturalism*, in the historical sense,[2] we

[1] Or, as he himself says, in his Introduction: "Nothing but what appears to me to belong to Christ's kingdom shall be admitted; *genuine piety is the only thing which I intend to celebrate.*" So far, he was assuredly right in styling his work, "An Ecclesiastical History on *a new plan.*" But how one-sided were his views of piety, appears, for instance, in his judgment of Tertullian, of whom he says: "Were it not for some light which he throws on the state of Christianity in his own times, he would scarcely deserve to be distinctly noticed. I have seldom seen so large a collection of tracts, all professedly on Christian subjects, containing so little matter for useful instruction" (vol. i., Boston ed. p. 220). How vastly different the opinion of the equally pious and far more learned Neander! When, on the other hand, Milner so highly extols Cyprian, defending him against the reproaches of Mosheim, and placing him far above Origen, he is inconsistent, for Cyprian moulded himself throughout on the model of Tertullian's writings, and made them his daily food; and he contributed more than any of the older fathers to the development of the principle of Catholicism, especially of the hierarchy. He was, in fact, the first to look upon, or, at least, distinctly to speak of the Roman bishopric, as the *Cathedra Petri*, and the centre of church unity (*unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*). Augustine, Anselm, and Bernard, Milner recognises as truly pious men, and dwells upon with delight; yet, after all, his view of them is imperfect and contracted, taking in only those features in which they seem to fall in with *his own* notions of religion. Their decidedly Catholic traits he either altogether overlooks, or considers as merely accidental, outward appendages, which must be excused in them on account of the prevailing spirit of the age; whereas, in truth, those traits have an intimate and most influential connection with their whole system of doctrine and mode of life.

[2] For in the theological and philosophical sense, the old orthodoxy, as well as every

understand the last product of the Protestant orthodoxy; that is, that theological system, which, under the influence of Pietism and the liberal tendencies in philosophy and general literature beginning to spread simultaneously in England, France, and Germany, materially relaxed from the strict, exclusive orthodoxy of the seventeenth century, gave up the stronghold of church symbols, and fell back simply upon the Bible, and in a number of its representatives approached the very threshold of Rationalism. Thus, in the church historians of this period, including some who date before the proper supranaturalism, we no longer observe the rigid exclusiveness which had formerly prevailed. The polemic zeal for particular confessions, and the horror of heretics, in whom Arnold had found so much to praise, gradually disappear, and give place to a peaceful, conciliatory spirit, in which the monographs of Calixtus, so vehemently condemned by the orthodox zealots of the seventeenth century, had already led the way. The great effort now is, to do justice to all parties; and there must certainly be admitted, in the works of a Mosheim, a Schröckh, and a Walch, an *impartiality*, which belonged to neither of the preceding schools. This virtue, however, it must be owned, runs out at times into doctrinal laxness and indifference,[1] and is in part connected with a very low and essentially rationalistic conception of the church. Even with Mosheim, and still more with Schröckh, Spittler, and Planck, the church, at least after the apostolic age, is in reality stripped of her divine, supernatural character, and degraded to the common level of human societies and the political state. For this very reason, this form of supranaturalism must ultimately yield to the power of Rationalism. For a divine Christianity without a divine church proves in the end to be an unmeaning abstraction.

We call this period *pragmatic*, with reference to its reigning method. After the time of Mosheim and Walch in Germany, and of Robertson, Hume, and Gibbon, in England, it came to be required of the historian that he should proceed *pragmatically;*

form of Christian theology, is likewise supranaturalistic; *i. e.*, it rests upon the view that Christianity is strictly a supranatural revelation, and a new moral creation, altogether transcending the powers of mere nature; whereas Rationalism allows no such revelation, either denying its possibility, or in an overestimate of the human powers, particularly of reason, declaring it useless.

[1] Comp. Mosheim's general judgment of the heretics, *Inst. Hist. Eccles. Prep.* § 11, p. 5.

that is, that he should not simply relate events, but should also, to make the history of greater practical use, psychologically investigate their causes in the secret springs and inclinations of the human heart. Not satisfied with the statement of facts as they are, the pragmatic method, in which Gottl. Jacob Planck was the greatest master, tries to shew the internal connection of cause and effect, and the manner, as well as the reason, of the occurrence of certain events. This is undoubtedly an important advance in our science, and could do no harm, where it was accompanied by a strong faith in the presence of God in the world. But at the same time it gave the treatment of history, especially in the hands of the Rationalists, who soon followed, a very subjective character. Events were referred mostly to external, accidental causes and arbitrary motives. In the diligent search for these subjective, finite factors, the power of the objective idea, of general laws, was gradually forgotten, and in the end even the highest and most sacred power of history, the all-ruling providence of God, the spirit of Jesus Christ, which dwells in his church, was lost out of sight. History came to be viewed as the result, partly of human caprice and calculation, partly of a remarkable concurrence of fortuitous circumstances.[1]

We must here observe, that since the middle of the last century, church history has been cultivated and advanced almost exclusively in Germany—especially by the Lutheran, and more lately the United Evangelical churches—while in other Protestant countries it has made very little progress.

Among the works of this period on the general history of the church, must be mentioned first, CHR. E. WEISMANN'S *Introductio in memorabilia ecclesiastica historiæ sacræ N. T.* etc. (Tübingen, 1718), distinguished for its pious, mild spirit, its quiet, moderate tone, its predilection for the school of Spener, and for the better Mystics, and its regard to the purposes of edification in the selection of its matter.

He was soon eclipsed, however, by the celebrated chancellor of Göttingen, JOHN LAWRENCE VON MOSHEIM (†1755), who holds the first place among the church historians generally of the last century, and has acquired the honourable title of

[1] This vulgar and virtually atheistic view underlies also the historical works of Hume and Gibbon, who mistook it for the very highest philosophy.

" father of church history." His *Institutiones historiæ ecclesiasticæ* (Helmstädt, 1755), in four books, also translated into German, and continued by SCHLEGEL and VON EINEM, gained, in England and North America, an authority even greater than in Germany, being used to this day (as translated by Maclaine, and more recently by Murdock) as a text-book in most seminaries of theology. On the contrary, there is but little acquaintance, out of Germany, with his valuable monographs on the *Period before Constantine* (A.D. 1753),[1] and on the *History of Heretics* (the Ophites, Apostolic Brethren, Michael Servetus), and his *Institutiones H. E. Majores* (1739), of which, however, only the first volume (sæc. i.) was published. In all these works Mosheim distinguishes himself by his thorough use of sources, his critical acumen, his varied culture and knowledge of men, his bold, although at times extravagant combination, his power of historical contemplation, and his command, beyond all his predecessors and contemporaries, of a clear, tasteful, and pleasing style, both Latin and German. He is properly the founder of church historiography as an *art*.[2] To the practical purposes of history, on the other hand, he pays less regard. He too, in various cases, takes the part of heretics, even of such a man as Servetus;[3] not however, like Arnold, enthusiastically eulogizing them, and traducing their orthodox opponents; but shewing, by a calm and dignified criticism, the sense and inward consistency of their systems. He was the first, for example, who ceased to regard the Gnostic speculations as a mere chaos of extravagant and senseless opinions, and felt in them the presence of a connected system of thought resulting from a strange combination of ancient heathen philosophy with certain elements of the Christian religion. In view of these decided advances

[1] These Commentarii de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum, in which more especially Mosheim deposits the results of his extensive research, have been recently translated into English by Dr Murdock.

[2] By his mastery of the German, which he employed in his smaller historical monographs, his pulpit orations, and his theological Ethics, he marks an epoch also, in German literature, which at that time began to revive and to approach its classical period through Klopstock, Lessing, Winkelmann, and afterwards through Wieland, Herder, Göthe, and Schiller.

[3] Compare the far too charitable and favourable judgment he passes on this unfortunate victim of Calvin's religious zeal, in his *Ketzergeschichte*, 1748. Book II. § 39, p. 254, *et seq.*, quoted in my tract on *Historical Development*, p. 59.

upon his predecessors, it is the more strange that he still adhered to the old plan of division by centuries, and that he could adopt so mechanical an arrangement as that of external and internal history, prosperous and adverse events.

His contemporary PFAFF, of Tübingen, was equally learned, indeed, but his *Institutiones* (A.D. 1721) were not written in so clear and interesting a style, and were overladen with names and citations. The indefatigable scholar S. J. BAUMGARTEN, brought down his *Abstract of Church History* only to the end of the ninth century. COTTA'S *New Testament Church History in Detail* (1768–73) likewise remained incomplete. The most extensive work from this school of mild and impartial Supranaturalism—a work, too, which betokens its gradual transition to latitudinarianism and rationalism—is the *Church History* of J. M. SCHRÖCKH (†1808), a disciple of Mosheim, and Professor first of poetry, afterwards of history in Wittenberg. With TZSCHIRNER'S continuation it makes forty-five volumes, and was published between the years 1768 and 1810. In spite of its wearisome diffuseness, its want of philosophical depth and just proportion, and its wholly injudicious method, it is still invaluable for its exceedingly industrious and faithful transcriptions from original authorities, and will long remain a real mine of historical learning. It is also the first church history in which the centurial division is abandoned in favour of one by larger periods, more conformable to the real divisions of the history itself. Smaller text-books were published by SCHRÖCKH, SPITTLER, and STAUDLIN, the last in the interest of Kant's moral philosophy. J. FR. ROOS wrote popularly, more for the general public.

After these general authors, however, several Lutheran theologians merit honourable mention, who have done permanent service in particular parts of church history. J. A. CRAMER, eventually chancellor of the university of Kiel (†1788), in his continuation of Bossuet's Universal History, thoroughly investigated the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages, and was the first German, after Mosheim, who wrote history with elegance and force in his vernacular tongue. J. GEORGE WALCH, Professor in Jena, (†1775), and still more his son, W. FRANCIS WALCH, Professor in Göttingen (†1784), are among the most industri-

ous, solid, and honest inquirers who have ever lived. The latter gave himself mainly to the history of heresies, divisions, and religious controversies, and his work on this field, in eleven parts (1762–85), is still indispensable. In his own persuasions he stands firmly, indeed, on Lutheran ground; but he is free from polemic zeal, and solely bent upon the conscientious investigation and critical, pragmatic representation of his subject without sympathy or antipathy. He already approaches so near the true view of history, that he cannot conceive of it without change; while he justly discriminates between the unchangeable essence of the Christian truth itself, and the ever varying form of its apprehension among men. He lacks, however, in organic conception and graphic life, and is extremely tiresome.[1]

The elder PLANCK, a native of Würtemberg, and since 1784 Professor of Theology in Göttingen (†1833), who has immortalized himself especially by his learned and skilful *History of Protestant Doctrine*,[2] though still entertaining personally a high regard for Scriptural Christianity, stands at the extreme limit of this school, where it is just ready to merge in Rationalism. With him the subjective, pragmatic method reaches its height. History already becomes only the dreary theatre of human interests and passions. Hence he everywhere obtrudes his individual sympathies and antipathies, and cannot complain enough of the shortsightedness, stupidity, passion, and malice of man. Though he relates doctrinal controversies with great prolixity and familiar loquacity, yet he holds himself quite indifferent to their contents. His interest in them is not religious or theological, but regards merely their psychological analysis and outward form.[3] With such indifference to church doctrine, it is truly

[1] Dr Baur (*Epochen*, &c., p. 147) says: "There is nothing more dull, spiritless, and intolerably tedious, than Walch's Ketzergeschichte."

[2] Six vols., Leipzig, 1781–1800, 2d ed., 1791, *et seq.* The first three volumes give the political history of the Reformation. The remaining and more important ones treat of the theological controversies from the death of Luther to the appearance of the Form of Concord, the last symbolical book of the Lutheran church. In 1831 Planck published a continuation, giving a condensed account of the theological controversies from the Form of Concord to the middle of the eighteenth century.

[3] Comp., for instance, his preface to vol. iv., in which he enters upon the department of doctrine history, where he candidly avows, p. 6, that the subject before him is one in which even the theological public of his time can hardly continue to take any real interest; since not only have most of the doctrinal questions themselves, about which our fathers contended, "entirely lost, for our present theology, the importance they once

amazing, that he could bestow so much toilsome study and learned industry on such "perfectly indifferent antiquations" as the theological contentions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of course his work, with all its great and enduring merits, and the relative truth and necessity of its position, could not fail to have a bad effect, in completely sundering the doctrinal consciousness of its age from the basis of the older church orthodoxy, and in justifying this rupture as a pretended advance. In his other large work, the *History of Church Government*,[1] Planck likewise starts from that rationalistic conception of the church, which dates from Locke, viz., that this divine establishment was originally a mere voluntary association, which formed its laws and institutions in accordance with the changing wants of the times, and under the influence of fortuitous external circumstances; and that in this way it gradually assumed an aspect altogether different from what its founder and first members intended or foresaw. In this way he accounts for the gigantic hierarchy of the Middle Ages, which he looks upon in a simply political light, with the calmness of a learned but indifferent spectator; while the older Protestant orthodoxy had held it in pious abhorrence, as the broken bulwark of the veritable Antichrist.

His friend, L. TIM. SPITTLER, also a native of Würtemberg, Professor of Philosophy at Göttingen, afterwards secretary of state at Stuttgart (†1810), is still more decidedly rationalistic. Though not a theologian by profession, but a secular historian and states-

possessed; but their history, also, has lost, for the spirit of our age, even the negative interest, with which the slowly-maturing aversion to those questions could, for a long time, clothe it. Ten years ago they might have been dwelt upon with some interest; because ten years ago they had not wholly lost their power over the mind of the age. . . . . But now this bond also is gone. An entirely new theology has arisen. Not only those forms, but even many of the old fundamental ideas have been left behind. Nor have we now any fear that the spirit of our theology can ever return of itself, or be forced back, to them; and we view them accordingly as a perfectly *indifferent antiquation*." Scarcely could a Rationalist express himself more unfavourably on the doctrinal controversies of the church. No wonder, that Planck passes so favourable a judgment on the theological revolution of the last century, in his continuation of Spittler's Manual of Church History, 5th ed., p. 509, where he says: "Upon the whole, however, we have made extraordinary gain by this revolution of the last thirty years (the rise of German Rationalism), which will probably be hereafter distinguished as *the most splendid period* in the history of the Lutheran church!"

[1] Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung der christlich-kirklichen Gesellschaftsverfassung. 5 vols. Hanover, 1803 9.

man, he delivered lectures on church history with immense applause, and his published Manual[1] became quite a popular text-book in Germany. He breaks through the confines of a strictly theological position, and handles church history, as a man of the world, from a political and general literary point of view, but at the expense of religious depth and spirituality. Though he never directly assails Christianity itself, yet his work is by no means suited to increase our faith in its supernatural character. His rationalistic temper comes out plainly even in the first sentence of the first period, which is a fair specimen of the whole. "The world," says he,[2] "has never experienced a revolution apparently so insignificant in its first causes, and so exceedingly momentous in its ultimate consequences, as that which, eighteen hundred years ago, *a native Jew, by the name of Jesus*, made in a few years of his life." A man who speaks in such a cold, and almost irreverent style of the Son of God and the Saviour of the world, and has no higher predicates for him than "a very tender-minded man," "the greatest, most benevolent man,"[3] must, at the same time, of course, be destitute of any true conception of the divine character of the church, and incapable of duly appreciating the spiritual life of its heroes. Spittler derives even the grandest phenomena of history from mere finite causes and accidental circumstances, and sinks them to the common level of everyday occurrences.

The *Reformed* church, in this period, produced but one work of any great extent, the *Institutions h. eccl. V. et N. T.*,[4] of the learned Hollander, VENEMA. This work is carefully drawn from original sources, and extends to the year 1600; but bears no marks of the revolution effected in this science since Arnold, and hence might as well have been mentioned in the orthodox period. It had become the fashion in Holland, from the time of Cocceius, to put church history into close connection with systematic theology, and with the exposition of the Scriptures, especially of the Apocalypse, in which the picture of Popery was seen clear as the sun. This, of course, destroyed its independence as a science,

[1] Grundriss der Geschichte der christl. Kirche. 1782. The fifth edition was published and continued by Planck, 1812, pp. 569.

[2] Page 26, (5th ed.)

[3] Ibid. pp. 27-28.

[4] 1777-83, in seven parts.

and put an end to its progress. The popular and edifying work of the English MILNER has already been noticed. Smaller, and in their way excellent, manuals of church history were published by the Genevan divine, TURRETINE, A.D. 1734, who still occupies substantially the same doctrinal position as the Reformed historians of the seventeenth century; P. E. JABLONSKY, Professor in Frankfurt on the O., A.D. 1755; and by MUNSCHER, Professor in Marburg, A.D. 1804. This last author has won a still greater reputation by his *Doctrine History* (1797, *et seq.*), which comes down, in four volumes, to the year 604, and was continued by *Dan. v. Cölln.* But his doctrinal indifferentism shews, that, like Planck, he already belongs more properly to the Rationalistic school.

§ 32. (*d*) *The Rationalistic Period. Semler.*

Arnold's unchurchly view of history, and his defence of all sorts of heretics and schismatics, as well as the looseness and doctrinal indifference of the last representatives of the Supranaturalistic school, had already so thoroughly prepared the way for Rationalism, that we are forced to concede to the latter a certain historical necessity. But while Pietism loved the sects for their real or supposed piety, Rationalism favoured them for their heresies; and the indifferentism of a Planck, a Spittler, and a Munscher, ran out into formal hostility to the doctrine and faith of the church. Several other causes, as the influence of the Popular Philosophy of Wolff, of Kant's Criticism, of English Deism and French Materialism, combined to develop the seeds of German Rationalism, and to complete this far-reaching theological revolution, the disastrous effects of which are not, to this day, entirely obliterated.

Now Arius, in his denial of the divinity of Christ, was in the right against Athanasius; Pelagius, with his doctrine of an undepraved human will, against Augustine; the Paulicians, Cathari, &c., against Catholicism; the Socinians, against the Reformers; the Arminians, against the Synod of Dort; the Deists, against the English church. These were, in fact, in their real spirit, but the forerunners of Rationalism in its war against the church doctrine, nay, in the end, against the divine revelation in the Bible itself. For any unprejudiced person must admit, that at

least the main substance of the church doctrine is grounded in the Bible. Hence Rationalism, in its latest phases, has, with perfect consistency, rejected not only the material principle of Protestantism, the doctrine of justification by faith, but its formal principle also; taking as the source and rule of truth and of belief, or rather of unbelief, not the word of God, but human reason (whence *Rationalism*); and this, not in its general objective character, as it actuates history and the church, but the subjective reason, as determined by the prevailing spirit of its own age, virtually the finite, everyday understanding, what we call "common sense," in its baldest form. This tendency is, in its very nature, utterly unhistorical. It has no regard for history, as such; but only a negative interest in it, as a subject for its own destructive criticism. It denies the objective forces of history; banishes from the world not only Satan, whom it looks upon as merely the superstitious creation of a heated fancy, but what is, of course, far more serious, even God himself; and thus turns all history into an eyeless monster, a labyrinth of human perversions, caprices, and passions. Everything is referred to some subjective ground. Rationalism considers itself as having mastered the greatest and loftiest facts, when it has traced them, "pragmatically," to the most accidental and external, or even the most common and ignoble causes and motives; the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, for instance, and of the Holy Trinity, it derives from the dreamy fancy and transcendental Platonism of the Greek fathers; the evangelical doctrines of sin and grace, from Augustine's restless metaphysics; the papacy of the Middle Ages, from the trick of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and the ambition of "the rascal" Hildebrand; the Reformation, from the pecuniary embarrassment of Leo X. and the impudence of Tetzel; Luther's view of the Lord's Supper, from his own stubborn and dogmatizing humour. This extreme, subjective view of history not only casts censure on God, as having made the world so badly that it went to ruin in his hands, or as having no more concern with its history than a watchmaker with a watch long since finished and sold—thus furnishing excellent resources for scepticism and nihilism; but it offered, at the same time, the greatest possible insult to human nature, by robbing it, in this way, of all its dignity and higher worth. It would be inconceiv-

able that men should still expend so much diligence and learning on so heartless a work, were it not explained by the spirit of opposition to the church and the irresistible propensity of the German mind to theory and speculation.

Yet, on the other hand, Rationalism has been of undeniable service to church history. In the first place, it exercised the boldest criticism, placing many things in a new light, and opening the way for a more free and unprejudiced judgment. Then, again, it assisted in bringing out the true conception of history itself, though rather in a merely negative way. Almost all previous historians, Protestant as well as Catholic, had looked upon the history of *heresies* as essentially motion and change, while they had regarded the *church doctrine* as something once for all settled and unchangeable; a view, which cannot possibly stand the test of impartial inquiry. For though Christianity itself, the saving truth of God, is always the same, and needs no change; yet this can by no means be affirmed of the apprehension of this truth by the human mind in the different ages of the church; as is at once sufficiently evident from the great difference between Catholicism and Protestantism, and, within the latter, from the distinctions of Lutheranism, Zuinglianism, and Calvinism. But Rationalism now discovered fluctuation, motion, change, in the church, as well as in the sects; thus taking the first step towards the idea of organic development, on which the latest German historiography is founded. Still it did not rise above this vague notion of *change*, which is but the outward and negative aspect of development. It entirely overlooked the element of truth in the old orthodox view. It failed to discern, that, together with the changeable, there is also something permanent; and that, amidst all these variations, the church remains, in her inmost life, the same. Church history became, in its hands, a storm-tossed ship, without pilot or helm, a wild chaos, without unity or vital energy; the play of chance, without divine plan or definite end. Rationalism knew nothing of a development, which proceeds according to necessary, rational laws; remains, in its progress, identical with itself; preserves the sum of the truth of all preceding stages; and, though it be through many obstructions and much opposition, and in perpetual conflict with the kingdom of evil, ever presses on towards a better state. It regarded the

course of history rather as a steady deterioration, or, more properly, a process of rarefaction and sublimation, in which the church gradually loses her doctrinal and religious substance; till at last the age of Illuminationism makes the happy discovery, that the whole of Christianity may be ultimately resolved into a few common-place moral maxims and notions of virtue!

The main instrument of this great revolution in the conception and treatment of church history, the man who is unquestionably entitled to the name, "father of German neology," was JOHN SOLOMON SEMLER, Professor of Theology in Halle (†1791). He had been educated in the bosom of an anxious, narrow-minded, and pedantic Pietism, and from this retained his "private piety," which he held to be entirely independent of all theory, and in virtue of which he opposed the appointment of the notorious Bahrdt, and wrote against the Wolfenbüttel Fragments. To Arnold's History of Heretics he was early indebted for much of his aversion to orthodoxy and partiality for heretics; to Bayle's Dictionary, for all manner of doubts; and to his preceptor, Baumgarten, for the conviction that the church doctrine, as it then stood, "had by no means borne always the same form." His own studies shewed him more and more clearly that all is motion and flow; everything is in transition or past; every age has its own views and modes of thought, its peculiar consciousness, into which a man must transfer himself before he can understand it. He was endowed with rare powers of invention, but was destitute of all system, method, and taste in representation; impulsive and sanguine; in fact, the very embodiment of his own favourite notion of change. With gigantic diligence and insatiable curiosity he traversed the most retired regions of history, and particularly the Middle Ages, trying to place everything in some hitherto undiscovered light. Everywhere he made new discoveries, and roused the spirit of inquiry, but without himself producing anything solid and permanent.[1] "His whole course is merely preparatory, breaking ground, agitating all possibilities, perpetually raising doubts and suspicions, forming conjectures and combina-

[1] Of his 171 works, hardly one is now read, except by the professional historian. They include, among other things, even treatises on the habits of snails in winter, and on making gold, with which, however, not only his literary voracity, but also, as Tholuck at least suspects (*Vermischte Schriften*, part ii., p. 82), his devotion to Mammon had something to do.

tions; a vast rummage of material. His writings on doctrine history are like an unbroken field, which has yet to be tilled; a building-lot, where, amid rubbish and ruins, the materials for a new structure still lie in endless confusion."[1]

The most characteristic and energetic work from Semler's school is HENKE'S *General History of the Christian Church*, in eight parts (1788, *et seq.*) His principal aim is, to shew up the mischief which religious despotism and doctrinal constraint, as he supposes, have everywhere wrought through all ages; and he presents a glaring, keenly sarcastic picture of enthusiasm, superstition, stupidity, and wickedness. His work is thus truthfully characterized by Hagenbach:[2] "In his hands church history becomes mainly a history of human aberrations. Fanaticism, hypocrisy, calculation, and cunning, or bigotry, are the factors, with which he meets, wherever the unprejudiced eye discerns greatness, to be measured by a different rule from any that modern reason and taste may suggest. The historian, who sees in Tertullian merely the 'extravagant head;' in St Augustine, 'the ingenious babbler;' who discovers nothing but 'cunning and baseness' in Gregory VII., and calls him 'a man without religion, without truthfulness and honesty;' who has no other opinion of St Francis of Assisi, than that he was 'a man sick in soul and body,' 'an unfortunate madman,' 'an entirely neglected and crippled head;'—shews, by such judgments, that he is destitute of one of the most important qualifications of a historian, that elasticity of mind and soul which enables him to adapt himself to characters and situations different from those which meet us in the every-day wisdom of the surrounding world." VATER, in his continuation and fifth edition of the work, has considerably smoothed off its sharp corners, and breathed into it a more kindly spirit.

After Henke and others had thus let out their hatred of the ecclesiastical past to their hearts' content, there arose a perfect indifference to the religious import of church history. In this spirit J. E. CH. SCHMIDT, of Giessen, compiled his instructive work, continued by RETTBERG, purely from original sources.[3] DANZ

[1] He is thus strikingly characterized by Dr F. Ch. Baur, who himself greatly resembles him in many things (*Lehrb. d. Christl. Dogmengesch.*, 1847, p. 40).

[2] In Ullmann's "Studien und Kritiken," 1851, p. 562, *et seq.*

[3] Handbuch der Christl. Kirchengeschichte, Giessen. 1801–20. 6 parts (2d ed., 1825–7). The seventh part, by RETTBERG, comes down to A.D. 1305. Schmidt wrote, also, a short

took a similar course. But GIESELER surpassed them all in the judicious selection of his extracts, and in sober and cautious criticism. In his valuable, though yet unfinished Church History, Rationalism appears still more cooled down, and retreats behind a dry and purely scientific research, and a calm, objective narration.

§ 33. *Rationalistic Historians in England. Gibbon.*

While the awful rationalistic apostacy from the faith of the fathers has fully developed itself, both theoretically and practically, in Germany, and especially within the Lutheran confession, the Reformed church of France, Holland, England, and Scotland has remained far more stationary in its theology. We observe in it, indeed, a considerable decline in ecclesiastical and religious life since the middle of the last century, from which several branches have not to this day recovered; and we still more frequently meet with undeveloped and often unsuspected rationalistic *elements and tendencies* in a great portion of English and American theology; in close connection, however, with a certain traditional orthodoxy and practical piety. Our current ultra-Protestant views of the early church, and especially of the Middle Ages (Dark Ages, as, through ignorance or prejudice, we generally call them), and of all that appertains to the history of the Roman Catholic church, are very much like those of German Rationalism, and rest on a virtual denial of Christ's uninterrupted presence in his church "even unto the end of the world." (Matt. xxviii. 20.) But with the decline of living faith in the various Reformed confessions, the interest in theology also decreased, and latitudinarianism and indifferentism obtained more sway, in the eighteenth century, than open hostility to Christianity.

Great Britain produced, indeed, in the middle and latter part of the last century, her first great historians, ROBERTSON and DAVID HUME (†1776), of Scotland, and especially EDWARD GIBBON (†1794), of England.[1] But they selected for their inves-

Manual of Ch. Hist. (2d ed., 1808), with ample references, in clear style, and well arranged, but without spirit and life.

[1] "The old reproach, that no British altars had been raised to the muse of history was recently disproved by the first performances of Robertson and Hume, the histories of Scotland, and of the Stuarts. . . . . The perfect composition, the nervous language, the

tigation interesting portions of political and secular history, and touch the subject of religion and the church only occasionally, as it comes in contact with their direct object. In these portions, however, the last two writers give free vent to the sceptical and infidel spirit of the so-called philosophic age; especially GIBBON, in his celebrated *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* This work, in unity of design, extent and variety of research, admirable skill in the selection and condensation of matter, luminous arrangement, harmony, clearness, and vivacity of diction, not only surpassed all its predecessors in England, but occupies a prominent place among the greatest historical compositions of ancient and modern times. It is, on this account, the more to be regretted, that its author was so utterly blind to the claims of Christianity, the divine origin and moral grandeur of which find one of their most convincing illustrations in the very event which he portrays, the downfall of its deadly enemy, the colossal Roman empire, and in the erection of the new European civilization upon its ruins by the untiring energy of the church. It is in the famous fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of his work, particularly, that Gibbon treats of the propagation of Christianity and its early history in the Roman empire. His own religious opinions did not rise above the vagaries of a heathen philosopher. He seems even to have doubted the immortality of the soul;[1] or at least he suffered this important truth to have no influence on his theory or practice. How could he be expected, then, to do justice to a religion based altogether upon the realities of a supernatural, heavenly world? It is true, he does not directly attack Christianity, and either dexterously eludes, or speciously

well-turned periods of Dr Robertson, inflamed me to the ambitious hope that I might one day tread in his footsteps; the calm philosophy, the careless inimitable beauties of his friend and rival, often forced me to close the volume with a mixed sensation of delight and despair."—Gibbon, *Autobiography*, ch. xii.

[1] In the 15th ch. (vol. i., p. 527, *et seq.*, ed. Harper), he relates, with apparent approbation, the doubts and uncertainties of heathen writers on this subject; and, judging from the general tone of his Autobiography, he believed in and desired only the immortality of fame. In one of his last letters to Lord Sheffield on the death of his lady, dated April 27, 1793, he writes: "The *only* consolation in these melancholy trials to which human life is exposed, *the only one at least in which I have any confidence,* is the presence of a friend, and of that, as far as it depends upon myself, you shall not be destitute." (Autobiog., p. 358, New York ed.) A poor consolation indeed, and, in this instance, of short duration; as Gibbon died a few months after at London, under circumstances by no means edifying or encouraging.

concedes its divine origin, in order to make its real or supposed corruptions in a subsequent age the more apparent and appalling. "The theologian," says he, with latent sarcasm, in the beginning of the fifteenth chapter, "may indulge the pleasing task of describing religion as she descended from heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed on the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption, which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings." But he wrongs Christ by casting reproach on his people; he undermines the authority of the apostles by suspecting the virtues of their immediate successors. What reasonable confidence can we have in the Divine Founder of our holy religion if his work proved a failure almost as soon as it was done?

Fortunately, however, Gibbon's picture of early Christianity is, in the main, but the skilful caricature of a thoroughly prejudiced and sceptical mind, utterly incapable of entering into its spirit. His sympathies are with the heroes of ancient Greece and Rome; and while he praises the virtues, and often apologizes for the vices of heathens, he either wilfully omits, or diminishes and casts suspicion on the virtues of Christians, and, with sneering contempt and almost malignant sarcasm, carefully enumerates and exaggerates all their failings; it is only with reluctance, and with exception and reservation, that he admits their claim to admiration. "This inextricable bias," says his editor, Milman,[1] "appears even to influence his manner of composition. While all the other assailants of the Roman empire, whether warlike or religious, the Goth, the Hun, the Arab, the Tartar, Alaric and Attila, Mahomet, and Zengis, and Tamerlane, are each introduced upon the scene almost with dramatic animation—their progress related in a full, complete, and unbroken narrative—the triumph of Christianity alone takes the form of a cold and critical disquisition. The successes of barbarous energy and brute force call forth all the consummate skill of composition; while the moral triumphs of Christian benevolence, the tranquil heroism of endurance, the blameless purity, the contempt of guilty fame, and of honours destructive to the human race, which, had they assumed the proud name of philosophy, would have been blazoned

[1] Preface to Gibbon's History, p. xvii., *et seq.*

in his brightest words, because they own religion as their principle, sink into narrow asceticism. The *glories* of Christianity, in short, touch on no chord in the heart of the writer; his imagination remains unkindled; his words, though they maintain their stately and measured march, have become cool, argumentative, and inanimate." The great work of Gibbon, from whose real merits we would not detract a single iota, furnishes a new commentary on the Saviour's word, that the things of the kingdom of heaven are hid from the wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes.

Gibbon's covert attack on Christianity called forth, at the first appearance of his work, various answers; but the apology of Bishop *Watson* excepted, they were hastily compiled by inferior and now forgotten writers. *Guizot*, *Wenck*, and *Milman*, in the valuable annotations to their translations and editions, have pointed out a number of errors, omissions, and mis-statements in the History of the Decline and Fall; but neither of them shew a very profound knowledge of early Christianity, and consequently neither has done it full justice. A thorough and satisfactory refutation of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, and of the latter portions of Gibbon, relating to church history, may be considered still a desideratum in English literature.

In this connection we must mention the work of the zealous English Unitarian JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, a better naturalist than theologian, who died at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, A.D. 1804. It is entitled, *An History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, in two volumes,[1] and is mainly a sort of history of Christian doctrine, the character of which may be easily inferred from the title. It is a very incomplete and thoroughly one-sided account of the origin of the "opinions" concerning Christ, the Trinity, the atonement, concerning sin and grace, angels and saints, &c.; with a view to shew that the orthodox doctrines of the church are an apostacy from primitive Christianity, as contained (according to his own subjective and low rationalistic interpretation, of course[2]) in the New Testament, and were gradually intro-

[1] Second edition, 1793, Birmingham. The dedication to his friend Lindsey is dated November 1782.

[2] He himself makes the truthful remark, though without applying it to his own case, vol. i., p. 11: "Nothing is more common than for men to interpret the writings of others according to their own previous ideas and conceptions of things."

duced from without, especially through the influence of the Greek philosophy. The first step in this supposed process of "corruption" was the deification of Christ, the germ of which is found in Justin Martyr's Platonic idea of the Logos. This fundamental error was the fruitful source of other corruptions, until at last Christianity was brought into a state little better than heathen polytheism and idolatry. Dr Priestley could not fail to see that such a conversion of church history into a history of progressive corruption might easily be laid hold of by the infidel in an open attack on Christianity itself, as the fountain of all these errors and illusions. But he thought he had a sufficient answer and consolation in the honest conceit, that "these corruptions appear to have been clearly foreseen by Christ and by several of the apostles," and in the further consideration, that in his days, "according to the predictions contained in the books of Scripture, Christianity has begun to recover itself from this corrupted state, and that the reformation advances apace."[1] The work is written in a moderate tone, in a clear and pleasing style; but is destitute of real research and scientific value. It is chiefly interesting as a significant parallel to the contemporary, but far more learned historical productions of German Rationalism.

§ 34. (*e*) *Evangelical Catholic Period of Organic Development.*

German Protestantism, like the prodigal son, gradually became ashamed of the husks on which it has long fed (and on which, in some places, it still tries to live), smote upon its breast in penitent sorrow, and resolved to return to its father's house, to the old, and yet eternally young faith of the church. As the deistical or vulgar Rationalism gained prevalence and power towards the end of the last century, by the co-operation of different causes and influences; so men of various callings and tendencies, as Herder, Hamann, Jacobi, the romantic school of Schlegel, Tieck, and Novalis, the philosophers Schelling and Hegel, and still more the theologian Schleiermacher, each did his part towards overthrowing its dominion in the scientific world, and preparing the way for a new theology, pervaded by the life of faith. To their exertions must be added the re-awakening of moral earnestness and religious life, occasioned partly

[1] See Preface to the first volume, p. 15.

by the after-workings of Pietism, and of the Moravian movement; partly by the deep concussions of the Napoleon wars, and the patriotic enthusiasm of the popular struggles for freedom, accompanied by an effort, though somewhat vague, for a universal regeneration of Germany; in part, finally, by the third centennial jubilee of the Reformation, A.D. 1817, and the important and pregnant fact connected with it, of the *Evangelical Union* between the hitherto separated sister churches of the Lutheran and Reformed confessions, first in Prussia, and afterwards, in pursuance of this example, in Wurtemberg, Baden, and other parts of Germany. From these causes, and in bold, unintermitted, and victorious warfare, first against the older popular Rationalism, and afterwards against the speculative forms of it proceeding from the Hegelian school, arose the modern *evangelical* theology of Germany; displaying in all departments of religious knowledge, especially in exegesis, church history, and doctrine history, a noble and still lively and productive activity; and, of all Protestant theological schools of the present day, unquestionably the first in learning, acumen, spirit, vigour, and promise.[1]

This period has done proportionally more than any other for the advancement of our science, as to both matter and form. Within the last thirty years in Germany historical theology has engaged an extraordinary amount of diligence and zeal, the effects of which will long be felt, and will be found increasingly beneficial, also, in other lands, particularly in the various branches of English and American Protestantism.[2] In the mass of literature thus created, we must distinguish three classes of works: (1.) Those which embrace the *whole range* of church history; and

[1] Comp. my *Gallerie der bedeutendsten jetzt lebenden Universitätstheologen Deutschlands*, a series of articles in the April, May, July, August, and September numbers of the "Deutsche Kirchenfreund," vol. v., for the year 1852.

[2] Winer, in the first Supplement to his Manual of Theological Literature, mentions no less than five hundred works pertaining to the department of church history, which appeared in the short space of two years (1839-41). In addition to these, the theological journals of Germany—as *Ilgen's* "Zeitschrift für historische Theologie;" now edited by Dr Neidner; *Ullmann and Umbreit's* "Studien und Kritiken"—contain a multitude of historical treatises, many of them of great value; while almost all the later exegetical and dogmatical works are very largely interwoven with historical matter. A very careful and minute account of what has been added to the literature of church history from the year 1825 to 1850, especially by German zeal and industry, may be found in several articles of Dr ENGELHARDT, in Neidner's Zeitschrift für histor. Theologie, for 1851 and 1852.

here, again, (*a*) those constructed on an extended plan, and designed more for professional scholars, but as yet mostly unfinished; as the works of NEANDER (1825, *et seq.*), GIESELER (1824, *et seq.*), ENGELHARDT (4 vols., 1833, *et seq.*), GFRÖRER (1841, *et seq.*); and (*b*) smaller manuals, intended rather for students. Among the latter, the number of which has of late very rapidly swollen, we may mention particularly that of NIEDNER (1846), distinguished for original learning and masterly condensation of details; that of HASE (sixth edition, 1848), which, in spirited, piquant description, comprehensive brevity, esthetic taste, and successful delineation of individual characters, excels all former or later compends; and, finally, that of GUERICKE (seventh edition, 1849), which, in spite of its illiberal spirit, and heavy and awkward style, has found much favour and an extensive circulation, by its skilful working up of material furnished mostly by others, especially Neander, by its decided orthodoxy, and its enthusiasm for old Lutheranism.[1] (2.) Those which are limited to the department of *doctrine history;* among which are most conspicuous the works of BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS (two volumes, 1832, abridged 1840 and 1846), ENGELHARDT (two parts, 1839), HAGENBACH (two parts, second edition, 1847), and BAUR (one volume, 1847). (3.) A whole host of *monographs* on celebrated persons, on single doctrines of Christianity, on special topics, as the missions, government, worship, moral and religious life, of the church. It is impossible here to enumerate even the most important of them. A great number of the later theologians, Neander, Ullmann, Marheineke, Engelhardt, Thilo, Liebner, Hagenbach, Böhringer, Bindemann, Jürgens, Henry, Herzog, Baum, Räuchlin, Erbkam, Baur, Rothe, Dorner, Bunsen, Hasse, Ebrard, Heppe, &c., have applied themselves with zeal and success to the field of monographic historical literature. Roman Catholic scholars of Germany, too, as Möhler,

[1] Less generally known, yet equally valuable in their way, are the manuals of church history by SCHLEIERMACHER (one of his most imperfect and unimportant works, published after his death by *Bonnell*, A.D. 1840, from sketches of lectures), LINDNER (1848, *et seq.*), FRICKE (1850), JACOBI (1850), KURTZ (1850), SCHMIDT (1851). Jacobi is a worthy and faithful disciple of Neander; Lindner and Kurtz have a decided predilection for Lutheran orthodoxy, but greatly surpass Guericke in liberality and style, and will in all probability gradually take his place in regard to circulation. The work of Kurtz especially, which is just now (1853) coming out in a greatly enlarged and improved edition, has all the elements and prospects of general popularity.

Höfler, Staudenmaier, Hefele, Hurter, have followed the example set especially by Neander in this sphere of study. The relation of the general works to the special is that of reciprocal completion. The former, as Dr Kliefoth happily remarks,[1] have a double office: "first to go before the monographs, and shew the chasms which still need to be filled by such labour; and then, again, to come after the monographs, and give their results the proper place in the living organism of the history.[2]

This mass of historical literature, both general and special, is by no means pervaded by one and the same principle and spirit. It reflects the endless diversity and partial confusion of the theological schools and tendencies of modern Germany. In the general views and judgments of Gieseler, Gfrörer, and others, as well as in their cold, unedifying way of treating their subject, we recognise still the influence of the older common-sense Rationalism. The productions of the Tübingen school are in league with the speculative, or transcendental and pantheistic Rationalism of the Hegelian system. Hase, one of the most elegant and tasteful *writers* of history, is, indeed, an opponent of the common Rationalism, and attacked it with spirit and ingenuity in his controversies with the late General Superintendent, Röhr. He has uncommon facility in adapting himself to the various forms of Christianity and the different stages of its development; possesses a delicate sense of the beautiful; and furnishes capital miniature portraits, also, of such saints as Antony, Bernard, Francis of Assisi. But he sympathizes with the heroes of the Catholic and Protestant churches more from his humanism and poetic taste, than from the standpoint of a supernatural faith; and the highly artistic structure of his otherwise masterly textbook wants the heaven-aspiring tower and the holy sign of the

[1] Reuter's "Allg. Repertorium für die theol. Literatur und kirchliche Statistik," for 1845, p. 106; where the reader will find several instructive articles by Kliefoth, on *The later Ecclesiastical Historiography of the German Evangelical Church.*

[2] Fr. Böhringer has attempted to present all church history in a chronological series of the biographies of its heroes, in his yet unfinished work, *The Church of Christ and her witnesses, or Chuech History in Biography*, Zürich, 1842, *et seq.* His plan certainly aims to supply a real want, has something very attractive in it, and is followed out with diligence and talent. But it seems to us too extensive for a larger, more promiscuous class of readers, such as he has in view; while for the scholar it is likewise ill adapted, on account of its entire want of literary apparatus. The independent thinker can take nothing on mere authority, but must everywhere examine the historian, and see whether his text be a faithful copy of the sources he has used.

cross. Guericke, where he does not follow Neander, falls back into the obsolete method and spirit of Flacius, and, from the time of the Reformation, mars the historical character and the dignity of his Manual quite too much by passionate and coarse attacks upon the Reformed church, and every form of union which does not square with his own contracted notions of orthodoxy. Gfrörer began in low, rationalistic style, but, in the progress of his work, seems to approach a politico-Catholic, hierarchical view. Engelhardt, in his thoroughly learned works on church and doctrine history, makes it his business simply to report from original sources with scrupulous accuracy and colourless monotony, without suffering any judgment of his own to appear. Niedner has thoroughly mastered and digested all his material with considerable energy of thought; but his singular terminology and the artificial interweaving of his categories make it hard to obtain any clear, simple view.

With these explanations and qualifications, we proceed to point out those *general* features of the modern German historiography which give it a decided superiority over that of the preceding periods.

1. Its most prominent excellence, as to *form* and method, we take to be its *scientific* structure and that *spirited*, *lifelike* mode of representation, which springs from the idea of an *organic development*.[1] History is no longer viewed as a mere inorganic mass of names, dates, and facts, but as *spirit* and *life*, and therefore as process, motion, development, passing through various stages, ever rising to some higher state, yet always identical with itself, so that its end is but the full unfolding of its beginning. This makes church history, then, appear as an organism, starting from the person of Jesus Christ, the creator and progenitor of a new race; perpetually spreading both outwardly and inwardly; maintaining a steady conflict with sin and error without and within; continually beset with difficulties and obstructions; yet, under the unfailing guidance of providence, infallibly working towards an appointed end. This idea of organic development combines what was true in the notion of something permanent and unchangeable in church history, as held by both the Catholic and the Old-Protestant Orthodoxy, with the element

[1] See above, § 5.

of truth in the Rationalistic conception of motion and flow; and on such ground alone is it possible to understand fully and clearly the temporal life of Christianity. A permanent principle, without motion, stiffens into stagnation; motion, without a principle of permanence, is a process of dissolution. In neither case can there properly be any living history. The conception of such history is, that, while it incessantly changes its form, never for a moment standing still, yet, through all its changes, it remains true to its own essence; never outgrows itself; incorporates into each succeeding stage of growth the results of the preceding; and thus never loses anything, which was ever of real value.

This idea of an organic, steadily improving development of humanity, according to a wise, unalterable plan of providence, is properly speaking as old as Christianity, meets us in many passages of the New Testament (Matt. xiii. 31, 32; Eph. iv. 12-16; Col. ii. 19; 2 Pet. iii. 18), and in occasional remarks of the early fathers, such as Tertullian and Augustine, and was brought out in the eighteenth century with peculiar emphasis and freshness by the genial *Herder*, in his "Ideas for the Philosophy of the History of Humanity" (1784), so highly valued by the gifted historian of Switzerland, John von Müller.[1] The more mature and philosophical conception of it, however, and the impulse which it gave to a deeper and livelier study of history, are due especially to the philosophy of *Schelling*, and, still more, of *Hegel*. With Hegel, all life and thought is properly development, or a process of organic growth, which he calls *Aufhebung;* that is, in the threefold sense of this philosophical term so much used by him; (1.) an abolition of the previous imperfect form (an *aufheben* in the sense of *tollere*), (2.) a preservation of the essence (*conservare*), and, (3.) an elevation of it to a higher stage of existence (*elevare*). Thus as the child grows to be a man, his childhood is done away, his personal identity is preserved, and his nature raised to the stage of manhood. So, as Judaism passes into Christianity, its exclusive character, as a preparatory establishment, is lost; but its substance is transferred into the gospel, and by it completed. Christ is, on the one hand, the end of the law and the prophets, while, on the other,

[1] Comp. some extracts on this point from Herder's works, in my tract on *Historical Development*, p. 73, *et seq.*

he says:—"I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." This is no contradiction, but only the exhibition of the same relation in different aspects.

The general idea of development, however, takes very different forms from different standpoints; as faith, authority, freedom, nay, even Christianity itself, are liable to the most contradictory definitions. How far apart, for example, are Neander and Baur, though both apprehend and represent church history as a process of life! How different again from both the Roman Catholic convert Newman, who has likewise a theory of development of his own! Hegel's development, in the hands of his infidel followers, is, at bottom, merely an intellectual process of logical thinking, in which, in the end, the substance of the Christian life itself is lost. As once Platonism was, for Origen, Victorinus, Augustine, Synesius, and others, a bridge to Christianity, while, at the same time, the Neo-Platonists and Julian the Apostate used it as a weapon against the Christian religion; so, also, the categories of modern philosophy (not only German but English too) have subserved purposes and tendencies diametrically opposite. *The right application of the theory of development depends altogether on having beforehand a right view of positive Christianity, and being rooted and grounded in it, not only in thought, but also in heart and experience.* With this preparation a man may learn from any philosophical system without danger, on the principle of Paul, that "all things are his." Here, too, we may say: *Amicus Plato, amicus Aristoteles, sed magis amica veritas.*

But when this mode of viewing history is adopted, it cannot fail to have its influence on the *representation.* If history is spirit and life, and, in fact, rational spirit, the manifestation and organic unfolding of eternal, divine ideas, its representation must likewise *be full of spirit and life,* an *organic reproduction.* A mechanical and lifeless method, which merely accumulates a mass of learned material, however accurately, is no longer enough. The historian's object now is, to comprehend truly the events, leading ideas, and prominent actors of the past, and to unfold them before the eyes of his readers, just as they originally stood; to know not only *what* has taken place, but also *how* it has taken place. The old pragmatic method, too, of referring things merely

to accidental subjective and psychological causes and motives, has become equally unsatisfying. A higher pragmatism is now demanded, which has paramount regard to the objective forces of history ; traces the divine connection of cause and effect ; and, with reverential wonder, searches out the plan of eternal wisdom and love.

2. With this view of history, as an inwardly connected whole, pervaded by the same life-blood and always striving towards the same end, is united the second characteristic, which we look upon as the greatest *material* excellence of the most important historians of modern Germany ; viz., the spirit of *impartiality* and *Protestant catholicity*. Here, also, Herder, with his enthusiastic natural sensibility to the beautiful and the noble in all times and nations, was the mighty pioneer. By the recent development of theology and religious life in Germany the barriers of prejudice, which separated the Lutheran and Reformed churches, have been, in a great measure, surmounted, and by the Prussian Union (which, without such inward development, would be an unmeaning governmental measure) these barriers have been, in a certain degree, also outwardly removed, and almost all the great theologians of the day in Germany now stand essentially upon the basis of the Evangelical Union. Nay, more. Protestantism has also been forced to abandon for ever her former one-sided posture towards Catholicism. The old view of the Middle Ages especially, whose darkness Rationalism in its arrogant pretensions to superior light and knowledge (Aufklärung) could not paint black enough,[1] has been entirely repudiated, since the most thorough research has revealed their real significance in poetry, art, politics, science, theology, and religion.[2] It is now generally

[1] In a rationalistic pamphlet on Luther, which appeared in Berlin as late as A.D. 1817, and has been frequently reprinted, we find even the fabulous assertion, that "poor men at that time knew almost nothing of God."

[2] Fr. Galle, a disciple of Neander, says in the preface to his "Geistliche Stimmen aus dem Mittelalter," p. vi.—"Long past is that period of stiff Lutheran orthodoxy which summarily rejected every intellectual production in any sort of connection with the Catholic Middle Ages ; already passing away is the time of shallow illuminationism (Aufklärung), which could see in the Reformation, at best, the murky dawn of the pretended noon-day of the present ; and in the Middle Ages, only a dark, dreary night, in which nothing stirred but the wild beasts of Obscurantism and barbarism. Men have begun to perceive, with all esteem for the Reformatiom and its invaluable services, that the Lord has at all times filled His church with His Spirit and His gifts, and that, even where her skies have been darkened with mist and clouds, He has always been near her with the light of His truth."

agreed, that the Middle Ages were the necessary connecting link between ancient and modern times; that this period was the cradle of Germanic Christianity and modern civilization; that its grand, peculiar institutions and enterprises, the papacy, the scholastic and mystic divinity, the monastic orders, the crusades, the creations of sacred art, were indispensable means of educating the European races; and that, without them, even the Reformation of the sixteenth century could not have arisen. Here, of course, the ultra-Protestant fanatical opposition to the Catholic church must cease. The general disposition now is to break away from the narrow apologetic and polemic interest of a particular confession or party, the coloured spectacles of which allow but a dim and partial view of the Saviour's majestic person. We wish to be guided solely by the spirit of impartial truth; and truth, at the same time, always best vindicates itself by the simple exhibition of its substance and historical course. Christianity can never be absolutely fitted to the last of a fixed human formula, without losing her dignity and majesty; and her history may claim, for its own sake, to be thoroughly investigated and represented, *sine ira et studio*, without any impure or loveless designs. The greatest masters in this field become more and more convinced, that the boundless life of the church can never be exhausted by any single sect or period, but can be fully expressed only by the collective Christianity of all periods, nations, confessions, and individual believers; that the Lord has never left himself without a witness; that, consequently, every period has its excellencies, and reflects, in its own way, the image of the Redeemer. A Neander, for example, reverentially kisses the footprints of his Master, even in the darkest times, and bows before the most varied refractions of his glory. Hence, within the last thirty years, almost every nook of church history has been searched with amazing industry and zeal; the darkest portions have been enlightened; and a mass of treasures brought forth from primitive, medieval, and modern times, to be admired and turned to the most valuable account by present and future generations.

In short, the investigations of *believing* Germany in the sphere of church history are inwardly and irresistibly pressing towards an evangelical catholic, central, and universal position, which

will afford a fair view of all parts of the vast expanse. They are making men see how the flood of Divine light and life, emanating from Jesus Christ, the central sun of the moral universe, has been pouring, with unbroken effulgence, on all past centuries, and will continue to pour upon the world in ever new variegations. For this reason, the study of our science is continually acquiring a greater practical importance. Church history is the field on which are to be decided the weightiest denominational controversies, the most momentous theological and religious questions. It aims to sketch forth from the old foundations of the church the plan for its new superstructure. In truth, the spirit of the modern evangelical theology of Germany seems to have already risen, in principle, above the present sad divisions of Christendom; and to foretoken a new age of the church. It can reach its aim, and find complete satisfaction only in the glorious fulfilment of the precious promise of one fold and one Shepherd.

Having noticed these general features, which, however, as already intimated, by no means belong to all the German church historians of our day, we must now characterize more minutely the most prominent authors; and, in so doing, we shall have occasion at the same time to explain our own relation to them, especially to Dr Neander.

Among the latest German ecclesiastical historians, who stand at the head of their profession, we must distinguish two widely different schools, which, as to their philosophico-theological basis, attach themselves to the names of the two greatest scientific geniuses of the nineteenth century, *Schleiermacher* and *Hegel*. They bear to each other, in some respects, the relation of direct antagonism, but partly, also, that of mutual completion; and are well matched in spirit and learning. They are:—(1.) The school of *Schleiermacher* and *Neander*, with Dr NEANDER himself at its head, as the "father of modern church history." For *Schleiermacher* was, properly, no historian; and his posthumous lectures on church history amount to no more than a loose unsatisfactory sketch. But his philosophical views of religion, Christianity, and the church, have indirectly exerted a very important influence upon this department of theology, as well as upon almost all others. (2.) The *Hegelian* school. This, how-

ever, falls again into two essentially different branches, viz.: (*a*) an *unchurchly* and *destructive* branch, the *Tübingen* school, as it is called, the chief representative of which is Dr BAUR, of Tübingen ;[1] and (*b*) a *conservative* branch, devoted to the *Christian faith*, among the leaders of which must be named with special prominence Drs ROTHE and DORNER. Since this later school, however, combines with the objective view of history and the dialectic method of the Hegelian philosophy, the elements also, of the Schleiermacherian theological culture, it may as well have an independent place, as a third school, intermediate between the two others.[2]

§ 35. *Dr Neander and his School.*[3]

DR AUGUSTUS NEANDER forms an epoch in the development of Protestant church historiography, as well as Flacius in the sixteenth century, Arnold at the close of the seventeenth, Mosheim, and, somewhat later, Semler, in the eighteenth ; and was accordingly, by general consent, distinguished, even before his death (1850), with the honorary title, "Father of (Modern) Church History." From him we have a large work, unfortunately not finished, on the general history of the Christian church ; extending from the death of the Apostles almost to the Reformation.[4] Next a special work on the Apostolic period,[5] which,

[1] Not to be confounded with the half crazy *Bruno Bauer*, whose blasphemous productions on the Gospels and the Acts belong not to the literature of theology, but to the history of insanity.

[2] In the following review of these schools we will not forget the debt of personal gratitude we owe to their leaders, Neander, Baur, and Dorner, who were our respected instructors; the first, in Berlin; the two last, previously, in Tübingen. But this cannot induce us to withhold a decided and uncompromising protest against the dangerous and antichristian extravagances of the sceptical school of Baur. All personal considerations must be subordinated to the sacred interests of faith and the church.

[3] Comp. my *Recollections of Neander*, in the "Mercersburg Review" for January 1851 ; and *Neander's Jugendjahre*, in the "Kirchenfreund" for 1851, p. 283, *et. seq.*

[4] In six volumes, or eleven parts (1825-52). The last volume, embracing the period preparatory to the Reformation, down to the council of Basil (A.D. 1430), was published after the author's death by Candidate *Schneider* from manuscripts left in a very fragmentary form. The first four volumes have appeared, since 1842, in a second improved edition. The English translation of this work by Prof. *Torrey*, though not entirely free from errors, may be pronounced, in general, a very accurate version.

[5] Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der Christlichen Kirch durch die Apostel. 2 vols. 1832, 4th ed. 1847.

together with one on the life of Christ (1837, 5th ed. 1849), serves as a foundation for the main work. Then, several valuable historical monographs on Julian the Apostate (1812), St Bernard of Clairvaux (1813, 2d ed. 1849), the Gnostic Systems (1818), St John Chrysostom (1821, 3d ed. 1848), the Anti-Gnostic Tertullian (1825, 3d ed. 1849). Finally some collections of smaller treatises, mostly historical, in which he presents single persons or manifestations of the Christian life, on the authority of original sources, indeed, but in a form better adapted to meet the practical religious wants of the public generally. The most important of these is his *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des christlichen Lebens* (3 vols. 1822, 3d ed. 1845), a series of edifying pictures of religious life in the first eight centuries.

Neander was fitted, as few have been, for the great task of writing the history of the church of Jesus Christ. By birth and early training an Israelite, and a genuine Nathanael too, full of childlike simplicity, and of longings for the Messianic salvation; in youth, an enthusiastic student of the Grecian philosophy, particularly of Plato, who became, for him, as for Origen and other church fathers, a scientific schoolmaster, to bring him to Christ[1]—he had, when in his seventeenth year he received holy baptism, passed through, in his own inward experience, so to speak, the whole historical course, by which the world had been prepared for Christianity; he had gained an experimental knowledge of the workings of Judaism and heathenism in their direct tendency towards Christianity; and thus he had already broken his own way to the only proper position for contemplating the history of the church; a position whence Jesus Christ is viewed as the object of the deepest yearnings of humanity, the centre

[1] Even in the academical gymnasium at Hamburg, Plato and Plutarch were his favourite study. The intimate friend of his youth, William Neumann—whose surname he afterwards at his baptism assumed, in its Greek form, with significant reference, also, to his own inward change—wrote of *David Mendel* as Neander was originally called, in the year 1806 (*Chamisso's Works*, vi., p. 241, *et seq.*): "Plato is his idol and his perpetual watchword. He pores over him day and night, and few, perhaps, take him in so entirely or with such full reverence. It is wonderful how he has become all this, so perfectly without foreign influence, solely by reflection and honest, pure study. With little knowledge of the Romantic philosophy, he has constructed it for himself, getting the germs of it from Plato. On the world around him he has learned to look with sovereign contempt." For a more minute account of Neander's education, see the "Kirchenfreund," *loc. cit.*, p. 286, *et seq.*

of all history, and the only key to its mysterious sense. Richly endowed in mind and heart; free from all domestic cares; an eunuch from his mother's womb, and that for the kingdom of heaven's sake (Matt. xix. 12); without taste for the distracting externals and vanities of life; a stranger in the material world, which, in his last years, was withdrawn even from his bodily eye,—he was, in every respect, fitted to bury himself, during a long and uninterrupted academical course, from 1812 to 1850, in the silent contemplation of the spiritual world, to explore the past, and to make his home among the mighty dead, whose activity belonged to eternity. In theology, he was at first a pupil of the gifted Schleiermacher, under whose electrifying influence he came during his university studies at Halle, and at whose side he afterwards stood as colleague for many years in Berlin. He always thankfully acknowledged the great merits of this German Plato, who, in a time of general apostasy from the truth, rescued so many young men from the iron embrace of Rationalism, and led them at least to the threshold of the holiest of all.[1] But he himself took a more positive course, rejecting the pantheistic and fatalistic elements which had adhered to the system of his master from the study of Spinoza, and which, it must be confessed, bring it, in a measure, into direct opposition to the simple gospel and the old faith of the church. This was, for him, of the greatest moment. For only in the recognition of a personal God, and of the free agency of individual men, can history be duly apprehended and appreciated. But apart from this he was, in his own particular department, entirely independent. For Schleiermacher's strength lay in criticism, dogmatics, and ethics, far more than in church history; though, by his spiritual intuitions, he undoubtedly exerted on the latter science also a quickening influence.

Thus, from the beginning of his public labours, Neander appeared as one of the leading founders of the new evangelical theology of Germany, and its most conspicuous representative on the field of church and doctrine history.

His first and greatest merit consists in restoring the *religious*

[1] Comp. especially Neander's article on *The past half century in its relation to the present time*, in the "Deutsche Zeitschrift," established by Dr Müller, Dr Nitzsch, and himself, vol. i., 1850, p. 7, *et seq.*, where he gives his views at large respecting Schleiermacher.

and *practical* interest to its due prominence, in opposition to the coldly intellectual and negative critical method of Rationalism; yet without thereby wronging in the least the claims of science. This comes out very clearly even in the preface to the first volume of his great work, where he declares it to be the grand object of his life, to set forth the history of Christ, "as a living witness for the divine power of Christianity; a school of Christain experience; a voice of edification, instruction, and warning, sounding through all ages, for all who will hear." True, he is second to none in learning. With the church fathers, in particular, many years of intercourse had made him intimately familiar. And though, from his hearty dislike for all vanity and affectation, he never makes any parade with citations, yet, by his pertinent and conscientious manner of quoting, he everywhere evinces a perfect mastery of the sources: for the genuine scholar is recognised, not in the number of citations, which, at any rate may be very cheaply had from second or third hand; but in their independence and reliability, and in the critical discernment with which they are selected. With the most thorough knowledge of facts he united, also, almost every other qualification of a scientific historian; a spirit of profound critical inquiry, a happy power of combination, and no small talent for genetically developing religious characters and their theological systems. But he diffuses through all his theoretical matter a pious, gentle, and deeply humble, yet equally earnest spirit. Like Spener and Franke, Neander views theology, and with it church history, not merely as a thing of the understanding, but also as a practical matter for the heart; and he has chosen for his motto: *Pectus est quod theologum facit.*[1] This gives his works a great advantage over the productions of the modern Tübingen school, as well as over the text-book of Gieseler, which, in learning and keen research, is at least of equal merit; though in the case of the latter work we are bound to consider, that the author pursues a different object, and by his invaluable extracts from sources compensates in parts for the lack of life in the dry skeleton of his text. Neander moves through the history of the church in

[1] Those Hegelians who ridiculed this motto, and mockingly called Neander a "*pectoral theologian*," only exposed, in this way, their own shame. We can never make theology too earnest or practical; for it has to do with nothing less than the everlasting weal or woe of undying souls.

the spirit of faith and devotion; Gieseler, with critical acumen and cold intellect. The one lives in his heroes, thinks, feels, acts, and suffers with them; the other surveys their movements from a distance, without love or hatred, without sympathy or antipathy. The former reverently kisses the footsteps of his Lord and Saviour, wherever he meets them; the latter remains unmoved and indifferent even before the most glorious manifestations of the Christian life.[1]

This spirit of Christian piety, which animates Neander's historical writings, and rules his whole habit of thought, is further characterized by a comprehensive *liberality* and evangelical *catholicity*. Arnold and Milner, in their subjective and unchurchly pietism, had like regard indeed to practical utility; but they could find matter of edification, for the most part, only in heretics and dissenters. From these historians Neander differs, not only in his incomparably greater learning and scientific ability, but also in that right feeling by which, notwithstanding his own disposition to shew even too much favour to certain heretics, he still traces the main current of the Christian life in the unbroken line of the Christian church. From the orthodox Protestant, rough, polemical historians of the seventeenth century, on the other hand, Neander differs in the liberal spirit with which, though constitutionally inclined rather to the German Lutheran type of religious character in its moderate, Melancthonian form,[2] he rises above denominational limits, and plants himself on the basis of the *Union*, where Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism become only parts of a higher whole. But his sympathies go far beyond the Reformation, and take in also the peculiar forms of *Catholic* piety. With him, in truth, the universal history of the church is no mere fortuitous concourse of outward facts, but a connected process of evolution, an unbroken continuation of the life of Christ through all cen-

[1] True, Gieseler also demands, in the church historian, "the spirit of Christian piety;" and on the right ground; "because we can never obtain a just historical apprehension of any foreign spiritual phenomenon, without reproducing it in ourselves" (Einl. § 5). But in his own text, as might be expected from his rationalistic position, there is certainly little trace of such a spirit.

[2] Among all the characters of church history there is hardly one whom Neander more resembles, both in light and shade, than Melancthon. Both are of the Johannean stamp, of the mild, amiable, peace-loving, conciliatory, yielding temperament; and both are, in an eminent sense, *Præceptores Germaniæ*.

turies. He has won, in particular, the priceless merit of having introduced a more correct judgment respecting the whole church *before* the Reformation; above all, of having presented to the Protestant mind, not in the service of this or that party, but in the sole interest of truth, and in an unprejudiced, living reproduction, the theology of the *church fathers* in their conflict with the oldest forms of heresy. This he did first in his monographs. In his *Tertullian*, he drew a picture of the African church of the second and third centuries, and taught the true value, hitherto so much mistaken, of this rough but vigorous Christian, the patriarch of the Latin theology. In his *John Chrysostom*, he portrayed the greatest orator, interpreter, and saint of the ancient Greek church. In his *Bernard of Clairvaux*, he described with warm, though by no means blind admiration, the worthiest representative of monkery, of the crusades, and of the practical and orthodox mysticism, in the bloom of the Catholic Middle Ages, previously so little known and so much decried. He felt thus at home in all periods, because he met the same Christ in them all, only in different forms. By such sketches, drawn from life, and then by the connected representation in his large work, he contributed mightily to burst the shackles of Protestant prejudice and bigotry, and to prepare the way, in some measure, for a mutual understanding between Catholicism and Protestantism on historical ground. He adopted the significant words of the Jansenist Pascal, one of his favourite authors :—"*En Jésus-Christ toutes les contradictions sont accordées.*" And in these great antagonisms in church history he saw no irreconcileable contradiction, but two equally necessary manifestations of the same Christianity; and he looked forward with joyful hope to a future reconciliation of the two, already typified, as he thought, in St John, the apostle of love and of the consummation![1]

These large views of history, however, and this candid acknowledgment of the great facts of the ancient and medieval church—views which may lead, in the end, to practical consequences even more weighty than he himself could foresee or

[1] Comp. the closing words of his *History of the Apostolic Church*, and the *Dedication* of the second edition of the first volume of his larger work to Schelling, where he alludes with approbation to that philosopher's idea of three stages of development answering to the three apostles, Peter, Paul, and John.

approve—spring, in Neander's case, by no means from a Romanizing tendency. Such a disposition was utterly foreign to him. His liberality proceeds partly from his mild, John-like nature, and partly from his genuine Protestant toleration and high regard for individual personality; or from such a *subjectivity* as formed a barrier against ultra-Protestant and sectarian bigotry, no less than against Romanism, where individual freedom is lost in the authority of the general. In this he is a faithful follower of Schleiermacher, who, though he based his philosophy on the pantheistic system of Spinoza, had nevertheless an uncommonly keen eye and a tender regard for the personal and individual. What Schleiermacher thus asserted mainly in the sphere of speculation and doctrine, Neander carried out in history. He was fully convinced that the free spirit of the gospel could never be concentrated in any one given form, but could be completely manifested only in a great variety of forms and views. Hence his frequent remark, that Christianity, the leaven which is to pervade humanity, does not destroy natural capacities, or national and individual differences, but refines and sanctifies them. Hence his partiality for diversity and freedom of development, and his enmity to constraint and uniformity. Hence his taste for monographic literature, which sets a whole age concretely before the eye in the person of a single representative; of which invaluable form of church history Neander is to be accounted the proper father. Hence the love, and patience, and scrupulous fidelity with which he goes into all the circumstances of the men and systems he unfolds, to whatever nation, time, or school of thought they may belong; setting forth their defects and aberrations, as well as their virtues and merits; though without neglecting the duty of the philosophical historian, to collect the scattered particulars again into one complete picture, and refer them to the one unchanging idea. Finally, this sacred reverence for the image of God in the persons of men, and for the rights of individuals, accounts for the esteem and popularity which this equally pious and learned church father of the nineteenth century commands, more than any other modern theologian, in almost all sections of Protestantism, not only in Germany, but also in France, Holland, England, Scotland, and America, nay, so far as difference of ecclesiastical ground at all

allows, among liberal-minded scholars of the Roman Catholic church itself. In this view he stands before us, amidst the present distractions of Christendom, as an apostle of *mediation*, in the noblest sense of the word; and as such he still has, by his writings, a long and exalted mission to fulfil.

To sum up what has now been said; the most essential peculiarity, the fairest ornament, the most enduring merit of Neander's church history consists in the *vital union of the two elements of science and Christian piety*, and in the exhibition of both in the form, not of dead narrative, or mechanical accumulation of material, but of *life and genetic development*. The practical element is not a mere appendage to the subject, in the way of pious reflection and declamation, but grows out of it as by nature. It is the very spirit which fills and animates the history of Christianity as such. Neander is Christian, not *although*, but *because* he is scientific; and scientific, *because* he is Christian. This is the only form of edification which *can* be expected in a learned work; but such *must* be expected where the work has to do with Christianity and its history. And this gain, therefore, ought never to be lost. A church historian without faith and piety can only set before us, at best, instead of the living body of Christ, a cold marble statue, without seeing eye or feeling heart.

But a perfect church history calls for more than this. While we respect and admire in Neander the complete blending of the scientific element with the *Christian*, we miss, on the other hand, its union with the *churchly*. By this we mean, first, that he lacks decided *orthodoxy*. In his treatment of the life of Jesus, and the apostolic period, we meet with views respecting the Holy Scriptures, their inspiration and authority, together with doubts respecting the strictly historical character of certain sections of the Gospel history, and the genuineness of particular books of the sacred canon (the First Epistle to Timothy, the Second Epistle of Peter, and the Apocalypse), which, though by no means rationalistic, are yet rather too loose and indefinite, and involve, in our judgment, too many and sometimes too serious concessions to modern criticism. Of all his works, his *Leben Jesu* is, perhaps, in this respect, the farthest from satisfying the demands of sound faith, however highly we must esteem the honesty and tender

conscientiousness which usually give rise to his critical scruples and doubts. There is, it is true, in this difficult field, a scepticism more commendable than that hasty and positive dogmatism which, instead of seriously labouring to untie the Gordian knot, either refuses to see, or carelessly cuts it. But the *full* and *unconditional* reverence for the holy word of God, in which the whole Schleiermacherian school is more or less deficient, requires, wherever science cannot yet clear away the darkness, an humble submission of reason to the obedience of faith, or a present suspension of decisive judgment, in the hope that farther and deeper research may lead to more satisfactory results.

Again, Neander must be called unchurchly in his views of theology and history, on account of his comparative disregard for the *objective* and *realistic* character of Christianity and the church, and his disposition, throughout his writings, to resolve the whole mystery into something purely inward and ideal. In this respect he appears to us quite too little Catholic, in the real and historical sense of the word. True, he is neither a Gnostic, nor a Baptist, nor a Quaker; though many of his expressions, sundered from their connection, sound very favourable to these hyper-spiritualistic sects. He by no means mistakes the objective forces of history, and can readily appreciate the realistic element in such men as Tertullian, Athanasius, Augustine, Bernard, and even in the popes and schoolmen, up to a certain point. He, in fact, speaks frequently of general directions of mind, which embody themselves in individuals; and the antitheses of idealism and realism, rationalism and supranaturalism, logical intelligence and mystic contemplation, and the various combinations of these tendencies, belong to the standing categories of his treatment of history. But, in the first place, he refers these differences themselves, for the most part, to a merely psychological basis, to the differences of men's constitutions, that is, to a purely subjective ground. His prevailing view is, that the kingdom of God forms itself from individuals, and therefore, in a certain sense, from below upwards; that, as Schleiermacher once said, "the doctrinal system of the church takes its rise from the opinions of individuals." Then, in the next place, it is plain that Neander himself is of the spiritualistic and idealistic turn, and does not always succeed in avoiding the dangers to which

this tendency, in itself needful and legitimate, is exposed. Hence his predilection for the Alexandrian fathers, Clement and Origen. Hence his too favourable representation, as it appears to us, of Gnosticism, especially of Marcion, whose pseudo-Pauline hostility to the Catholic tradition he even makes to be a presage of the Reformation,—which, if true, would do the Reformation poor service. Hence his overstrained love of equity towards all heretical and schismatical movements, in which he almost always takes for granted some deep moral and religious interest, even where they clearly rest on the most wilful insurrection against lawful authority; the love of justice, with him, though by no means so abused as by that patron of sects, the pietistic Arnold, still often running into injustice to the historical church. Hence his undisguised dislike for all that he comprehends under the phrase *re-introduction of the legal Jewish ideas* into the Catholic church, including the special priesthood and outward service; this he thinks to be against the freedom advocated by St Paul and the idea of the universal priesthood (which, however, even under the Old Testament, had place *along with* the special; comp. 1 Pet. ii. 9, with Ex. xix. 6); though he is forced to concede to this Catholic legalism at least an important office in the training of the Teutonic nations.[1] Hence his indifference to fixed ecclesiastical organization, and his aversion to all restriction to confessions in the Protestant church; this, to him, savours of "bondage to the letter," "mechanism of forms," "symbol-worship." On this latter point we must, indeed, regard him as mainly in the right against those who would absolutely repristinate some particular confession of the past—the Form of Concord, perhaps, with its rigid Lutheranism—utterly regardless of the enlarged wants of the present. There was still more ground, also, for his zeal against the philosophical tyranny of the Hegelian intellectualists and pantheists, who, in the zenith of their prosperity, aimed to supplant a warm, living Christianity by dry scholasticism and unfruitful traffic in dialectic

[1] Dr Baur, in his *Epochen*, p. 218, remarks, that this favourite category of a transfer of Old Testament institutions to Christian soil, which Neander applies to Episcopacy, Montanism, and especially to the papacy of the Middle Ages, amounts to nothing, since what is past never returns in history, without becoming, at the same time, something entirely new.

forms.[1] Still the theological school now in hand is plainly wanting in a just appreciation of the import of law and authority in general,—a defect closely connected with the false view taken of the Old Testament in Schleiermacher's theology and philosophy of religion, and with his half-Gnostic ultra-Rationalism. The freedom for which Neander so zealously contends is of quite a latitudinarian sort, running at times into indefiniteness and arbitrariness, and covering Sabellian, Semiarian, Anabaptist, Quakerish, and other dangerous errors, with the mantle of charity. Much as we respect the noble disposition from which this springs, we must still never forget the important principle, that true freedom can thrive only in the sphere of authority,—the individual only in due subordination to the general; and that genuine catholicity is as rigid against error, as it is liberal towards the various manifestations of truth.

Neander views Christianity and the church, not, indeed, as necessarily opposed to each other, yet as two separate and more or less mutually exclusive spheres. In the mind, at least, of the whole ancient Eastern and Western church, these two conceptions virtually coincide, or, at all events, are as closely related as soul and body; and the one is always the measure of the other. This is abundantly proved by the examples of Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Anselm, Bernard, &c., even according to Neander's own representations of them. But the very title of his large work, "General History of the Christian Religion and Church," seems to involve the idea, to which a one-sided Protestant view of the world may easily lead, that there is a Christian religion *out of* and *beside* the church. On this point we venture no positive decision; but we think that such a separation can hardly be reconciled with Paul's doctrine of the church, as the "body of Jesus Christ," "the fulness of him, that filleth all in all." The future must reveal whether Christianity can be upheld without the divine institution of the church;[2] that is, whether the soul

[1] In this war with the Hegelian philosophy and its panlogism, he frequently gave way, occasionally in his prefaces, but oftener in private conversation, to an impatience and vehemence which seemed inconsistent with his usual calmness and gentleness. But hatred, in this case, was only inverted love. We remember the polemic zeal of St John against the Gnostics of his day.

[2] In which case the Bible and Tract Societies, for example (or, according to Dr Rothe, the State), would assume the functions of the ministry, and instead of being in the church,

can live without the body; whether it will not, at last, resolve itself into a ghost or Gnostic phantom, as certainly as the body without the soul sinks into a corpse. Meanwhile we hold to the maxim: *Where Christ is, there also is the church, his body; and where the church is, there also is Christ, her head, and all grace; and what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.*[1]

With these principal faults of Neander's Church History, which we have comprehended under the term "unchurchliness," in the wide sense, though, on the other hand, with its above named merits too, are more or less closely connected several other subordinate defects. Neander is pre-eminently the historian, so to speak, of the *invisible* church, and has, therefore, exhibited the development of Christian *doctrine* and Christian *life*, especially so far as these express themselves in single theologians and pious men, in the most thorough and original way. In this he has, in general, surpassed all his predecessors. On the contrary, in what pertains more to the outward manifestation of the church, to its bodily form, his contemplative, idealistic turn allows him less interest. This appears at once in his sections on the *constitution* of the church, where the subject is treated, even in the first period, in a very unsatisfactory manner, and under the influence of his antipathy to the hierarchical element; which, we may here remark, undeniably made its appearance as early as the second century, in the Epistles of Ignatius, too groundlessly charged by him with interpolation, even in their shorter form. For the worldly and political aspect of church history, with which the department of ecclesiastical polity has chiefly to do; the connection of the church with the state; the play of human passions, which, alas! are perpetually intruding even into the most sacred affairs, the godly man, in his guileless, childlike simplicity and his recluse student life, had, at any rate, no very keen eye.[2] But while he takes little notice of small and

as auxiliary associations, would usurp its place, and make it no longer necessary. We are of opinion, however, that Tract Societies and other such voluntary associations, in proportion as they should go beyond their original sphere, and seek to put themselves in the place of the church of God, would lose the confidence of the sound Christian public and the blessing of Heaven.

[1] Coleridge somewhere remarks: "Christianity, without a church exercising spiritual authority, is vanity and delusion."

[2] Dr Hagenbach, in his fine article on *Neander* in the "Studien und Kritiken," 1851,

low motives, he enters the more carefully into the deeper and nobler springs of actions and events. For the superficial pragmatism of his instructor, Planck, who often derives the most important controversies from the merest accidents and the most corrupt sources, he thus substitutes a far more spiritual and profound pragmatism, which makes the interest of religion the main factor in church history. If he sometimes causes us almost to forget that the kingdom of God is *in* the world, it is only to bring out the more forcibly the great truth of that declaration of Christ, which he has characteristically taken as a motto for each volume of his larger work: "My kingdom is not *of* this world."

Equally lacking was the excellent Neander in a cultivated sense for the *esthetic* or *artistic* in church history; though this defect, again, appears as the shadow of a virtue, arising from the unworldly character of his mind. Had he lived in the first centuries, he, with Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and others, would have looked upon art, so prostituted to the service of heathen idolatry, as a vain show, inconsistent with the humble condition of the church, if not as an actual *pompa diaboli*. This, indeed, is by no means his view. He is not puritanically, from principle, opposed to art. The all-pervading, leavenlike nature of the Gospel is one of his favourite thoughts. He advocates even the use of painting "for the glorifying of religion; agreeably to the spirit of Christianity, which should reject nothing purely human, but appropriate, pervade, and sanctify all;"[1] and in his account of the image controversies, he approves the middle course between the two extremes of worship of images and war upon them. But a full description of the influence of Christianity upon this sphere of human activity, a history of church sculpture, painting, architecture, music, and poetry, as well as of all that belongs to the symbolic show of the medieval Catholic worship, is not to be looked for in his work. In this respect he is far surpassed by the spirited, though much less spiritual Hase, who was the first to interweave the history of Christian art into

p. 588, likewise notices this honourable defect of his character, and adds:—"The other extreme is found, perhaps in Gfrörer, who takes delight in tracing the intricacies of intrigue and chicanery, but, in so doing, leaves the religious agency out of view. See, for example, the notice of the Gotteschalk controversy in his history of the Carlovingians."

[1] *Kirchengeschichte*, iii., p. 400.

the general body of church history, with his elegant taste, in short, but expressive and pointed sketches. But Neander's indifference to the beautiful as such is fairly balanced, to a great extent, by his merit, in not allowing himself to be repelled, like polite wits and worldlings, by the homely and poor servant-form in which the divine on earth is often veiled; in discerning the real worth of the heavenly treasure in earthen vessels, of the rich kernel even under a rough shell; or, as he himself says of Tertullian, in "recognising, and bringing out from beneath its temporal obscurity, the stamp of divinity in real life."[1]

From the same point of view must we judge, finally, Neander's style. His writing moves along with heavy uniformity and wearisome verbosity, without any picturesque alternation of light and shade, without rhetorical elegance or polish, without comprehensive classification; like a noiseless stream over an unbroken plain. Thus far it can by no means be recommended as a model of historical delineation. But, on the other hand, by its perfect naturalness, its contemplative unction, and its calm presentation of the subject in hand, it appeals to sound feeling, and faithfully reflects the finest features of the great man's character, his *simplicity and his humility*. The golden mean here appears to us to lie between the unadorned and uncoloured plainness of a Neander and the dazzling brilliancy of a Macaulay.

But, in spite of all these faults, Neander still remains, on the whole, beyond doubt the greatest church historian thus far of the nineteenth century. Great, too, especially in this, that he never suffered his renown to obscure at all his sense of the sinfulness and weakness of every human work in this world.[2] With all his comprehensive knowledge, he justly regarded himself as, among many others, merely a forerunner of a new creative epoch of

[1] Preface to the second edition of his *Antignosticus, Geist des Tertullian*, p. xi. Comp. the striking remarks of Hagenbach, *loc. cit.*, p. 589, who rightly demands for the perfection of historical science, that it "should catch upon the mirror of the fancy, from real life, the most different impressions of all times; copy the past with artistic freedom; create it, as it were, anew; breathe into the conditions of bygone days a fresh life, yet without allowing itself to be blinded by their charms. This is the union of poetry with history, towards which the modern age is striving."

[2] Comp. the touching words at the close of his Dedication to his friend, Dr Julius Müller, in the second edition of his *Tertullian*, written a year before his death:—"Although like you, I well know that no man is worthy of celebrity and veneration; that in all we know or do, we are, and must ever be, beggars and sinners."

ever-young Christianity; and towards that time he gladly stretched his vision, with the prophetic gaze of faith and hope, from amidst the errors and confusion around him. "We stand," says he,[1] on the line between an old world and a new, about to be called into being by the ever fresh energy of the Gospel. For the fourth time an epoch in the life of our race is in preparation by means of Christianity. We, therefore, can furnish, *in every respect, but pioneer work* for the period of the new creation, when life and science shall be regenerated, and the wonderful works of God proclaimed with new tongues of fire."

To the school of Schleiermacher and Neander, in the *wide* sense, belongs the majority of the latest theologians of Germany, who have become known in the field of church and doctrine history, by larger or smaller, general or monographic works; HOSSBACH, RHEINWALD, VOGT, SEMISCH, PIPER, JACOBI, BINDEMANN, SCHLIEMANN, HERZOG, HENRY, ERBKAM, GUERICKE, LINDNER, and KURTZ (the last three having, however, a decided leaning to strict Lutheran orthodoxy); but especially LEHNERDT, SCHENKEL, HUNDESHAGEN, HAGENBACH, and ULLMANN, who are, perhaps, the most learned and original of all here named. The compends of Jacobi, Guericke, Lindner, and Kurtz have already been mentioned; the others have written valuable contributions to various branches of historical literature, particularly biography. From Hagenbach, for instance, we have a Doctrine History, and, in more popular style for the general reader, an interesting work on Protestantism, and another on the first three centuries; which, by their simple, clear vivacity, and freedom from technical pedantry, commend themselves even to English taste. Hundeshagen and Schenkel have likewise bestowed their chief strength upon the nature and history of German Protestantism; the former, at the same time, touching, with the soundest discernment, upon many of its weaknesses, and the bad effects of a disproportionate literary activity, from which Germany has long suffered. But still more distinguished is Ullmann, Professor in Heidelberg, whom we consider, next to Neander, the most eminent church historian of Schleiermacher's school. His monograph on *Gregory Nazianzen* (A.D.

[1] Preface to his *Leben Jesu*, 1st ed. p. 9, *et seq.*

1825), and still more his work on the *Reformers before the Reformation* (two volumes, 1841-2), are, for thorough learning, calm clearness, and classic elegance, real masterpieces of church historiography. From this mild and amiable author we may, perhaps, still look for a general church history, which, as to form and style, would undoubtedly greatly surpass that of Neander.

Among the historians, who, though not professional theologians, have yet made church history the subject of their study, we cannot omit to mention, in this connection, the celebrated LEOPOLD RANKE, Professor in Berlin, and author of the *History of the Popes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, and of *German History in the Age of the Reformation*. He is not a man of system, and seldom rises to general philosophical views; but he has an uncommonly keen eye for details and individuals, and is in this respect akin to the school of Schleiermacher, and still more to Dr Hase. With this he combines fine diplomatic tact and shrewdness—the power to reveal the most secret springs of historical movements, and that, too, in part from original unprinted sources, especially from accounts of embassies and private correspondence. And he can present the results of his thoroughly original investigations with graphic perspicuity and lively elegance, affording his readers, at the same time, instruction and delightful entertainment. He might be termed, in many respects, the *German Macaulay*.

§ 36. *Dr Baur. Pantheistic Rationalism and Modern Gnosticism.*

In direct opposition to the Neandrian style of church history stands the new *Tübingen* school, in close connection with the *Hegelian philosophy*. This philosophy carries out in all directions, and brings into well-proportioned shape the fundamental views of Schelling;[1] though, at the same time, it is in a high degree independent, and a wonderful monument of comprehensive knowledge, and of the power of human thought. Its original peculiarity, which distinguished it from the systems of

[1] Hegel bears the same relation to Schelling as Aristotle to Plato, as Wolf to Leibnitz. What the latter have produced, the former have systematized and logically completed. That such a relation of dependence is consistent with uncommon metaphysical talents and the most comprehensive learning, is strikingly seen in Aristotle, and in the kindred and equally gifted mind of Hegel.

Fichte and Schleiermacher, was its objective and so far historical spirit. It was, in a certain sense, a philosophy of restoration, in rigid antagonism to the revolutionary, self-sufficient Illuminationism of the last century. To arbitrary self-will it opposed stern law; to private individual opinion, the general reason of the world and the public opinion of the state. It regarded history, not as the play of capricious chance, but as the product of the necessary, eternal laws of the spirit. Its maxim is: Everything reasonable is actual, and everything actual (all that *truly* exists) is reasonable. It sees, in all ages of history, the agency of higher powers; not, indeed, of the Holy Ghost in the Biblical sense, yet of a rational world-spirit, which makes use of individual men for the accomplishment of its plans. Hegel acknowledges Christianity as the absolute religion, and ascribes to the ideas of the Incarnation and the Trinity, though in a view very different from that of the church doctrine, a deep philosophical truth, carrying the idea of trinity into his view of the whole universe, the world of matter as well as of mind.

But these general principles were capable in theology of leading to wholly opposite views, according as the objective forces, by which Hegel conceived the process of history to be started and ruled, were taken to be real existences or mere abstract conceptions, according as the mind was guided by a living faith in Christianity, or by a purely speculative and scientific interest. Thus arise from the Hegelian philosophy two very different theological schools—a positive and a negative—a churchly and an antichristian. They are related to one another as the Alexandrian fathers, Clement and Origen, who brought the Hellenistic, particularly the Platonic philosophy, into the service of Christianity, were related to the Gnostics, who by the same philosophy caricatured the Christian religion, and to the Neo-Platonists, who arrayed themselves directly against it. The notorious Strauss, one of the infidel Hegelians, has applied to these parties the political terms—*right* wing and *left* wing, calling the neutral and intermediate party the *centre*. The leaders of the Right are MARHEINEKE, DAUB, and GÖSCHEL (the last two, however, having nothing to do with church history); of the Left, BAUR, and his disciples, STRAUSS, ZELLER,

and SCHWEGLER, all from Würtemberg, and all students and afterwards teachers in Tübingen, so that they may be called the *Tübingen* school. As the Tübingen theologians have paid more attention to historical theology than the older Hegelians, who devoted themselves almost exclusively to systematic divinity, we turn our eye first to them, and more particularly to Baur, on whom they all depend.

Dr FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR, Professor of Historical Theology in Tübingen, is a man of imposing learning, bold criticism, surprising power of combination, and restless productiveness; but, properly, too philosophical to be a faithful historian, and too historical to be an original philosopher; a pure theorist, moreover, and intellectualist, destitute of all sympathy with the practical religious interests of Christianity and the church. He has founded, since the appearance of his article on the *Christ-party in Corinth*,[1] a formal historical, or rather unhistorical, school, which, in the negation of every thing positive, and in destructive criticism upon the former orthodox views of primitive Christianity, has far outstripped Semler and his followers. We might, therefore, have placed it in the fourth period, as a new phase of the Rationalistic mode of treating history. But, in the first place, this would too much interrupt the chronological order; and then again there is, after all, a considerable scientific difference between the older and the later Rationalism; although, in their practical results, when consistently carried out, they come to the same thing, namely, the destruction of the church, and of Christianity.[2] The vulgar Rationalism proceeds from the common human understanding (whence its name, *rationalismus communis* or *vulgaris*), and employs, accordingly, a tolerably popular, but exceedingly dry, spiritless style. The more refined Rationalism deals with the speculative reason, and clothes its ideas in the stately garb of a high-sounding scientific terminology and dexterous logic. The former is deistic, abstractly sundering the Divine and the human,

[1] *Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des petrinischen und paulinischen Christenthums in der ältesten Kirche*, in the "Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie," 1831, No. 4.

[2] Just in proportion as the speculative Rationalism is popularized, it sinks to the level of the vulgar. It ill becomes the Hegelians, therefore, to look down, with their supercilious scientific contempt, upon the latter.

so as to allow no real intercommunion of both. The latter is pantheistic, confounding God and the world, and deifying the human spirit. The one is allied to the Ebionistic heresy; the other, to the Gnostic. The first holds fast the ideas of so-called natural religion, God, freedom, and immortality, and endeavours to keep on some sort of terms with the Bible. The last recognises neither a personal God, nor a personal immortality of man; denies the apostolic authorship of almost all the books of the New Testament; and resolves the most important historical statements of the Bible into mythological conceits or even intentional impositions. Both give themselves out for legitimate products of the Protestant principle of free inquiry and resistance to human authority; but both keep entirely to the negative, destructive side of the Reformation—have no concern for its positively religious, evangelical character, and must, in the end, destroy Protestantism itself, as well as Catholicism.

BAUR, in virtue of his predominant turn for philosophy, has applied himself with particular zest to the most difficult parts of doctrine history. These suit him much better than biographical monographs, which require a lively interest in individual persons. The extent of his productions since 1831 is really astonishing. Besides a small text-book of doctrine history and several treatises in various journals, we have from him a number of larger works, of which we may mention particularly those on the Gnosis (1835), in which he wrongly and somewhat arbitrarily includes, not only the proper Gnosticism of antiquity, but also all attempts at a philosophical apprehension of Christianity; on Manicheism (1831); on the Historical Development of the Doctrine of the Atonement (1838), and of the Dogma of the Trinity and Incarnation (three stout volumes, 1841–3); all characterized by extensive, thorough, and well-digested learning, great philosophical acumen, freshness of combination, and skilful description—forming epochs in their kind—but too much under the influence of his own false preconceptions,[1] to claim justly the praise of invariable objective fidelity.

[1] True, this school, especially Strauss in his *Leben Jesu*, boasts of freedom from all philosophical or doctrinal prepossession. But, with Strauss, this consists in freedom from all leaning towards the Christian faith, and a full bias towards unbelief, which wholly unfits him for any right apprehension or representation of the life of Jesus. Absolute freedom from prepossession, in an author of any character, is a sheer impossibility and

The Tübingen school, however, has made most noise with its investigations respecting the history of *primitive Christianity;* seeking to overthrow in due form the old views on this subject. This operation was publicly commenced by Dr DAVID FREDERICK STRAUSS—a younger pupil of Baur's, but rather more daring and consistent than his master—in his *Leben Jesu*, which astounded the world in 1835. In this book he reduces the life of the God-man, with icy, wanton hand, to a dry skeleton of everyday history, and resolves all the Gospel accounts of miracles, partly on the ground of pretended contradictions, but chiefly on account of the offensiveness of their supernatural character to the carnal mind, into a mythical picture of the idea of the Messiah, as it grew unconsciously from the imagination of the first Christians—thus sinking the Gospels, virtually, to the level of heathen mythology. This, of course, puts an end to the idea of a divine origin of Christianity, and turns its apologetic history of eighteen hundred years into an air-castle, built on pure illusions — a pleasing dream — a tragi-comedy, entitled, "Much ado about nothing."

The same crafty, sophistical criticism which Strauss did not hesitate to employ upon the inspired biographies of the Saviour, Baur and several of his younger disciples have applied to the Acts of the Apostles, and to the whole Christian literature of the first and second centuries, gradually constructing an entirely peculiar view of early Christianity. This philosophico-critical construction is most completely exhibited in BAUR'S *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi* (1845), and SCHWEGLER'S *Nachapostolisches Zeitalter* (two volumes, 1846). It makes Christianity proper only a product of the catholic church in the middle of the second century. In the minds of Jesus, of the twelve apostles, and of the first Christian community, Christianity was only a perfected Judaism, and hence essentially the same as the Ebionism afterwards condemned as heresy. Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles,—no one knows how he came to be an apostle of Jesus Christ,—was the first to emancipate it from the bondage of Jewish particularism, and to apprehend it as a new and peculiar system;

absurdity. The grand requisite for the theologian is, not that he have no preconceptions, but that his preconceptions be just, and such as the nature of the case demands. Without being fully possessed beforehand with the Christian faith, a man can rightly understand neither the Holy Scriptures nor the history of the church.

and that, too, in violent, irreconcilable opposition to the other apostles, particularly to Peter, the leading representative of Jewish Christianity. Of this the Epistle to the Galatians and the well-known collision at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11, *et seq.*) give authentic proof; while the Acts of the Apostles throughout, and especially in its description of the apostolic council at Jerusalem, intentionally conceals the difference. This latter production, falsely attributed to Luke, was not written till towards the middle of the second century; and then, not from a purely historical interest, but with the twofold apologetic object of justifying the Apostle of the Gentiles against the reproaches of the Judaizers, and reconciling the two parties of Christendom. These objects the unknown author accomplished by making Peter, in the first part, come as near as possible to Paul in his sentiments, that is, approach the free, Gentile-Christian position; and in the latter part, on the contrary, assimilating Paul as much as possible to Peter, or, which is the same thing, to the Ebionites and Judaizers. A similar pacific design is ascribed to the epistles of Peter and the later epistles of Paul, which all come from the second century; for, of all the epistles of the New Testament, Baur holds as genuine only those of Paul to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans; and even from the Epistle to the Romans he rejects the last two chapters. At length, after a long and severe struggle, the two violent antagonists, Petrinism and Paulinism, or properly, Ebionism and Gnosticism, became reconciled, and gave rise to the orthodox catholic Christianity. The grand agent in completing this mighty change was the fourth Gospel; which, however, is, of course, not the work of the apostle John—though the author plainly enough pretends to be that apostle—but of an anonymous writer in the middle of the second century. Thus the most profound and spiritual of all productions comes from an obscure nobody; the most sublime and ideal portrait of the immaculate Redeemer, from an impostor!! And it is not a real history, but a sort of philosophico-religious romance, the offspring of the speculative fancy of the Christians after the time of the apostles!! Here this panlogistic school, with its critical acumen and *a priori* construction, reaches the point where, in its mockery of all outward historical testimony, its palpable extravagance, and violation of all sound common sense, it confutes itself. "Professing

themselves to be wise, they became fools." The notion, in itself true and important, of a difference between the Jewish Christianity of Peter and the Gentile Christianity of Paul, is pushed so far, that it becomes a caricature, a Gnostic fable. The process of sound criticism is tasked to its utmost by the Tübingen school. The most genuine and reliable testimony of the apostolic and old catholic church is rejected or suspected; and, on the other hand, the self-contradictory, heretical productions of the second century, Ebionistic and Gnostic whims and distortions of history, are made the sources of the knowledge of primitive Christianity! Such a procedure can, of course, amount to nothing but theological romancing, a venturesome traffic in airy hypotheses. And, in fact, the books of Baur and Schwegler form, in this respect, fit counterparts to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, which charge the apostles James and Peter with a Gnostic Ebionism, and bitterly attack the Apostle Paul under the name of Simon Magus; clothing their theory in the dress of a historical romance.

Generally speaking, this whole modern construction of primitive Christianity is, substantially, but a revival, with some modification, of the ancient *Gnosticism;* and of that, too, mainly in its heathen, pseudo-Pauline form. In truth, Baur and his followers are, in the principles of their philosophy and criticism, the Gnostics of German Protestantism.[1] The only difference is, that they are pure theorists and scholars of the study; while at least the more earnest of their predecessors joined with their fantastic speculations a rigid asceticism—seeking, by an unnatural mortification of the body, to work out the salvation of the soul. It was not, therefore, a mere accident, that Baur, in the very beginning of his theological course, paid so much attention to the Gnostic and Manichean systems. His affinity with the anti-Judaistic and pseudo-Pauline fanatic, *Marcion*, is particularly striking. In criticism, he seems to have taken this man for his model, only going beyond him. Marcion retained in his canon at least ten of Paul's epistles and the Gospel of Luke;

[1] Had the late Dr Möhler lived to see the subsequent course of his former colleague and opponent in Tübingen, he would have found in him a strong confirmation of the parallel between Protestantism and Gnosticism, which he draws in his able *Symbolik*, § 27, p. 245, *et seq.* (6th ed.)

though he mutilated the latter in a very arbitrary way, to cleanse it of pretended Jewish interpolations. But Baur rejects all the Gospels, the Acts, all the General Epistles, and all but four of Paul's; and then these four he either arbitrarily clips (condemning, for instance, the last two chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, as a later addition by another pen), or wrests, to suit his own preconceived hypotheses. This Tubingen school will, no doubt, meet the fate of the old Gnostic heresies. Its investigations will act with stimulating and fertilizing power upon the church, calling forth, especially, a deeper scientific apprehension and defence of the historical Christianity of antiquity; and, for itself, it will dry up like the streams of the desert, and figure hereafter only in the history of human aberrations and heresies.

The fundamental defect of this destructive method is the *entire want of faith*, without which it is as impossible duly to understand Christianity, its inspired records, and its inward history, as to perceive light and colour without eyes. Here this school is on the same footing with the older Rationalism. But it differs from the latter in having a philosophical groundwork. It rests not, like the works of Semler, Henke, Gibbon, &c., on an abstract Deism, which denies the presence of God in history; but upon a *logical Pantheism*, or a denial of the *personality* of God, which necessarily brings with it an entire misconception of the personality of man. Baur finds fault with Neander for recognising merely the individual, nothing general, in doctrine history; and claims for himself the merit of having advanced this branch of history from the empiric method to the speculative, and of having found, in the idea of the *spirit*, the motive power of history.[1] What, then, is this "spirit," this "dogma," which according to his ever recurring high sounding, but pretty empty terminology, "comes to terms with itself," "unfolds itself in the boundless multiplicity of its predicates, and then gathers itself up again into the unity of self consciousness?" Is it the personal, living God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ? Of this that philosophy has, at best, but the name, making it the vehicle of an entirely different conception. The objective forces, which Baur justly declares to be the factors of history—are they

[2] Baur: *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, pp. 52, 53. Comp., also, the conclusion of his latest work, *Die Epochen der kirklichen Geschichtschreibung*, p. 247, *et seq.*

substantial things, living realities? No! They amount to nothing but bare formulas of the logical understanding, abstract categories, Gnostic phantoms. The entire history of doctrines is, according to this school, a mere fruitless process of thinking, which thinks thought itself; a tedious mechanism of dialectic method; the "reeling off of a fine logical thread;" which invariably runs out, at last, into Hegelian pantheism. The labour of the most profound and pious minds for centuries upon the mystery of the Incarnation, the Trinity, the Atonement, results merely in the philosophical formula of the identity of thought and being, the finite and the infinite, the subject and the object! Thus withers, beneath the simoon of a purely dialectic process, that glorious garden of the Lord, the history of the church and her doctrines, with its boundless wealth of flowers, with its innumerable fruits of love, of faith, of prayer, of holiness. All becomes a sandy desert of metaphysics, without a green oasis, without a refreshing fountain.[1] This method fails most, of course, in those parts of church history where the leading interest is that of practical religion; as in the apostolic period, and the one immediately following. Here, under the pretence of objective treatment, it falls into the most wretched subjectivity of a hypercriticism, which has no solid ground, and sets at defiance all the laws of history. But even the purely doctrinal investigations of Baur, highly as we are willing to rate their other scientific merits, need complete revision. For, interested only in speculation, he turns even the church fathers, the schoolmen of the Middle Ages, Calvin and Schleiermacher, into critics and speculators "upon the arid heath;" sunders their thinking from its ground in their religious life; and hence frequently loads them with opinions of which they never dreamed.

This is true even of his celebrated reply to Möhler's *Symbolik* (1834), though written before his Gnosticism had fully developed itself. The Protestantism which he seeks to guard from the ingenious assaults of Möhler is by no means the faith of the Reformers in its purity, but corrupted by elements of modern pantheism and

[1] Here apply, in their full force, the words of the poet:—

"Ich sag' es dir: ein Kerl, der speculirt,
Ist wie ein Thier, auf dürrer Heide
Von einem bösen Geist im Kreis herum geführt,
Und rings umher liegt schöne grüne Weide."

fatalism. Such assistance the true evangelical Christian is compelled to decline; and he often feels tempted to join hands with the pious Catholic, in common opposition to modern scepticism and infidelity. Baur has since gone much farther from the proper ground and limits of history. He justly regards the grand antagonists, Catholicism and Protestantism, as the two poles, around which the entire history of the church now turns. But he looks at Protestantism almost exclusively in its negative aspect. "Protestantism," says he, "is the principle of individual freedom, freedom of faith and conscience, in which the person is a law unto himself, in opposition to all the outward authority involved in the Catholic idea of the church."[1] Catholicism, he owns, was indispensable, as the only basis on which this freedom could arise;[2] and, so far, has great significance and full historical authority; but only for the past. "The Reformation is the grand turning-point whence the whole tendency of the idea of the church seems to be, to unravel again the web which itself had woven. If the development of the church previously moved only forward, it now appears to have suddenly veered, to have turned backwards, and to have bent back into itself. Opposition and protestation, hostility, negation of what exists; this is the spirit which now animates the church" (p. 255). Though he immediately adds, that this negation is, on the other hand, a deepening, which will lead to a new affirmation of what is true and permanent; yet, in his system, this is saying very little or nothing. According to the whole texture of his views, as above explained, the history of Protestantism is a progressive dissolution of the church, as such; till at last, even the Holy Scriptures, on which the Reformers planted themselves in protesting against human additions, are, by a shameless, profane, conceited hypercriticism, snatched from under our feet, and nothing is left us, but our own natural, helpless selves, with that empty notion of likeness to God, with which the fearful tragedy of the fall began. This is the legitimate and necessary result of this negative Protestantism of the extreme Left.

[1] *Die Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtschreibung*, p. 257.

[2] P. 260: "Protestantism must itself remain an inexplicable riddle, if, to be what it has become, it could think of itself in any other way, than by having its consciousness of itself mediated by papacy and Catholicism."

This extensive literature of modern philosophical and critical antichristianity would be absolutely disheartening, and would awaken the most gloomy anticipations for Protestantism, which imbosoms it, and even tolerates some of its champions in her chairs of theology, were we not assured, by the cheering testimony of many centuries of history, that God, in his infinite wisdom and love, can bring good out of all evil, and make all the aberrations of the human mind aid the triumph of the truth. Like all previous enemies of Christianity, this most learned, most ingenious, and therefore most dangerous form of ultra, false, infidel Protestantism, which appears in the exegetical and historical productions of the Tübingen school, will also surely miss its aim. Nay, it has already involuntarily given a mighty impulse to the productive energy of the positive, evangelical, churchly theology. As Strauss' "Leben Jesu" has already been philosophically refuted by the counter productions of *Tholuck*, *Neander*, *Lange*, *Ebrard*, *Hoffmann*, *Lücke*, *Ullmann*, &c.; so also the speculations of Baur, Schwegler, and Zeller, on the age of the apostles and the succeeding period, have been directly or indirectly assailed with the invincible weapons of thorough learning, and their inward weakness exposed, by the investigations of *Dorner* (in his History of Christology), *Lechler* (on the Apostolic and Postapostolic Periods), *Weitzel* (on the Paschal Controversies of the First Three Centuries), *Wieseler* (on the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles), *Neander* (in the last edition of his History of the Planting and Training of the Church), *Bunsen* (on the Ignatian Epistles, and on Hippolytus), *Thiersch* (on the Formation of the New Testament Canon, and on the Apostolic Church), and others. But certainly no work has yet appeared, which fully sets forth the whole history of the early church in its organic connection, with steady reference to these modern errors.

§ 37. *Marheineke—Leo—Rothe—Dorner—Thiersch. Recapitulation.*

The *right* or *conservative* wing of the Hegelian school sought to reconcile this philosophical system with the faith of the Bible and the church; though it must be confessed, that in so doing they often too much spiritualized the articles of faith, and

unwittingly did them more or less violence by their logic, resolving them pretty much into unsubstantial notions and metaphysical abstractions. Their case was even worse than that of Origen, in whom Platonism, instead of always bending to Christianity, sometimes gained the mastery over it. The older Hegelians of this class, moreover, have confined their labours almost entirely to the philosophical and systematic branches of theology. MARHEINEKE alone (†1847) was, at the same time, a historian. His *General Church History of Christianity* (First Part, 1806) is the first attempt to construct a history on the basis of the modern speculations, and to set up a more objective method against the rationalistic subjectivism. But the work is very defective, and, at all events, unfinished. Of far more permanent value is his *History of the German Reformation*,[1] drawn from the sources, and presented in a purely objective way, but without the learned apparatus, and intended more for the general reader. This work, unsurpassable in its kind, is fortunately free from all that heavy dialectic accoutrement in which his "Dogmatik" is clothed, and is distinguished for its genuine national, old German style and spirit, peculiarly appropriate to the character of its leading hero, the thoroughly German Luther. Marheineke has also won laurels in doctrine history and symbolism, and especially by his extended and on the whole faithful exhibition of the system of Catholicism (3 vols., 1810–13).

As to orthodoxy, this theologian, though a member and advocate of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia, was predominantly of the Lutheran doctrinal stamp. This confession, with its closer affinity to Catholicism, speculation, and mysticism, suited the Hegelian mode of treating history better than the genius of the Reformed church, which recedes farther from the previous traditions, gives larger scope to subjectivity, and concerns itself more with practice than with theory. With the younger WIGGERS, author of a work on Ecclesiastical Statistics (1842–3); still more with MARTENSEN, a Danish divine, but of purely German education, and a very spirited original theologian; with THEODORE KLIEFOTH, the excellent author of an extended philosophical introduction to doctrine history; with KAHNIS, who has published a work on the history of the doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost

[1] Four volumes, 2d ed. Berlin, 1831–34.

(1847), and another on the doctrine of the Eucharist (1851); and with the jurist GOSCHEL, only an amateur, however, in theology, a confused compound of heterogeneous elements; Hegel, Goethe, and Christianity;—with all these the Hegelian philosophy has become a bridge to strict symbolical *Lutheranism*.

But, on the same ground, the method of history started by Hegel may be considered as involving also, to some extent, a tendency towards *Catholicism*. By its objective character it is better fitted than the more subjective method of the school of Schleiermacher and Neander to appreciate and do full justice to the heroes of the Roman church, and especially to the Middle Ages. We have an example of this in F. R. HASSE'S monograph on Anselm of Canterbury;[1] a model of purely objective and minute, yet living and clear historical representation, superior to Neander's Bernard.

This Catholicizing tendency is still more visible in HEINRICH LEO, and assumes with him an almost Romanizing form. Though not a theologian, he has yet, in his Universal History, carefully noticed religion and the church; and we cannot here omit his name. Leo, a man of great originality and native force, but rough, unsparing, and prone to extravagance, altogether threw off, it is true, in later life, the strait-jacket of the Hegelian logic and dialectics; but the influence of this philosophy still appears in his making the subject entirely subordinate to the objective powers; the individual to the general. Since he exchanged his youthful free-thinking, however, which vented itself in his worthless History of the Jewish Commonwealth, for positive Christianity, he has meant by these objective forces, not dialectic forms and notions, but concrete realities, laws and institutions of the personal, Christian God, which to resist is sin and guilt, which to obey is man's true freedom, honour, and glory. He regards history as proceeding from above,—the will of God, not the popular will, and least of all the individual, as its motive power. Hence his favourable view of the Middle Ages, and his unfavourable, nay, one-sided and unjust judgment of the Reformation;

[1] The first volume, which appeared in 1843, exhibits the life, the second, 1852, the doctrine of the great father of the medieval scholasticism. The author holds up his hero with evident love and admiration, though without obtruding his own opinions, except in the introductory sections.

though his fault here may well be excused as a reaction against the blind eulogies of that movement. Leo's view of history is thoroughly ethical, churchly, conservative, absolutely anti-revolutionary, even to the favouring of despotism. He feels it to be his duty, amidst the distractions and instability of modern Europe, to lay the strongest emphasis on law, the necessity of the principle of authority and the general will. In this respect he goes undoubtedly too far; he overlooks the real wants of the people, and gets into conflict with the progressive spirit of the age. Yet in a polemical character so harsh, violent, irritable, and uncompromising as Leo, who often falls like a bulldog on what displeases him,[1] we cannot always take single expressions in their strict sense any more than in the case of Luther, whom he much resembles in temperament, though his wrath is directed towards entirely different enemies. Hence, we are not to understand, from his Catholicizing tendency, that he would hold the restoration of an antiquated state of things—say of the Middle Ages—as possible, or even desirable; but, with many of the profoundest minds of our time, he doubtless has in his eye a new age, which will embody what is true in the past, and yet at the same time stand on peculiar and higher ground.

Anticipations of such an advancement appear, also, in the works of the two professors of theology in Bonn, Dr R. ROTHE, and Dr J. A. DORNER, whom we consider the most important speculative divines of the day. They have confined themselves chiefly, it is true, to the dogmatic and ethical fields (especially Rothe); but they merit the most honourable mention, also, as historians. The philosophical principles of their theology, and, through these, their conceptions of history, have plainly received powerful impulse and direction from the philosophy of Hegel. But at the same time they have appropriated all the elements of Schleiermacher's theology. These two ingredients they have compounded with genuine originality, and wrought into a peculiar shape. Rothe's "Theological Ethics" stands forth as a

[1] Particularly in his occasional articles in the "Evang. Kirchenzeitung" of his friend Hengstenberg, who is, like himself, completely anti-democratic, anti-republican, and absolutistic in his views of both church and state, and in this respect wholly at variance with the Anglo-American taste, with which in other points in his orthodoxy, especially his views of inspiration, and his exegesis, he accords better than most other German theologians.

thoroughly original work, and in fact as a masterpiece of speculative divinity, with which very few works of ancient or modern times can compare. On account of this relation of both Rothe and Dorner to Hegel and Schleiermacher, and their essential agreement in a positively Christian, and yet genuinely speculative theology, we here put the two together, though in many other respects they differ.

Dr ROTHE, in 1837, published the first volume of a work on the *Beginnings of the Christian Church, and its Constitution*,[1] which, in our view, has not yet received the attention it merits. It consists chiefly of an exceedingly thorough and acute investigation of the origin and development of the episcopal constitution, and (what is closely connected with this) of the Catholic doctrine concerning the historical, visible church, its unity, holiness, catholicity, apostolicity, and exclusiveness. It comes to the conclusion, that the episcopate, as a necessary substitute for the apostolate in maintaining and promoting unity, reaches back even to the days of St John, and thus has the apostolic sanction; and that the above-named idea of the church arose by an inward necessity in the first centuries, particularly through the influence of Ignatius, Irenæus, Cyprian, and Augustine, and lay at the bottom of the whole conception of Christianity in those days.[2] This conclusion, if true, must have a powerful bearing on the final solution of the church question, which is now pressing so heavily on Protestant Christendom. But while Rothe puts the whole weight of antiquity into the scale of Catholicism, where all the church fathers, in their prevailing spirit, belong, he is, in so doing, far from giving up Protestantism. His position, in this respect, he sets forth in language which we particularly commend to the consideration of our fanatical anti-Catholics:—"There is no more effectual way of defending Protestantism, than by just acknowledging, nay, expressly asserting, that, *in the past*, Ca-

[1] The continuation he has unfortunately been obliged, thus far, to withhold from the public, on account of the almost universal opposition to his view of the relation of church and state.

[2] Hence Rothe not improperly terms his work (Pref., p. ix.), a Protestant counterpart to Möhlers "Unity of the Church," a production, "to which," says he with noble impartiality, "I never return without joyfully admiring its original, profound, and, in the main, true conception of the inmost self-consciousness of the primitive church. Perhaps this expression is not the only one, which might draw upon me the charge of Catholicizing. I will never allow myself to be intimidated by such a report."

tholicism *had*, in its essence, full historical reality and authority; that it *contained* deep inward truth, high moral glory and power." He also supposes, however, that the Reformation of the sixteenth century was a shock to the whole institution of the church in its previous form, a serious breach in its unity and catholicity; and at the same time, he rejects the distinction of a visible and invisible church, as a mere shift of the older Protestant theologians, to save the catholic idea of the church, whose visible, historical reality had disappeared.[1] He, therefore, vindicates Protestantism on the hypothesis, which he unfolds at large in his philosophical introduction, that the church is but a temporary vehicle and a transient form of Christianity, through which it passes into the more perfect form of the kingdom of God, that is, according to Rothe, an ideal *state*, a theocracy. This result, moreover, is not fully attained till the end of the historical development; and thus the institution of the church is still, for a time, even in Protestantism, of relative authority and necessity along with the state, in its present imperfect form, until the latter shall become wholly penetrated and transformed by Christianity. Rothe here starts from Hegel's overstrained idea of the state; idealizing it, however, even far more than Hegel; considering it, not indeed as it now is, but as it will one day be (?), the most suitable form of moral society; and identifying it with the idea of the kingdom of God itself. This is not the place to go more minutely into this remarkable theory. But we must here repeat the observation, previously made respecting Neander, that such a separation between the kingdom of God and the church seems to us to have sufficient ground neither in exegesis nor in history;

[1] "In consequence of the Reformation," says Rothe, *loc. cit.*, p. 103, "the visible church, *i.e.* the church, properly so called (which is, in fact, essentially the body of Christ, therefore visible), had been lost. For though even the evangelical party did not dispense with an outward religious union, yet it had no longer a *church;* its union was not really *churchly;* because it had to give up the element of catholicity, *i.e.* universality and unity, which is absolutely essential to the church." But the Protestants, Rothe goes on to say, being unwilling to relinquish entirely this old hallowed notion of a church and communion of saints, sought a substitute for it, and thus hit upon the idea of an *invisible* church; to this they transferred all those glorious predicates of unity, universality, holiness, and apostolicity, which they denied to the historical and visible Roman Catholic church. This whole Protestant conception of an invisible church, Rothe calls (p. 109) "a mere hypothesis, a pure fiction, a notion involving a contradiction;" and, in the introduction to his work, he brings forth arguments against it, which are ingenious, and which, in fact, it is not so easy satisfactorily to refute, although there is, as we believe, a very important truth at the bottom of that old Protestant distinction.

and that we very much doubt whether Christianity could perpetuate itself without the church, which, St Paul tells us, is the body of Christ, the fulness of him that filleth all in all. True, we too believe, that Catholicism in its former condition can never be restored, that Protestantism is preparing the way for a new outward form of the kingdom of God, and that church and state will, at last, be united in one theocracy; not, however, by the church merging in the state, but rather conversely, by the state being taken up and glorified in the church, as art in worship, as science in theosophy, as nature in grace, as time in eternity. Of the indestructible permanence of the church we are assured by the express promise of our Lord, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.[1] Even from her present shattered and apparently ruined condition, therefore, she will rise, phœnix-like, in loftier beauty and new power; convert the whole world to Christ; and thenceforth, as his bride, reign blissfully over the new heavens and new earth for ever.

From Dr DORNER we have a very valuable (but, in its new, enlarged form, not yet finished) history of the doctrine of the Incarnation of God and the Person of Christ (1845). He here traces the development of this central doctrine of Christianity, on which the solution of all other theological problems depends, and which is justly, therefore, again claiming the serious attention of our age. He sets forth the history with exemplary thoroughness, keen penetration, perfect command of the copious material, and in dignified, happy language, though not entirely without a certain scientific pretension and stiffness. At the same time he makes it bear throughout, and triumphantly, against Baur's investigations on the same subject. He is not a whit behind his opponent in speculative talent, while he far excels him in sound comprehension, and writes, in the service not merely of science, but also of the church. Similar in spirit and con-

[1] This is the natural sense of the well-known prophecy, Matt. xvi. 18, and of many other passages of Scripture. Here also, indeed, Rothe, p. 93, proposes to distinguish ἐκκλησία from βασιλεία θεοῦ, and to refer the promise, πύλαι ἅδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς, merely to the time of conflict. But this borders on sophistry, and has all exegetical tradition against it. According to Rothe's view, we should have to expect from our Lord the declaration, that the church, founded by him upon a rock, will gradually perish, to make room for the kingdom of God, or the ideal universal state. Comp. our remarks on this important book of Rothe's, in the *Deutsche Kirchenfreund*, vol. v., p. 171, *et seq.*

tents, but not so full and satisfactory, is the work of GEORGE AUGUSTUS MEIER on the history of the doctrine of the Trinity (1844), in part, also a successful positive refutation of Baur's work on the Trinity and Christology.

In this connection we must mention, finally, a younger theologian, Dr HENRY W. J. THIERSCH, one of the most learned opponents of Dr Baur and the Tübingen school. He has already written several interesting works ;—*Lectures on Catholicism and Protestantism*, a kind of conciliatory symbolism (1846); a book on the *Formation of the New Testament Canon*, against the modern hypercritics and dealers in hypotheses (1845); and a *History of the Christian Church in Primitive Times*, the first volume of which, embracing the apostolic period, appeared in 1852.[1] Thiersch has no sympathy whatever with the Hegelian philosophy,[2] and as little with Schleiermacher's theology; but fights against both with a zeal which reminds one of Tertullian's war against Gnosticism. In his doctrinal persuasion, he was at first decidedly Lutheran, with a strong leaning to an ascetic pietism. But of late he has fallen out with the present state of Protestantism at large, and, in honourable disinterestedness and impatient haste, has resigned his professorship at Marburg and joined the *Irvingites*. Of all Protestant sects, this is the most churchly, catholic, hierarchical, sacramental, and liturgical. It arose in England A.D. 1831, and has of late made some little progress also in Germany and in the United States. It has in view the restoration of the apostolic church, with its peculiar supernatural offices, particularly the apostolate, and with its miraculous powers, as speaking with tongues and prophecy; the collection of all the vital forces of the Catholic and Protestant churches into this community, to save them from the approaching judgment; and preparation for the glorious return of the Lord. Thiersch is related to this so-called "Apostolic Commu-

[1] This work has been already translated into English by an Irvingite: *The History of the Christian Church, vol. i. The Church in the Apostolic Age. By Henry W. J. Thiersch, Dr of Phil. and Theol. Translated from the German by Thomas Carlyle. London. Bosworth.* 1852. The work seems designed for general circulation, and is clothed, therefore, in quite a popular dress. It is the intention of the author, according to his preface, to bring down the history to the time of Leo the Great and the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.

[2] So far as he speculates at all, he leans towards the later views of Schelling and the philosophy of Von Schaden.

nity," as the essentially catholic and orthodox, and yet schismatic Tertullian was to the kindred sect of the Montanists in the second and third centuries.[1] He is the theological representative of Irvingism, and stands mediating between it and Protestantism, especially in Germany. But the proper value of his historical works depends not so much, or not exclusively, on these Irvingite peculiarities and extravagances. It consists, rather, in his clear, elegant, and noble style, which everywhere evinces the classical scholar and worthy son of the celebrated Greek philologian of Munich; in his extensive and thorough acquaintance with patristic literature; in the lovely spirit of deep and warm, though sometimes enthusiastic and visionary piety, which breathes in all his writings; and in his mild, irenic, conciliatory posture towards the great antagonism of Catholicism and Protestantism. Even his latest work, the history of the Apostolic Church, is, as he himself says, "not a part of his new activity, as pastor in the Apostolic Community, but a sequel to his former labours as teacher of theology." Besides, Irvingism contains many elements of truth, well worthy of the most serious consideration; and it is to be expected, that, through the writings of Thiersch, it will exert some influence on German theology. So Montanism wrought, through Tertullian, on the catholic church, though the system itself shared the inevitable fate of sects, death, without the hope of resurrection. Only the universal, historical church has the promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.

We have now traced the history of our science down to the labours of our contemporaries. It runs parallel with, and reflects in an interesting manner the development of the church itself in its different ages. We have seen how, in the abounding historical literature of Germany, since the appearance of Neander, is mirrored the whole confused diversity of the elements of modern culture—now repelling, now attracting one another, and now striving towards a higher position of union; at one time

[1] Comp. our articles on *Irvingism and the church question*, in the February, March, May, and June numbers of the "Deutsche Kirchenfreund" for 1850, where we have taken particular notice of our esteemed and beloved friend and fellow-student, Thiersch, and of his spirited and suggestive Lectures on Catholicism and Protestantism.

bound, entirely or in part, in the fetters of a philosophical system; at another, with free, untrammelled spirit, endeavouring to apprehend and do justice to everything, according to its own peculiar nature.[1] We have observed, too, that the most profound and earnest students in this department become more and more convinced of the high practical office of this science, to set forth faithfully and candidly the whole undivided fulness of the life of Jesus Christ, as it has continuously unfolded itself in time; to aid thereby in understanding the present—to animate for the work of the future—and gradually to effect the final, satisfactory solution of the question of all questions, that of *Christ and His Church*, in relation as well to the unbelieving world, as to the various parties in Christendom itself, especially to the colossal, all-comprehending antagonism of Catholicism and Protestantism.

Unite now the most extensive and thorough learning with the simple piety and tender conscientiousness of a Neander, the speculative talent and combining ingenuity of a Rothe and a Dorner, the lovely mildness and calm clearness of an Ullmann and a Hagenbach, the sober investigation of a Gieseler, the fine diplomatic wisdom of a Ranke, the vivacity and elegant taste of a Hase;—unite all these, we say, in one person, free from all slavery to philosophy, yet not disdaining to employ it thankfully in the service of Scriptural truth; pervaded and controlled by living faith, and genuine, ardent love; and working, not for himself, nor for a party, but wholly in the spirit and service of the God-man, Jesus Christ, the life-giving sun of history, and for the interests of His bride, the one Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, Church; weaving into a crown of glory for the Saviour all the flowers of sanctified thought, faith, life, and suffering, from every age and clime;—and we have, so to speak, the ideal of a Christian church historian in full form before us — an idea which, indeed, may never be realized on earth in any one individual, but to which all who are called to labour in this most interesting and important field of theology should honestly strive to conform.

[1] Nothing, therefore, can be more shallow and unjust, than to dismiss the entire German theology with a few vague expressions and magisterial judgments, as we regret to see still done by many of our American journals.

§ 38. *The latest Protestant Church Historians in France, England, and America.*

While Germany has displayed, since Mosheim, an uncommon and uninterrupted activity in the field of historical theology, the other Protestant countries, on the contrary, have been till very lately remarkably inactive in this department. Guizot in France, Macaulay in England, and Prescott in America, have, indeed, treated several portions of secular history with talents of rare brilliancy. But church history, since the end of the last century, has plainly been neglected. It is now, however, beginning to receive renewed attention in these countries; partly on account of the need which the various churches and their theological institutions begin of themselves to feel, and partly on account of the direct or indirect influence of German literature. The interest in the study of history, for scientific and practical purposes, is evidently growing every year, especially in England and North America, and will in time, undoubtedly, produce abundant fruit. Such a result is the more desirable, since the German church historians in general, with all their extensive and varied knowledge, have but a very superficial acquaintance with the religious world of the English tongue, have given it far less than its share of attention, and cannot duly appreciate its vast present and future importance for the kingdom of God. A general church history, which does full justice to the English and Anglo-American portions of Christendom, would, therefore, fill an important vacancy in this branch of theological literature.

1. FRANCE. The later theological productions of the *French Reformed* church are almost entirely dependent, in the sphere of science, on the Germans, and in the practical department, on the English.[1] The only prominent works on church history, besides a translation of Neander's History of the Apostolic Church, are those of MATTER in Strasburg, and of MERLE in Geneva. The former has written a general history of the church in four volumes;[2] a history of Gnosticism, and a history of the

[1] The learned Strasburg theologians, Bruch, Reuss, Schmidt, and Baum, commonly write in German, and hence do not come into view here.

[2] Histoire universelle de l'église chretienne. Strasb. 1829. Two vols.—Vols. iii. and iv., 1840. The work of the Hollander, *P. Hofsteede de Groot—Institutiones hist. eccl. Gronov.*, 1835—we know only by name.

Alexandrian school, each in two volumes. They are, however, scarcely more than compilations from German works, and belong to the school of the older Rationalism.

MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, undoubtedly one of the most gifted French authors of our day, is decidedly evangelical, and, with Gaussen, the author of a defence of the old Protestant doctrine of inspiration, stands at the head of the orthodox party, which seceded from the established church of Geneva on account of its apostasy to Socinianism and Rationalism, and which, by its theological seminary in Geneva, by colportage, and by theological publications, is seeking to evangelize France in the sense and spirit of Calvinism. Merle's yet unfinished *History of the Reformation*[1] claims our notice here the more, because it has attained an almost unprecedented celebrity and circulation, especially in England and America (far more than in France or Germany), and, by its popular and elegant style, has spread a knowledge of the subject where it would not otherwise have gone.[2] As to its matter, the first four volumes of the work, containing the history of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, are almost entirely drawn from German works, especially those of Marheineke, Ranke, and Hagenbach, in this field. They present, therefore, nothing new; which, in fact, it would be very difficult to do in this thoroughly explored section of history. Merle d'Aubigné's peculiar excellence and chief merit lies in his extraordinary power of spirited, dramatic, and picturesque representation, by which he makes the reading of history a real pleasure. Yet it may not unjustly be said, that, in his zeal to make all the fortunes and deeds of his heroes as interesting as possible, and to keep the mind of the reader continually at a pleasing tension by brilliant pictures and eloquent declamation, he not seldom impairs the simplicity and truthfulness of his narrative—gives many facts and persons an undue importance, as though on each one of them hung the whole future of humanity—and thus too much confounds the task of the earnest historian with that of the novelist. Another characteristic of Dr Merle, which gives him so great popularity, especially with ultra-Protestants, is his enthusiasm for the cause of the Refor-

[1] Histoire de la Réformation du 16 siècle. Paris, 1835, *et seq.*

[2] The author himself tells us in the preface to the fourth volume, that from 150,000 to 200,000 copies of his work have been sold in the English language alone.

mation, and his polemic zeal against the ancient and modern papacy, which vents itself on almost every page of his book in exclamations, apostrophes, and tirades. On this point, of course, persons of different ecclesiastical relations and views will judge very differently. But from any point of view, a polemical spirit so prominent, whether in the service of Catholicism or Protestantism, seems to us hardly consistent with the dignity and impartiality of a historian. The true historian may oppose or defend only *indirectly*, by faithfully presenting the objective course of the matter itself, and perhaps by comprehensive philosophical introductions and reviews; and in this case he works with the greater effect the more he keeps clear of all the influences of personal feeling and party interest. Dr Merle has evidently written the history of the Reformation, not for its own sake and *sine ira et studio*, but for the sake of combating Catholicism; and hence his work, with all its brilliant style and other excellencies, can never entirely satisfy one who is concerned simply for the pure, naked truth, and who subordinates his Protestant sympathies to love for the universal kingdom of God on earth.

2. In ENGLAND and AMERICA the theological schools have contented themselves, strange to say, for a whole century, with Mosheim, who has attained much greater authority in these countries than in his own; and, by way of practical complement to his learning, they have added the work of the pious Milner. Yet we must certainly admit, that Mosheim's Church History, as a *text-book* for use in lectures, has great formal excellencies which the later works of Neander and Gieseler do not possess. Leaving out of view the translations of Neander by Ryland, Rose, and Torrey, and of Gieseler by Cunningham and Davidson, there have appeared in the English language, since Gibbon, only a few works on the general history of the church which can lay claim to independent scholarship. These are written, indeed, in a much better spirit (that is, the Christian), but certainly with far less brilliant talent than the illustrious production of the English Tacitus, and none of them has been carried down to the present time.[1]

[1] The well-known convert, Dr John Henry Newman, before his transition to Rome, passed a very unfavourable, perhaps too unfavourable, judgment on his countrymen in

Of these works DR BURTON'S Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the first three centuries (till 313)[1] are perhaps the most learned and accurate; but, besides being rather dry and dull, they hardly can lay claim to be considered a regular history, since they are not systematically arranged, and pass over many important points altogether, or treat them merely as events. Of more permanent value are his eight Bampton Lectures on the Heresies of the Apostolic Age, the most learned work we have in English on Gnosticism.[2]—The Church History of WADDINGTON[3] is more complete, extending from the apostolic age to the Reformation, but, in general, treats its subject in quite an outward mechanical way, and does not rise above the position of Mosheim. It abandons, however, the centurial division, and substitutes for it a much more natural division of the history before the Reformation into five periods: the first, to Constantine the Great; the second, to Charlemagne; the third, to the death of Gregory VII.; the fourth, to the death of Boniface VIII.; the fifth, to the Reformation.—The third English work to which we refer is the History of Christianity by MILMAN.[4] It com-

reference to their knowledge of church history, when he remarked:—"It is melancholy to say it, but the chief, perhaps the only English writer, who has any claim to be considered an ecclesiastical historian, is the infidel Gibbon."—*Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 12 (ed. Appleton). The ground of this he finds in the unhistorical character of Protestantism (which, however, cannot include Germany): "Our popular religion," says he, "scarcely recognises the fact of the twelve long ages which lie between the councils of Nicæa and Trent, except as affording one or two passages to illustrate its wild interpretations of certain prophecies of St Paul and St John."

[1] *Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the First Century* (12 in number), by the Rev. Dr Edward Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, 1831. To these he added, afterwards, 18 Lectures on the History of the Second and Third Centuries; and, in 1836, he published a good popular abridgment, under the title, *History of the Christian Church from the Ascension of Jesus Christ to the Conversion of Constantine*. London. He also wrote *An attempt to ascertain the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles, and of St Paul's Epistles*, 1830.

[2] *An Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age, in Eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford*, 1829, pp. 600, with the notes. He makes all the heretics of the New Testament (mentioned in Acts xx. 30; Col. ii. 8; 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21; 2 Tim. iii. 13; Tit. i. 16; 1 John v. 6), Gnostics, and derives their doctrine from the Jewish Cabbala, the Eastern dualism, and Platonic philosophy.

[3] *A History of the Church from the Earliest Ages to the Reformation*. Second edit. 3 vols. London, 1835. In 1841, Dr Waddington (Dean of Durham) published a *History of the Reformation on the Continent*, likewise in 3 vols. This work gives a very favourable representation of the Reformation on the European continent, and shews more admiration of Luther than we can commonly expect in an Anglican theologian, since the person of the German reformer is, in many respects, not at all to English and Episcopal taste.

[4] *The History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the*

prises only the first five centuries, but contains, at the same time, an extended account of the life of Christ (ch. 2–7), with reference partly to Strauss' work. Its plan, also, is new. Its principal object is to describe "the reciprocal influence of civilization on Christianity, of Christianity on civilization." This draws into it much that belongs more to the history of general culture than to proper church history; while, on the contrary, the history of theology and doctrine is very imperfectly and unsatisfactorily treated. Milman, moreover, has an advantage over Waddington, in being pretty extensively acquainted with the modern German investigations in heathen and Christian antiquity.[1]—Dr David Welsh, of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, commenced a general church history, which was to come down to the end of the sixteenth century, in six or seven volumes; but his death (1845) prevented him from completing more than the first volume, which covers the same period as Milman's History.[2] It is a respectable beginning of a literature on church history in Scotland, where, as Welsh properly remarks, "systematic and practical theology have occupied the attention, to the

Roman Empire; by the Rev. H. H. Milman, Prebendary of St Peter's, and Minister of St Margaret's, Westminster, 1840. The continuation, promised in the preface, has not, to our knowledge, appeared. Milman, who, like Waddington, belongs to the Established church of England, had previously become known by a *History of the Jews* (second edit. London, 1830); and by an edition of Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall*, &c., with notes; in commendation of which the London Quarterly Review says: "There can be no question that this edition of Gibbon is the only one extant to which parents and guardians and academical authorities ought to give any measure of countenance."

[1] Milman says in his preface, "In these animadversions, and in some scattered observations which I have here and there ventured to make in my notes on foreign, chiefly German writers, I shall not be accused of that narrow jealousy, and, in my opinion, unworthy and timid suspicion, with which the writers of that country are proscribed by many. I am under too much obligation to their profound research and philosophical tone of thought, not openly to express my gratitude to such works of German writers as I have been able to obtain, which have had any bearing on the subject of my inquiries. I could wish most unfeignedly that our modern literature were so rich in writings displaying the same universal command of the literature of all ages and all countries, the same boldness, sagacity, and impartiality, in historical criticism, as to enable us to dispense with such assistance. Though, in truth, with more or less of these high qualifications, German literature unites religious views of every shade and character, from the Christliche Mystik of Goerres, which would bring back the faith of Europe to the Golden Legend and the Hagiography of what we still venture to call the dark ages, down in regular series to Strauss, or, if there be anything below Strauss, in the descending scale of Christian belief."

[2] *Elements of Church History.* Vol. i. *Comprising the External History of the Church during the first three centuries*, pp. 479. Edinburgh, T. Clark, 1844.

comparative neglect of exegesis and history."[1]—The last work we have here to mention is that begun by Dr JARVIS, "historiographer of the church" (as he styles himself on the title-page of his book), which means of the Protestant Episcopal church of the United States, but interrupted by his death in 1851. Its plan is unfortunately very defective and injudicious, and its execution by no means answers the demands of modern science. For the first volume[2] is taken up entirely with a very learned and very dry mathematical and astronomical calculation of the true dates of Christ's birth and death; and the second goes back to give the history from the Fall to the seventieth week of Daniel! The whole would have wound up probably with a pedantic vindication of high-church Anglicanism and its singular unhistorical pretensions.

The study of church history shared in the impulse given to English theology in general within the last twenty years by the important Anglo-Catholic movement of *Puseyism* or *Tractarianism*, which originated in the University of Oxford in 1833, and in a short time spread through the whole Episcopal church of England and America, and brought perhaps one-third of her clergy to the brink of Romanism. The study of the church fathers was revived, and carried on mostly in a pious and reverent, but rather slavish and mechanical spirit. Translations of them and compilations from them, and a translation of Fleury's Church History, were prepared, and the history of the first five centuries variously elucidated in the celebrated "Tracts for the Times," and also in larger works, but for the most part under a bias in favour of this semi-Romish system.[3] But this very study

[1] P. 48. We have, however, valuable contributions of Scotch Presbyterian divines to particular portions of church history. Amongst these, *Dr Thomas M'Crie's* biographies of John Knox and A. Melville, and his works on the Reformation in Spain and Italy, also *Dr Hetherington's* History of the Church of Scotland, deserve special mention.

[2] *A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church*, &c. New York, 1845, pp. 618. Dr Jarvis comes to the conclusion that Christ was born six years before the common Christian era, and, in all probability, on the 25th of December, and that he was thirty-three years and three months old at the time of his death.

[3] One of the most industrious of the Puseyite divines, *William Palmer* (of Worcester College, Oxford), has written also *A Compendious Ecclesiastical History, from the earliest period to the present time* (5th ed. 1844); but it is merely a condensed review of the great field, and has no claim to importance for science. More learned and comprehensive are the *Origines Liturgicæ, or the Antiquities of the English Ritual* (2 vols. 4th ed. London, 1845), and *A Treatise on the Church of Christ* (likewise in 2 vols.), by the same author.

of ecclesiastical antiquity, and the discovery that its prevailing spirit was far more akin to Catholicism than to Protestantism, contributed greatly towards the final transition of the theological leader of the movement, *Dr John Henry Newman*, and a considerable number of like-minded and distinguished clergymen, from the Anglican to the Roman church; and the remarkably ingenious and learned work of Newman on the Development of Christian Doctrine,[1] which he wrote immediately before his decisive step, shews us the logical course from Anglo-Catholicism to the more consistent Roman Catholicism.

On the other hand, however, Puseyism has roused also the zeal and literary activity of the low-church party in the Episcopal body, and has called forth, in particular, a historical work, which we must not fail to mention here, on account of its extensive patristic learning and skilful representation. We mean ISAAC TAYLOR'S *Ancient Christianity*.[2] In this work the author adduces the writings of the most distinguished church fathers, especially their eulogies on the martyrs, their enthusiasm for the monastic and unmarried life, their extravagant veneration of Mary, and of the saints and their wonder-working relics, together with the extremely unfavourable, though certainly over-wrought pictures, which Salvian, a presbyter of Marseilles, drew about A.D. 440, of the moral condition of the church in his time; and from these he attempts to shew that the Nicene age, which the present Puseyites hold up as a model, and would fain reproduce, was already suffering under almost all the errors and moral infirmities of Romanism; nay, that the latter was in many respects an improvement on the old Catholic church.[3] Assuredly the facts which this original, vigorous, and earnest writer combines from the sources, form an incontrovertible argument against Puseyism, which rests to a considerable extent on illusions, and against that undiscerning and extravagant admiration of the ancient church, which

[1] An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine. 1845. Comp. § 27, *supra*.

[2] Ancient Christianity and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts for the Times. By the author of "Spiritual Despotism." 2 vols. 4th ed. London, 1844.

[3] "I firmly believe," says Taylor, "that it were on the whole better for a community to submit itself, without conditions, to the well-known Tridentine Popery, than to take up the Christianity of Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. Personally, I would rather be a Christian after the fashion of Pascal and Arnold, than after that of Cyprian or Cyril."

makes it the golden age of Christianity and in every respect the model for our own. But, on the other hand, it must also be affirmed, that Taylor gives the dark side of the picture very disproportionate prominence; erroneously derives the peculiar Catholic doctrines and usages of that period, especially the whole ascetic system, from the Gnostic and Manichean heresies, and regards them as the apostasy, the mystery of iniquity, the antichrist predicted in the New Testament; instead of recognising the Christian element at the bottom of them, and appreciating their beneficent influence on the history of missions, for example, and the civilization of the nations in the Middle Ages. He, moreover, involves himself in a striking and irreconcilable contradiction. Such men as Athanasius, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, he, on the one hand, greatly admires for their learning, virtue, and piety, regarding the church fathers in general as the main bearers and heroes of Christianity in their day; and yet, on the other, he makes them the originators and grand promoters of the antichristian apostasy.[1] Hence, not-

[1] Read, for instance, the following representation of the fathers, in opposition to those who depreciate them. Vol. i. p. 34, Taylor says:—"These 'fathers,' thus grouped as a little band by the objectors, were some of them men of as brilliant genius as any age has produced; some commanding a flowing and vigorous eloquence, some an extensive erudition, some conversant with the great world, some whose meditations had been ripened by years of seclusion, some of them the only historians of the times in which they lived, some the chiefs of the philosophy of their age; and if we are to speak of the whole, as a body of writers, they are the men who, during a long era of deepening barbarism, still held the lamp of knowledge and learning, and in fact afford us almost all that we can now know, intimately, of the condition of the nations surrounding the Mediterranean, from the extinction of the classic fire, to the time of its rekindling in the fourteenth century. The church was the ark of all things that had life during a deluge of a thousand years." He further says, p. 36, *et seq.*:—"It will presently be my task—a task not to be evaded—to adduce evidence in proof of the allegation that extensive and very mischievous illusions affected the Christianity of the ancient church; nevertheless, *the very men*, whose example must now be held up as a caution, were many of them Christians not less than ourselves, nay, some of those who were most deluded by particular errors, were eminent Christians. Nothing is easier (or more edifying in the inference it carries) than to adduce instances of exalted virtue, piety, constancy, combined with what all must now admit to have been an infatuated attachment to pernicious errors. Our brethren of the early church challenge our respect, as well as affection; for theirs was the fervour of a steady faith in things unseen and eternal; theirs, often, a meek patience under the most grievous wrongs; theirs the courage to maintain a good profession before the frowning face of philosophy, of secular tyranny, and of splendid superstition; theirs was abstractedness from the world, and a painful self-denial; theirs the most arduous and costly labours of love; theirs a munificence in charity, altogether without example; theirs was a reverent and scrupulous care of the sacred writings; and this one merit, if they had no better, is of a superlative degree, and should entitle them to the veneration and grateful regards of the modern church. How little do many

withstanding all his beautiful and pointed remarks, in the beginning of his work, respecting the importance and necessity of church history, he himself lacks the great requisite for the proper study of it, the true historical standpoint.

The Puseyite and anti-Puseyite literature, especially this work of Taylor, and other valuable monographs of former date,[1] prove that England, particularly the Episcopal church, which has always laid great stress on its real or supposed agreement with the Nicene and ante-Nicene age, and hence has far more interest in history and antiquities than the dissenters and Presbyterians, is by no means lacking in thorough knowledge of single sections of church history, which bear upon special denominational or party objects, as also in distinguished power of historical criticism and representation; though her most prominent talents, certainly, as in Macaulay, Grote, and Thirlwall, have been devoted chiefly to the history of modern England and ancient Greece.

3. AMERICA, in her language, culture, and literature, is so interwoven with England and Scotland, that we have already included her in the foregoing remarks on general church histories in the English language. To speak now more particularly of this country; it cannot be denied that the new world, in its youthful buoyancy, undervaluing the past, reaching restlessly into the future, disposed rather to make than contemplate history, is by no means favourable to historical studies in general;[2]

readers of the Bible, now-a-days, think of what it cost the Christians of the second and third centuries, merely to rescue and hide the sacred treasure from the rage of the heathen!" And yet, in spite of this well-merited acknowledgment respecting the church fathers, it belongs to the object of the whole book, not merely to reduce within proper limits, but formally to undermine, confidence in the ancient church, which they represented. After all this, he calls these same fathers "either the authors or the zealous promoters of the predicted apostasy," and "the most dangerous of guides in theology!' (*Vid.* Supplement to No. 5, vol. ii.) How these two diametrically opposite views logically agree, we must leave to the author of "Ancient Christianity" to shew. Undoubtedly the church fathers, with their great virtues, had also many defects; but they cannot possibly have been at once the bearers of true Christianity and the progenitors of Antichrist. The "great apostasy" must be looked for somewhere else than in them.

[1] *E.g.* Burton's Lectures on the Heresies of the Apostolic Age, mentioned above, and *The Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian.* By John Kaye, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lincoln. 3d ed. London, 1845. He wrote also on Justin Martyr and on the Council of Nice.

[2] Of this the most eminent American theologians are well aware. The New England divine, Henry B. Smith, now Professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York, in his excellent Inaugural Address, entitled, *Nature and Worth of the*

and the lamentable division of the church into denominations and sects, which, in this country, under the protection of an unbounded freedom of conscience, is more consistently carried out than in Europe, calls forth, in itself considered, investigations of merely sectional and local interest, and party representations, and these, it is true, in abundance; while it contracts and damps all sympathy with the one universal kingdom of God, the communion of the saints of all ages and climes. Our popular Protestant theology, from its predominantly Puritanic character, is especially strongly prejudiced against the Middle Ages, and, in fact, against the whole church before the Reformation back to the second century, on account of its deep Catholic hue; and holds it, therefore, hardly worth while to trouble itself with this portion of history, save perhaps for the purpose of combating Rome and finding a solution for some dark prophecies of Paul

Science of Church History, Andover, 1851 (which evinces a clear insight into the nature and mission of this science, and commits itself in general to Neander's conception), very justly remarks of the Americans, p. 5: "As a people we are more deficient in historical training than in almost any other branch of scientific research. We live in an earnest and tumultuous present, looking to a vague future, and comparatively cut off from the prolific past—which is still the mother of us all. We forget that the youngest people are also the oldest, and should therefore be most habituated to those 'fearless and reverent questionings of the sages of other times, which,' as Jeffrey well says, 'is the permitted necromancy of the wise.' We love the abstractions of political theories and of theology better than we do the concrete realities of history. Church history has been studied from a sort of general notion that it ought to be very useful, rather than from a lively conviction of its inherent worth. History is to us the driest of studies; and the history of the church is the driest of the dry—a collection of bare names, and facts, and lifeless dates. It is learned by rote, and kept up by mnemonic helps," &c. And in an article on the *History of Doctrines*, by the Presbyterian divine, Dr J. A. Alexander, in the "Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review," for January 1847, p. 105, we find several striking remarks on this point. "Our national tendency," says this highly-gifted writer, "so far as we have any, is to slight the past and overrate the present. This unhistorical peculiarity is constantly betraying itself in various forms, but it is nowhere more conspicuous and more injurious than in our theology. Hence the perpetual resuscitation of absurdities a thousand times exploded, the perpetual renewal of attempts which have a thousand times been proved abortive. Hence the false position which religion has been forced to assume in reference to various inferior yet important interests, to science, literature, art, and civil government. Hence, too, the barrenness and hardness by which much of our religious literature is distinguished, because cut off from the inexhaustible resources which can only be supplied by history. The influence of this defect upon our preaching is perhaps incalculable. But instead of going on to reckon up the consequences of the evil now in question, let us rather draw attention to the fact that it is not of such a nature as to be corrected by the lapse of time, but must increase with the increase of ignorance and lazy pride, especially when fostered by a paltry national conceit, and flattered by those oracles of human progress who declare that history is only fit for monks. To counteract this tendency, we need some influence *ab extra*, some infusion of strange blood into our veins."

and John respecting the antichristian apostasy. It takes the Bible with private judgment as an all-sufficient guide; forgetting, in the first place, that the revelation of God is itself historical; in the next place, that the history of the church, from the time of the apostles to our own, exhibits, according to our Lord's unfailing promise, Matt. xvi. 18; xxviii. 20, the perpetual presence and control of Christ and His Spirit, in the lives and actions of His people, so as to be itself the best commentary on the Holy Scriptures; and finally, that in proportion as we despise and reject, in false independence, the experience of eighteen centuries and the voice of universal Christendom, we rob the present, also, and private judgment, of all claim to our confidence, and that, as we shake the authority of history, in which we all strike root, we cut off the sources of our own life; for the individual believer is just as dependent on the whole church and her history as the branch on the tree, or the arms on the body.

In spite of these obstacles, however, there has been of late years a considerable awakening of interest and zeal in the study of church history; partly through the influence of German literature, the fruits of which, both good and evil, are assuming more and more importance as elements of our higher literary and scientific culture; partly through the momentous practical significance of the church question, and the growing seriousness of the contest between Romanism and Protestantism, which must evidently be decided not merely on dogmatical and exegetical grounds, but also on the field of history. A remarkable example of an altogether peculiar and powerful union of the scientific interest in church history communicated from Germany, and the practical interest proceeding from the English national character and the American church relations, we have in the historico-dogmatic and polemic treatises of the pious and learned Dr JOHN W. NEVIN, some on the Eucharistic controversy of the Reformation, in opposition to the latent and open Rationalism of modern times, which degrades the Lord's Supper into an empty sign,[1] and some on the difference between early Chris-

[1] *The Mystical Presence. A Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.* Philadelphia, 1846. With this must be compared his defence of it in the "Mercersburg Review," 1850, p. 421 548, against the review of Dr Hodge. Dr Nevin's smaller tracts on the *History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism* (1847), and

tianity and the various forms of existing Protestantism.[1] The latter productions take a still bolder stand against the Rationalism and Sectarianism of our age than the former, and possess at the same time a more general interest. They are intended to shew that the ancient church, the Christianity of the Apostle's Creed, of the martyrs, confessors, and church fathers of the first five centuries, is essentially different from Anglicanism and Puseyism, on the one hand, which form the extreme right wing of orthodox Protestantism, and still more from modern Puritanism, on the other, which forms the extreme left; that it is, on the contrary, in its light and shade, evidently very closely allied to the Roman Catholic system; that Protestantism, therefore, can be scientifically vindicated only on the theory of development, as a new phase of Christianity in the course of its history; but that Protestantism must, for this very reason, acknowledge the historical authority, necessity, and moral glory of Catholicism, as the other and older grand form of the kingdom of God; if it would not in the end destroy itself as a church by giving up the Biblical doctrine of a supernatural and unbroken historical church, without which Christianity itself could not exist. With these views, however, he thus far stands almost solitary and alone, since the prevailing tone of American theology is radically Protestant, and looks with suspicion upon every tendency which seems to make direct or indirect cessions to Catholicism, even in a merely historical point of view. One extreme always calls forth another, until the golden medium is restored. The United States may be expected, at no distant

on the *Life of Zacharias Ursinus* (1851), have special reference to the denominational interests of the German Reformed Church in the United States, and have done very much to awaken in this branch of the church a clear consciousness of its origin, and of its character as a Melancthonian, conciliatory medium between Lutheranism and Calvinism.

[1] Here belong particularly his spirited and uncommonly earnest, we may say, alarmingly solemn articles on the *Apostles' Creed*, *Early Christianity*, and the *Life and Theology of Cyprian and his Times*, in the first, third, and fourth volumes of the "Mercersburg Review" (1849, 1851, and 1852), which have filled many with the apprehension that Dr Nevin will ultimately despair of Protestantism and go over to Rome. This, however, he cannot consistently do, so long as he holds his theory of development, which makes room for different forms and phases of Christianity in the progressive march of the church. Those articles in the Mercersburg Review form an interesting parallel to Isaac Taylor's "Ancient Christianity," with which they agree in most of the historical positions; but they follow a different tendency, and evince a growing sympathy with the primitive church, and with Catholicism, for which the popular Protestant press of this country has raised an almost universal cry against them.

day, to make important contributions to historical theology, proceeding mainly from a combination of the English and German mind, and serving the interests of a sound evangelical catholic Protestantism.

The close connection, in this country, between theory and practice, theology and the church, gives historical studies and their results a much greater practical importance than, for example, in Germany. Hence the high office and heavy responsibility of those who are called to labour in this sphere, in a land which gives free play to all parties of Christendom, develops itself with unexampled rapidity, and to all appearance, according to the maxim, "Westward the star of Empire takes its way," is destined to be the main theatre of the future history of the world and the church.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION TO "GERMAN THEOLOGY AND THE CHURCH QUESTION"

This article appeared originally in German in the September 1852 issue of the *Kirchenfreund*. It was the concluding essay of a series of articles written by Philip Schaff concerning the thought of distinguished contemporary theologians of Germany which appeared in four installments beginning in May of the same year.

The *Kirchenfreund* was founded in 1848 by Philip Schaff who served as its editor for six years. It was a monthly publication that supplied German readers with a periodical that was more than a weekly religious newspaper but less than a scholarly theological journal. Its purpose was to counteract the too exclusively unhistorical individualism of American Protestantism. Although it was written for German readers it had a large following of American churchmen of all denominations, many of whom were not German and regretted that it was not also published in English.

The "Church Question" was the central theme of the Mercersburg Theology. What is the church historically, how are we to understand it in our day, what are its theological foundations and how are believers united with it and nurtured by it, were the pressing questions that both John Williamson Nevin and Philip Schaff attempted to answer. The Mercersburg movement began with Nevin's *The Anxious Bench* published in 1844 as an answer to the kind of churchmanship that resulted from the revivalistic techniques of Finneyism and "New Measures."

In this essay Schaff points out the difference between the conception of the church held by the Evangelical school of Germany and American Protestantism. The former saw Protestantism as the result of the flowering of the ancient and medieval

church in the Reformation through historical development while the latter blinded by an unhistorical view of Christianity, saw it as an entirely new creation or restoration of the New Testament church.

This is the same theme that Schaff defended in *The Principle of Protestantism* published in 1845 and *What Is Church History?* published the following year. In a time when much American thought was anti-Popery, he maintained that the Roman Catholic Church dared not be "unchurched." The church of the Middle Ages was not the great apostacy, the anti-Christ, but the bearer of true Christianity. Protestantism is "a new and advanced position" and "Romanizing tendencies are retrograde movements."

Schaff admits that this view held by Evangelical German theology "involved an enormous concession to Catholicism and a fatal blow against a bigoted ultra-Protestantism" but a correct reading of church history leads to this position.

The testimony of both Scripture and history promises that the church of Christ shall have "an indestructible continuation and an uninterrupted presence of her divine Head, even to the end of the world." The understanding of what the church is must be built on this position, not on privatized interpretation of Scripture, unhistorical theories, and blind fanaticism.

Schaff emphasized that in this essay he is speaking only of the theological and scientific defense of Protestantism. The "plain practical Christian" ought not to be troubled by historical difficulties for his faith as a Protestant rests properly on the Word of God, his own religious experience and the practical fruits of the faith he embraces. However, he cannot be indifferent to what Christianity has been, what it is in his day, and what it shall be. When he thinks of history, he must think of development in life and not be led astray by mechanistic or static views.

Protestantism has its foundations in Apostolic and Medieval Christianity. Historical development was leading the church into a new stage in which the great truths of Catholicism and Evangelical Protestantism, excluding their mutual errors, would become united in "a higher union and harmony."

ART. VI.—GERMAN THEOLOGY AND THE CHURCH QUESTION.*

[*Translated from "Schaff's Kirchenfreund," for September*, 1852.]

IF we compare the present theological literature of English and American Protestantism, with that of the modern Evangelical school of Germany, we meet with a remarkable difference in their conception of *Catholicism*. Of this we have already had occasion to speak, more fully, in our review of Dr. Ullmann's "Reformers before the Reformation," which rests throughout on the assumption that Protestantism can be properly understood and defended only as the legitimate and necessary product of mediæval Catholicism, and not as an abrupt unhistorical revolution. To unchurch the Catholic Church, to cut her off entirely from the kingdom of God, and

* This essay is the conclusion of a series of articles on the most distinguished cotemporary University-theologians of Germany, which appeared in the May, July, August and September numbers of the Kirchenfreund, for 1852.

to identify her with the kingdom of Antichrist, as was almost unanimously done by the General Assembly of the Old School Presbyterian Church, during its sessions at Cincinnati, 1845, and which that Church, notwithstanding the well-founded protest of her able and learned Professors at Princeton, has not yet rescinded,) would, upon German ground, be absolutely impossible. The Evangelical Theology of Germany is indeed also thoroughly Protestant in principle and spirit, and rests upon that freedom of thought, and impartiality of investigation, which we properly owe to the Reformation. But this very freedom and impartiality of research has also lead her to conceive and judge of the Catholic Church in a manner totally different from the old Protestant polemics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This, however, does by no means necessarily involve an approach towards Rome, but indicates rather a new and advanced position of Protestantism itself, which we understand to be the progressive principle of modern church history, whilst Romanizing tendencies are retrogade movements and deadly hostile to a proper conception of progressive development, which underlies all living German theology of the present day, especially its best works on church history.

First of all, the modern investigation of ecclesiastical and profane historians have entirely overthrown the earlier views concerning the *Middle Ages*. It may now be received as an established fact, admitted by all learned judges, that the Roman Catholic Church as such, during that age, was, by no means, the great Apostacy or kingdom of Antichrist, but the bearer of true Christianity, with its sacred canon and saving ordinances, the mother of the Romanic and Germanic nations, and of the whole modern European civilization, and notwithstanding her adherent corruption, carried within herself a vast amount of elevated piety and heroic virtue. The Papacy itself is regarded now, by the most distinguished modern church historians, and even by profane historians, such as John von Müller, Leo, Ranke, and Macaulay, as an institution absolutely indispensable for that time, and upon the whole highly beneficial, for the education of the Germanic nations, for the preservation of the unity, and security of the freedom and independence of the Church, over against the encroachments of the secular power. As the law of Moses was a schoolmaster to Christ, so the new Christian legalism of mediæval Catholicism prepared the way for Evangelical Protestantism. "Whatever opinion

we may hold," says the Protestant historian *Ranke*,* "concerning the Popes of former times, they had ever important interests in view—the fostering of an oppressed religion, the contention with Heathenism, the spread of Christianity throughout the Northern nations, and the establishment of an independent hierarchical power; it belongs to the dignity of human nature to will and to accomplish something great: these movements the Popes kept alive, and gave them a higher direction." To what extent similar conceptions have gradually taken root, of late, in English Protestant literature, notwithstanding the opposition of religious prejudices, the highly gifted *Macaulay* bears testimony, who leaves it undecided whether England is not more indebted for her greatness to Catholicism than to Protestantism, and thus frankly speaks concerning the Papacy of the Middle Ages: †

"Even the spiritual supremacy arrogated by the Pope was, in the dark ages, productive of far more good than evil. Its effect was to unite the nations of Western Europe in one great commonwealth. What the Olympian chariot course, and the Pythian oracle were to all the Greek cities, from Trebizond to Marseilles, Rome and her bishop were to all the Christians of the Latin communion, from Calabria to the Hebrides. Thus grew up sentiments of enlarged benevolence. Races separated from each other by seas and mountains acknowledged a fraternal tie, and a common code of public law. Even in war, the cruelty of the conqueror was not seldom mitigated by a recollection that he and his vanquished enemies were all members of one great federation."

The proper coryphei of the Papacy, such as Nicholas, Hildebrand, and Innocent III., heretofore regarded as scarcely anything better than incarnate devils, are now looked upon as heroes and benefactors of humanity. Even *Neander*, who is well known to have naturally a great antipathy to every thing priestly and hierarchical, and who zealously endeavors to place the opposers of the ruling Church in the most advantageous light possible, candidly expresses his profound admiration for the moral character and great merits of these popes. In the same manner has the judgment concerning the other prominent phenomena of the Middle Ages—the crusades, the monastic orders and their founders, religious art, scholasticism

* Roman Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1 part, p. 44 second edition.

† History of England, ch. 1.

and mysticism—assumed a more favorable form, in proportion as they are brought from the dust of the past to light, and understood in their organic connection with the nature and wants of that period. It is impossible, e. g., to read with attention, Neander's Bernard, or Hasse's Anselm, without being filled with profound admiration for the spirit, virtue and piety of these men, although they move throughout in the spirit and mould of the Catholic Church, and belong, as is well known, to her most distinguished teachers and saints.

But this altered conception of the Middle Ages involves an enormous concession to Catholicism, and a fatal blow against a bigoted ultra-Protestantism. A Church, which throughout this whole transition period, from ancient to modern times, sent out such a host of self-denying missionaries to heathen nations, who carried the Gospel to the Germans, Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, Picts and Scots, and Sclavonians—a Church, which had power to excite all Europe to a heroic conflict against the false prophet for the recovery of the holy sepulchre of the Redeemer—a Church, which contended vigorously and successfully against the despotism of worldly potentates, slavery, barbarity, and a thousand other evils of society, which gave wholesome laws to the states, raised the female sex to its present dignity, which interested herself in behalf of the poor and suffering of all classes, which established asylums for misery, and institutions of benevolence in all places, which erected unto the Lord numberless churches, chapels, and those Gothic cathedrals, which even yet command the admiration of the world, which gave the first impulse to a general education of the people, which founded and sheltered almost all those European universities, which even to this day exert an immeasurable influence—a Church which has produced within her bosom such an incalculable number of profound minds, elevated characters and devoted saints :—such a Church cannot possibly, in the nature of the case, be the Antichrist and synagogue of Satan, notwithstanding the many anti-Christian elements which she may have included within her bosom, and of which no age and no denomination is entirely free. That extreme representation, which the majority of our popular religious papers continue to repeat from week to week, cannot for one moment maintain itself against the results of later Protestant historical research, and must therefore in due time disappear from the consciousness of all educated and unprejudiced minds.

Moreover, not only the Middle Ages, but also the *first six centuries* of the Christian Church, have been thoroughly re-examined, and documents have been brought to light, which for the most part were unknown even by name, at the time of the Reformation, when historical study, and the publication of ancient works had scarcely begun. Even Luther once calls Tertullian, who lived as late as the end of the second, and beginning of the third centuries, "the *oldest* teacher which we have since the time of the Apostles," (Works, ed. Walch XX, 1063), so that for him, the line of the Apostolical Fathers, and the numerous Apologists of the second century did not exist, with the exception of uncertain fragments which he could not but know from the legends of the martyr Ignatius, Polycarp and Clemens, "for whom," as he once remarks, "a bad boy forged books." The Reformers were best acquainted with Augustine, and their reverence and love for this profoundly pious as well as spirited and highly gifted father, was of immeasurable importance for their theological and moral training and position, as otherwise the Reformation would most probably have assumed a far more radical character. Through the indefatigable diligence and zealous inquiry of modern times, and through the impulse, which more especially Neander has given to historical Monography, we have at present, in the German language, thorough and complete works on Leo, Augustine, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzen, Basil, Athanasius, Origen, Cyprian, Tertullian, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and even back to the immediate successors of the Apostles; so that the Nicene and Ante-Nicene Christianity, with the corresponding heresies of Arianism, Gnosticism and Ebionism, &c., are as clearly presented to our view, or at least as accessible as the Christianity of the seventeenth century. If we now read impartially those valuable monographies, or similar and more comprehensive works, such as Rothe's Anfänge der christlichen Kirche, Dorner's Geschichte der Christologie, Möhler's Patrologie, &c., and if we, in connection with these, candidly study only some of the more important productions of patristic theology, such as Chrysostom on the Priesthood, Augustine's Confessions, Cyprian on the Unity of the Church, Tertullian on the Prescription of Heretics, Irenæus against the Gnostics, and the Epistles of Ignatius, we must inevitably receive the impression that the Church of antiquity was in its predominant spirit and tendency, far more Catholic than Protestant, and that the Middle Ages are only a natural continuation

of the Nicene Christianity. Could Ambrosius, Athanasius, Cyprian, Irenæus, Ignatius, Clemens and Polycarp suddenly arise from their graves, and be transferred to Puritan New England, they would scarcely there recognize the Christianity of those venerable Martyrs and Confessors, for which they lived and suffered; but, on the contrary, would much sooner discover, not only amongst the Universalists and Unitarians, but amongst the Baptists and Puritans themselves, distinct traces of a congeniality of spirit with the heretics and schismatics of their own days. We state this, however, without any disrespect whatever, but simply as the impression received from an impartial comparison of historical facts. The most striking difference between the Primitive Church and Protestantism, lies in the doctrine of the Rule of Faith, of the Relation of the Scriptures to Tradition, of the Church, her Unity, her Catholicity, her Exclusiveness, and of the Sacraments. Even of the material principle of Protestantism, the doctrine of Justification by Faith *alone*, in *Luther's* sense, the Fathers know nothing, not even Augustine;* and instead of making this the article of the standing and falling Church, they assign rather to the Christology, to the mystery of the Incarnation and to the Holy Trinity, the central position in the Christian system, and the confession or denial of Christ's real humanity, is with them, according to 1 John, 4, the sure criterion of orthodoxy or heterodoxy.† In all these points of

* *Neander*, for instance, clearly shows, that Augustine's conception of justification is not a forensic outward imputation, (however important this may be) but a really making just, and hence substantially the same with sanctification. This by no means interferes necessarily with the doctrine of free grace, of which the same father is well known to have been one of the most zealous defenders. We may indeed say, that the substance of the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith properly understood is salvation by free grace, and in this general form it underlies no doubt the piety of all ages and of all true Christians.

† We cannot refrain from citing here a remarkable confession of Dr. *W. J. Tiersch*, in his valuable work on the New Testament Canon, (1845, p. 280) as it serves to illustrate, in a most impartial manner, the impression of this contrast between Patristic and Protestant Theology, even in its most churchly and orthodox form:—"What a strange impression do the Church Fathers, for the most part, make upon him who, filled with a strictly Protestant consciousness, betakes himself for the first time to their study. Thus it happened with the author of these discussions. Nourished by the best devotional works of the older Protestant writers, and educated theologically in the Dogmatics and Exegesis of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he turned to the Church Fathers. He remembers well how strange it appeared to him from the beginning, in not being able to find here anything of those truths which formed the well-springs of his entire religious life; nothing of that

doctrine, as well as in the hierarchical constitution, the sacrificial worship, and the ascetic conception of Christian virtue and piety, we clearly discover, in the Church Fathers, from Gregory and Leo up to Cyprian, Irenæus and Ignatius, at least the germs of that system, which afterwards completed itself in the Roman Catholic Church. This is continually becoming acknowledged the more in proportion as researches are extended in this sphere, and their results produced in a popular form. Without this resemblance, it would be absolutely impossible to account for the fact, that the Roman Catholic Church

[Protestant] way, which the sinner must tread in order to obtain peace, and become assured of divine grace; nothing of the merit of Christ as the only ground of pardon [?], nothing of an unceasing repentance, and continually fresh drawings from the fountain of free grace, and nothing of that lofty assurance of a justified Christian. Instead of this, he found that all stress was laid upon the Incarnation of the Divine Logos, upon a correct knowledge of this sublime object of worship, upon the objective mystery of the Trinity and Incarnation, upon the connection of creation, redemption and the future restoration of the creature in the glorification even of the human corporeality, upon the freedom of man, and upon the reality of the divine workings of grace in the Sacraments. Yet it was not too much for him to live himself into this whole method of thought, and, without giving up anything that is true and inalienable in the Protestant, especially the Lutheran Protestant consciousness, to conquer its onesidedness by means of a living appropriation of the theology of the Fathers. He soon learned that the Christian Church, over against the errors of the present, the Pantheism and Fatalism, the Spiritualism, and misapprehension of the significance of corporeality, stood in need of a decided re-assumption of the truths preserved in the Patristic Theology, and of an assimilation of her entire existence to the peculiar character of the ancient Church, at least internally, since the Reformation of external circumstances lies not within the reach of human power. The Primitive Christian Church appeared to him more and more in her full splendor and exalted beauty, of which only fragmentary lineaments are to be recognized in the churches, confessions and sects of the present. But the knowledge of this truly Apostolic-Catholic Church, which is neither identical with the Greek nor the Roman Church—but which differs still *far more* from Protestantism—this it is which gradually emancipated him from all polemical and denominational fanaticism, and afforded him the happiness of a disposition as decided and uncompromising against that which is unchristian and antichristian, as irenical and liberal towards that which is true and Christian in the manifold confessions of the present."—Those who wish to convince themselves that the views of the Fathers from Ignatius down to Augustine on the nature of the *Church*, which in some respects is the most important and comprehensive point of difference between Romanism and Protestantism, are essentially Catholic, and that the article of the creed, Credo unam sanctam apostolicam ecclesiam, with them, did not refer to an invisible abstraction, but to a visible historical reality, are respectfully referred to the third book in Dr. Rothe's masterly work on the early Church. The articles of Dr. Nevin on Early Christianity, and on Cyprian too, with which the readers of the Mercersburg Review are familiar, are quite to the point, and bring out a great many facts in clear and strong light which are worthy of the most serious attention, and cannot be put aside by mere categorical protests or ungentlemanly insinuations.

has canonized the most distinguished and pious of the fathers and cherishes their memory with filial veneration and gratitude to this day. It is only through want of knowledge, or a singular delusion, that any section of Protestantism could ever imagine itself to be a simple restoration of the Nicene or ante-Nicene age.

If however we concede this much, from a mere historical standpoint, it is easy to see what an enormous influence such an admission must have upon the final solution of the *Church Question*. For whoever despises the judgment of History, robs himself at the same time of all foundation and basis. If the fifteen centuries prior to the Reformation are deserving of no confidence, neither are the last three centuries entitled to any respect. "If any one neglect to hear the voice of the Church," saith our Lord, "let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." (Matt. 18: 17). In proportion as we undermine and reject the testimony of Church History, in theological and religious questions, do we also open the door to skepticism and nihilism. Herein precisely lies the great ecclesiastical and religious importance of modern church-historical research, even if this should not yet be duly acknowledged by many German theologians. The time will and must come, when the practical conclusions will be drawn from the theory.

But some will at once ask, Of what concern is the testimony of history to me, if I have the *Word of God* in my favor, which is, after all, the only certain Rule of Faith and Life; whilst the greatest schoolmen and Church Fathers, according to their own confession, were themselves sinful men, and liable to err? Very true! But who has made you an infallible *interpreter* of this Word? Has not this Word already existed in the Church before the sixteenth century, and as such been highly honored, read, transcribed, translated and commented upon? Whence then have you the canon, save directly from the faithful collection and transmission of the Catholic Church? Who furnishes you the proof of the genuineness and integrity of the apostolical writings, except the testimonies of the ancient ecclesiastical authors? If already the immediate disciples of the Apostles, if Ignatius, Clemens and Polycarp, if the fathers and martyrs of the second and third centuries, have radically misunderstood the New Testament, what guaranty have we then that *you*, in the nineteenth century, understand it properly throughout, wherever you may differ from them? Are you then made of better stuff than the Confessors and Martyrs

of the blooming period of the Church? Have you done and suffered more for Christ? You say: The clear letter of Paul and John condemns the Catholic Church as Antichrist, as the Man of Sin, the Beast from the abyss, as the Babylon destined to be destroyed. But whence do you know that this interpretation is correct? Since you totally reject the infallibility of the Pope, and perhaps also of the Church in general, you will certainly not be so inconsistent, and ridiculously presumptuous, as to claim it for yourself or any other Protestant interpreter? Moreover, such an application of the passages in question was wholly unheard of until within the later period of the Middle Ages, when it was invented by certain fanatical sects, to suit their polemical ends. The Church Fathers, without exception, even Irenæus, who through Polycarp stood in close relation to the Apostle John himself, have referred them to Gnosticism and to the World-Empire of *heathen* Rome. At all events, the Reformers could not have used consistently the Revelation of John for any polemical purpose, since Luther and Zwingli denied its Apostolical origin, and Calvin, with all his masterly skill as a commentator, wisely suffered it to remain unexplained. Later Protestant interpreters, such as Hammond and Grotius, and all modern expounders of Scripture, (quite lately the orthodox Hengstenberg, in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, and even the Puritan Stuart,) have, almost without exception, rejected the Anti-Roman interpretation, as entirely untenable, and again returned to the explanation of the Church Fathers.*

However this may be, there are, at all events, many more *clear* and *distinct* passages in Scripture, which, according to the unanimous explanation of Catholic and Protestant commentators, promise to the Church of Christ an *indestructible continuation and an uninterrupted presence of her divine Head, even to the end of the world.* Of this there cannot be the least doubt, and therefore must we above all, build our theory of Church History upon *such* declarations, and not upon a very doubtful interpretation of the darkest passages in the most mysterious book of the Bible—which, not without reason, stands last in our canon. But if it should appear as the result of the modern thorough and impartial investigations

* We must remark, however, that the *exclusive* reference of the 13th and 17th chapters of the Apocalypse does not seem to do justice to the inspired vision of John, which seems to include several successive world-powers opposed to the kingdom of Christ. Still less can we adopt Hengstenberg's view of the Millenium.

of the greatest Protestant Historians, that the Christian Church, before the Reformation, even back to the days of the Apostolic Fathers, was not in her predominant spirit and character Protestant, but essentially Catholic, in most of those points where the two systems are at war with each other, and that the protesting sects, from the Ebionites and Gnostics, down to the Cathari and Albigenses present a confused mixture of contradictory opinions, and as such cannot possibly constitute the uninterrupted continuation of the Life of Christ and evangelical truth: it necessarily follows that such a defense of Protestantism, which rests upon an entire rejection of Catholicism,—as a system of falsehood,—be it Baptistic, Puritanic, Presbyterian or Anglican—stands in direct contradiction to the testimony of history and those unequivocal sayings of Christ and his Apostles, and must therefore be abandoned.

This is the deciding point, to which the controversy between Protestantism and Catholicism, which has lately arisen with renewed zeal and energy in Germany, England and the United States, is forced, and should some German theologians, who have aided in bringing about this issue, in their predominantly theoretical tendency and scientific self-complacency, concern themselves little about the practical consequences, there are many divines in practical England and America, who will draw the final conclusions. Examples might readily be pointed out, which in reality confirm this. It is a remarkable and interesting fact, that German evangelical theology, becomes far more practical and serious in its consequences, upon English ground, than in Germany itself. For the Englishman seldom contents himself with naked theories and speculations, but endeavors directly to bring them into practical life, to organize them externally and realize them in some concrete form. This can easily be seen in Methodism, compared with the congenial, but unorganized Pietism. Puseyism exhibits the same tendency, though in an opposite direction; for in it, the idea of the Church has long since emerged from the sphere of theological research, and has become a solemn practical life-question, which has already driven a considerable number of the Clergy and Laity, from the Protestant into the Roman camp. Neither would it greatly surprise us, should we live to see also in America, a larger secession of educated men towards Rome, arising partly at least from an earnest but one-sided study of Church history. For here such a step could be more easily accounted

for, than in Germany, as a necessary reaction against extreme forms of anti-catholic theology. To do this, we need only consider that the Protestant Press of America, with few honorable exceptions, from the city papers, with their ten and twenty thousand subscribers, down to the most obscure country sheets, rests upon this totally anti-scriptural and anti-historical theory; that it contends against the Roman Church with weapons of the blindest fanaticism, and that it suffers itself to make use of such rude and uncharitable misrepresentations, which we should be obliged to stigmatize directly as barefaced lies, could they not be accounted for, on the ground of ignorance and prejudice, and did not the otherwise religious character of these Intelligencers and non-Intelligencers, compel us to adopt the latter expedient. He who has ever thoroughly and impartially studied the history of the Church before the Reformation and the classical productions of Roman Divines, such as Bellarmine, Bossuet, Möhler, Wiseman, Ballmes and Newman, must possess a more than ordinary amount of patience and stoical tranquility of mind, if he can behold those caricatures which are circulated from week to week, without being filled with indignation against the conscious or unconscious calumniators, and with an increasing sympathy for the slandered party. Add to this, the growing confusion in Protestantism, which notwithstanding its great advantages in many other respects is, precisely in this country, more than in any other, split into numberless denominations and sects, without any human prospect for a consolidation or union, and presents a confused mixture of private opinions and subjective, ever changing notions, which threaten finally to wash away all the solid ground of real supernatural faith and fixed doctrine from under our feet, unless important conservative powers should stay the wild stream. The most trifling cause is considered sufficient to mangle the Body of Christ, and to transgress the Apostle's command: "Forbearing one another in love; endeavoring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." And along with this, there is such an abuse made of the Word of God, that it must furnish proof texts for the wildest dreams, as if it were a nose of wax and a book of all sorts of contradictions. If then we have any idea of the Church, its inherent unity and catholicity, of law and authority, and regard Christianity as a supernatural power, to which we must humbly submit, instead of fashioning it according to a rationalistic common sense, and the conceptions of modern times, until it

is finally sunk to the sphere of Nature, and becomes the product of our reason and imagination ; we must have an unusually strong confidence in History, and continually look to the past, and with hope to the future, so as not to become disheartened sometimes by the present Babel of Protestant sects. Without such a confidence in God—who, as a Portuguese proverb says, writes also on a crooked line, and can call a beautiful creation out of chaos ; without the virtue of patient expectation and hope, there is a strong inducement for serious minds, which have become fully conscious of the weight and difficulties of this subject, to cast themselves into the arms of Roman uniformity, if only for the purpose of escaping this eternal fluctuation, and experimenting to acquire a firm foundation and basis, and to enjoy as they hope at least, the feeling of comfortable rest and security.

If therefore Protestantism is to be defended, without surrendering the thoroughly scriptural idea of an indestructible Church, and an uninterrupted indwelling presence of Christ, and without doing violence to the clear testimony of History, prior to the Reformation, it can only be done by conceding, at the same time, a relative title to Catholicism, and allowing it to have been the chief, if not the only bearer of Christianity, down to the sixteenth century, and that it even yet constitutes a vital member of the Body of Christ. Dr. *Rothe* says in his learned and not sufficiently appreciated work, entitled Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche, (Preface, p. ix.): "There can be no more powerful apology for Protestantism, than the acknowledgment, yea even the positive affirmation of the fact, that in the *past*, Catholicism, according to its substance, has had full historical reality and necessity, deep inward truth, and high moral excellence and power." So we say also : The noblest and most efficient way of defending Protestantism, is not to run down and abuse, but rather to glorify and defend Catholicism, as the bearer of mediæval Christianity, and as a necessary preparation for Protestantism itself, without which the latter could as little have made its appearance, as Christianity without Judaism, or as liberty without the school of authority and obedience. In the same way we may say, that the honor of the New Testament is not diminished, but increased rather and properly guarded, by giving the Old Testament all due credit and importance as a preparatory dispensation of the gospel.

But even this alone is not sufficient. For a Church, which,

in spite of the tremendous shock experienced in the sixteenth century, depriving her of the most vigorous nations, has yet power to revive herself, and replace, at least to a great extent, the lost territory by means of important conquests in the heathen world; which has since been able to reproduce in the sphere of theology, a Bellarmine, a Baronio, a Peteau, a Bossuet, a Möhler,—in the sphere of missions and Christian Life, a Xavier, a Borromeo, a Filippo of Neri, a Vincens of Paula, a Paschal, a Fenelon, a Sailer; which in later times has attracted talented men so differently constituted, such as Haller, Stolberg, Novalis, Schlegel, Hurter, Florencourt, Newman, Manning, Wilberforce and Brownson; which subsequent to the Revolutionary storm of 1848, has elevated herself with renewed energy, extended her arms towards the North and West, into the very heart of Protestant civilization, and the bulwark of Protestant power, and wherever she goes, throws the Government, Clergy and Laity into a feverish agitation, and sets a thousand tongues and pens in motion against her:*—such a Church cannot have her significance in the past *alone*, but must possess even yet an important life-power, a relative necessity for the present, and a significant mission for the future. This is, of course, at once to confess that Protestantism does not describe the entire circumference of the Church, even since the time of the Reformation,—although it is evidently the chief bearer of modern civilization,—but that it is in its own nature, onesided, that it suffers from imperfections, as well as its adversary, although of an opposite character, that it, on this account, again stands in need of a Reformation, that it has, in Catholicism its necessary complement, and that it can never complete itself without it. The signs of the times

* There is only too much truth in the following remarks of the distinguished Anglican convert, Dr. *Newman*, in the preface to his lectures to Anglicans: "There is an instinctive feeling of curiosity, interest, anxiety, and awe, mingled together in various proportions, according to the tempers and opinions of individuals, when the Catholic Church makes her appearance in any neighborhood, rich or poor, in the person of her missionary or her religious communities. Do what they will, denounce her as they may, her enemies cannot quench this emotion in the breasts of others, or in their own. It is their involuntary homage to the Notes of the Church; it is their spontaneous recognition of her royal descent and her imperial claim; it is a specific feeling, which no other religion tends to excite. Judaism, Mahometanism, Anglicanism, Methodism, old religions and young, romantic and common-place, have not the spell. The presence of the Church creates a discomposure and restlessness, or a thrill of exultation, wherever she comes. Meetings are held, denunciations launched, calumnies spread abroad, and hearts beat secretly the while."

also, point clearly enough to this issue. Protestantism is just at this time undergoing a thorough examination and sifting in Germany, England and North America, and it is to be hoped that the sermon of repentance, which is thus delivered unto it, may not be overheard, but that it may reap similar benefits from the progress of its old hereditary enemy, whilst the Roman Church has evidently gained to a great extent, in activity and zeal, by means of the reacting and arousing influence of Protestantism. For wherever they have come into contact, it can easily be seen, that Romanism is in a far more living and hopeful condition, than where it sways the sceptre of undisturbed dominion, e. g., in the spiritually dead Mexico, Brazil, Portugal and Croatia.

This liberal position towards Rome is, at all events, more generous, far more consistent with the spirit of Christian charity, and much better calculated to gain over the adversary, than that harsh and repulsive fanaticism, which hesitates not even to make common cause with Rationalists, Pantheists, Atheists, Socialists and impure Revolutionary spirits of every possible character, over against Catholicism, as is too frequently the case with many of our religious sheets. Only think of the many Protestant patrons, such miserable apostates and unprincipled slanderers as Maria Monk, Ronge, Leahy, (who lately turned out a murderer!) Achilli, etc., have found in our midst! "What communion hath Christ with Belial, or light with darkness?" But the main point here is, that this mild and moderate polemic is more in keeping with *truth*, the Word of God, and the testimony of History, than the other, which rests purely on historical suppositions, caricatures and perversions.

But now it may be asked, How can one remain a Protestant any longer, with a good conscience, if he makes such significant concessions to the Catholic Church, regarding her as the only true Church down to the Reformation, and attributing to her even to this day such an important position and mission? Is not that which was once the true Church, always the true Church? How can Christianity be first Catholic, then Protestant, without contradicting itself? Of course, from the standpoint of a mechanical conception of Christianity and History, this difficulty is not easily solved. Just as soon as we conceive of ecclesiastical Christianity as a system, preconcluded from the start, and completed in its outward form, for all time, so soon must we consistently become either Roman Catholic or Ultra-Protestant. There is no middle ground. But far otherwise is it from the standpoint of *historical devel-*

opment, which underlies all the more important German historical works of modern times, although the thing itself is as old as history, and has a firm foundation in the Bible. The only merit which German theology can claim in this respect is, that it has brought out the idea in a scientific form and applied it to the treatment of history. This conception, it seems to us, affords the only tenable foundation upon which to justify the Reformation and Protestantism, without doing violence to preceding history, and destroying the nature of an uninterrupted Church. Hence its vast practical importance for the solution of the Church question. We speak here, of course, only of the *theological* and *scientific* defense of Protestantism. For the plain practical Christian is not and ought not to be troubled with these historical difficulties; he bases his faith in Protestantism very properly on the Word of God, as he understands it, on his own religious experience, and on the practical fruits of the system which he finds to compare very favorably on the whole with those of the opposite system. But the theologian must battle with the solemn problem of the Church question, as it stares him in the face from the pages of history. To him, it cannot possibly be indifferent what Christianity has been in the different ages of the world, and what relation his own view of it sustains to the great and good men of bygone days who have suffered all for Christ.

Development is properly identical with history itself; for history is life, and all life involves growth, evolution and progress. Our bodily existence, all our mental faculties, the Christian life, and the sanctification of every individual, constitute such a process of development from the lower to the higher. Why should not the same law hold, when applied to the whole, the communion which is made up of individuals? Any reasonable person will allow a progress in trade, business, in politics, arts, science and civilization; why not also in the Church? Why should she alone, which is a communion of individual believers, and something historical, yea the greatest fact and phenomenon of history, be made an exception to the laws of all organic life and development? The New Testament itself distinctly applies this law to the Church. For Christ compares his kingdom to a mustard seed which groweth into a mighty tree, and to a leaven which gradually leaveneth the whole lump, and the Apostles, especially St. Paul, speak continually of the growth of the body of Christ as well as of individual believers.

Even Roman Catholic Divines, such as Möhler and Newman, must resort to the idea of development in some form—whether

this naturally follows from the Roman standpoint of stability or not, is another question *—in order to understand and explain the history of their own Church. Much less can a Protestant historian advance a single step, and justify the Reformation, without the torchlight of this idea. It is now determined, as before remarked, that Protestantism in those doctrines differing from Catholicism, is not the Christianity of the Schoolmen and Mystics, not the Christianity of the Church Fathers of the Nicene age, not the Christianity of the Apologists, of the Apostolic Fathers, of the Martyrs and Confessors of the second and third centuries, but that all these are substantially more closely related to the Catholic standpoint, although this itself had only gradually developed and perfected itself. This is placed beyond doubt already, by the character of the Greek Church, which remains stationary at the point of the Ancient Church, and is evidently far more Catholic than Protestant. The doctrine of the Trinity, of the Divinity of Christ, of the Relation of the two Natures in Christ, of the Atonement, in short all the articles of the Apostolic and Nicene creeds, are here not brought into view; for these are not specifically and exclusively Protestant, but in their origin and substance Catholic, and manifestly inherited from an earlier Catholicism, fully as much so as the canon of Scripture and the doctrine of Inspiration. They constitute the primitive foundation common to all orthodox Churches, in opposition to all heretical sects. If then the Reformation is not a work of Satan, but a divine fact, which we for good reasons believe, it must be viewed and defended as a *new phase* in the progressive development of Protestantism, as an *advance* on the earlier periods of the history of the Church.

This is then the last but safe anchor for a Protestant divine of the German historical school. To this position has, for example, Dr. *Nevin* been forced, who is thoroughly acquainted with all the forms of English and German Protestantism. The Puritan, Presbyterian and Anglican historical hypotheses, have proved wholly untenable to him, and in his late articles

* Brownson, in several articles of his Review, violently opposes Newman's theory of development as subversive to Catholicism and Christianity, and predicts that a new and dangerous heresy will spring out of this view of the Anglican converts, unless it be speedily condemned by the authorities of the Roman Church. We believe that Brownson is very unjust to Newman, personally and perhaps unconsciously influenced by jealousy against his most distinguished fellow-convert; at the same time, however, we agree with him, that the idea of development is not congenial to the genuine spirit of Romanism, but essentially of Protestant growth.

on "Early Christianity" and "Cyprian," in the Mercersburg Review, he has produced arguments against them, which none of his many dissatisfied opponents have attempted to refute, and which indeed, in a historical view, so far as the main facts are concerned, can scarcely ever be refuted.* Consequently there remains for him nothing except the German theory of Development, which, in the mean time, is held in reproach by almost all English theologians. As long as he adheres to this theory, an exodus to Rome will be impossible, as it would be a retrogression, and consequently a nullification of the fundamental law of historical development. For this, in the nature of the case, implies progress, an advance from the lower to the higher, and this must hold good when applied to the Church, although in the individual parts of all the divisions of the Church, retrogressive movements and temporary stagnation may occur.

For the purpose, however, of justifying Protestantism satisfactorily, on the ground of the development theory, two important points must be settled. First, it must be proved that it was not a *radical* rupture with the religious life of the early, i. e., the Catholic Church, but that it has, *in common with her a primitive Christian and a primitive Church basis*, which we, in our opposition, should never lose sight of. For, in the course of her development, the Church must yet continually remain identical in her nature, and dare not advance beyond herself, without falling into heresy, and thus make the promise of Christ to her of none effect. Thus man from childhood to old age still remains man, and each successive step is but a higher evolution of the idea contained already in the infant. Hence it is of immense importance, that the Reformers with-

* It is a fact by no means creditable to our American theology, that the many and earnest writings of this distinguished divine on the Church question, in its various aspects, have been met almost on every side with misrepresentation, slander and abuse, instead of earnest, solid argument. The only respectable articles, which have thus far appeared against Dr. Nevin, are Dr. *Hodge's* review of the "Mystical Presence," and two articles of Dr. *Proudfit* in the Princeton Review, and even the latter ones are by no means free from misrepresentation, and escape the real points at issue. We hope for the honor of Puritanism, Presbyterianism and Anglicanism, that they will be able and willing to defend themselves in a truly scholarly and gentlemanly way against the powerful attacks made upon them from that quarter, which, however, in our estimation, could only be done by assuming a much more historical and at the same time far less bigoted and exclusive position than they have occupied heretofore. Unhistorical and unchurchly Protestantism, we apprehend, cannot stand ultimately against the powerful strides of Romanism, which has now fairly entered into the very heart of Anglo-American Protestantism, with renewed energy and the boldest hopes of final success.

out exception retained the Catholic Canon of Scripture, the ancient œcumenical symbols, and especially the Apostle's Creed, and incorporated them in their own confessions, and that they stood in direct opposition to the ultra Protestant sects of their times. Certain portions of modern Protestantism manifest, indeed, a fearful tendency in their bitter hostility against Rome, to separate themselves from this fundamental basis, and in like proportion sink into the character of heresies and sects. But the main branches of Protestantism will, by no means, surrender this Apostolic symbol, which connects them with the Ancient Church, and never cease to claim an interest in the Christianity before the Reformation, especially in the Patristic literature. Indeed there are evidently manifold strivings to recover numerous treasures, which have been cast overboard, and particularly to reconstruct, enlarge and conform their worship to the Church principle.

Then again it must be proved that Protestantism has its foundation substantially in *Apostolical* Christianity. For the New Testament, the Word of Christ and his inspired organs, is, after all, the final resort in all religious questions, and whatever has no connecting point with it cannot be sustained in the end. The germs of all legitimate stages of progress must already appear in the Apostolic Church, whilst a development beyond Christ himself and his Apostles, in the sense of Rationalists and Free-thinkers of all classes, must naturally assume the character of a degeneration, and a relapse into Heathenism or Judaism. With *such* development we, of course, have not the least sympathy whatever, but abhor it as essentially antichristian. But the Reformers, we all know, without exception placed themselves on the Bible as the only infallible rule of Christian faith and practice. Now it would indeed be an inextricable historical riddle, if the close association which Protestantism has from the start formed with the Bible, and if the zeal with which it continually devotes itself to its translation, interpretation and promulgation throughout the world, should rest finally upon a mere delusion. It is, indeed, manifestly impossible for the Bible to contain *all* that the various denominations and sects imagine to find in it—but which, in truth, they force into it, by means of their private interpretation—or it would contradict itself, and cease to be the truth any longer. It cannot possibly contain at once the contrary doctrines of Episcopalianism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Zuinglianism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, Methodism, the Baptists and Quakers, (if by special indulgence, we

should still number the last two with orthodox Protestantism); it cannot, at the same time, teach and condemn the doctrine of Predestination, or both affirm and deny the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist; it cannot at one time declare Baptismal Regeneration, and yet degrade the Sacrament to the level of an empty sign; it cannot enjoin the baptism of Infants, and yet reject it as unchristian; it cannot establish three orders in the Ministry, and then again, but one, or teach no peculiar spiritual office at all, but only a universal Priesthood, and favor whatever other points of difference there may be in Doctrine, Constitution and Cultus, partly essential, partly non-essential, concerning which Protestants have quarreled already for three hundred years, with equally zealous appeal to the Bible, without advancing a single step towards each other. Still justice requires us to allow, that they agree, we will not say in all—as this would evidently be saying too much—but in most of the fundamental articles of the Gospel; for if it were otherwise, we would, according to the incontrovertible maxim, "out of the Church, no salvation," be compelled to deny the possibility of salvation in one or the other of these communions, to which extent, even the extreme Puseyites, and Old-Lutherans will not venture.

Some such relation then must evidently exist between the Bible and orthodox Protestantism in order to explain intelligently their close connection for three hundred years. In this dilemma, German Theology again comes to our relief and transfers us, to what appears to us, the only correct point of view.

Modern exegetical investigations, in which sphere, as is well known, it has displayed an extraordinary activity, place it beyond all doubt for us at least, that we must distinguish three stages of development and types of doctrine in the apostolic Church, which of course, in no way, contradict or exclude each other, as the school of Dr. Baur in Tübingen, after the precedence of the ancient Gnostics, maintains, but mutually complete each other, to wit:—*Jewish Christianity*, represented by the Apostles, Peter and James, *Gentile Christianity*, represented by the Gentile Apostle Paul and his co-laborers, and *the higher union of both* by John, the beloved disciple, who, surviving all his colleagues, exhibits the third and last period and completion of the Apostolic Church, and looks forward, at the same time, as the Prophet of the new covenant, through the most distant future, to the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness and peace for evermore. If this view be correct—and we find it more and more confirmed the longer

we study the New Testament in its proper connection—we have a polar star to guide us through the entire labyrinth of Church History, in her manifold phases and stages of development. According to this view then, the history of the Catholic Church, which stays herself on Peter as her rock,* and derives her doctrine on justification, faith and good works chiefly from the first two Gospels and from the Epistle of James, corresponds to Apostolic Jewish Christianity, and with it lays stress principally on authority, law and the closest possible connection with the theocracy of the Old Testament. Protestantism, which originally proceeded from a renewed study of the Epistles of Paul, is a onesided enforcing of the paulino-Gentile Christianity with its spirit of evangelical freedom and independence, over against the Jewish Christian excesses. In its relation to Catholicism it has thus far imitated St. Paul far more in his temporary inimical collision with Peter at Antioch, (Gal. 2: 11, 19,) than in his subsequent friendly co-operation with him, and has frequently given occasion to his antagonist to repeat the warning of Peter against the abuse of the writings of Paul "in which there are some things hard to be understood." (2 Peter 3: 16.) Then again Protestantism has unfolded thus far almost exclusively the anthropological and soteriological doctrines of Paul, his Epistles to the Galatians and Romans; whilst the later Epistles of the same Apostle, especially his profound doctrine of the Church, as the one, undivided body of Christ, the fulness of him that filleth all in all, have evidently not yet received their full share of attention. As soon as this shall be done, there will be at the same time a certain approximation to the Catholic, church-principle, and the way become prepared for the third and last Period of the Christian Church, in which the great truths of Catholicism and evangelical Protestantism, with the exclusion of their mutual errors, may become united in a higher union and harmony, through the renewal and complete appropriation of the spirit of John, especially of his doctrine of the person of Christ, and the living communion of the faithful with Him and with each other. But this union must be preceded by a universal

* We may admit with Count Zinzendorf, and Dr. Stahl, in his late address to the German Church Diet in Bremen, that "the Pope is not the Antichrist, but the legitimate chief of the Roman Church," as Peter was the head of Jewish Christianity, without surrendering thereby the true interests of Protestantism. For the Roman Church is not the Catholic Church, but only a part of it. The Greek Church in her best days never disputed the authority and even primacy of the Bishop of Rome for the Latin Church, but refused to submit to it in the absolute and universal sense.

repentance, and we may here appropriate to ourselves the significant words of the great and generous Catholic Divine, Möhler (Symbolik, Page 353, sq. 6 Ed.,) who, after frankly acknowledging the unwarrantable lack of principle in so many priests, bishops and Popes, "whom hell has swallowed up," as the cause of corruption in his Church and of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, adds—"This is the point (the consciousness of guilt) at which Catholics and Protestants will in great multitudes one day meet and give each other the hand of friendship. Both, conscious of guilt, must exclaim, We *all* have erred—it is the Church only—as an institution of Christ—which cannot err; we *all* have sinned—the Church alone is spotless on earth. This open confession of mutual guilt will be followed by the festival of reconciliation."

Herewith we bring the series of essays on German Theology to a close. We have rendered it high praise, and joined bright hopes with it. But we would not be so misunderstood, as though we were blind to its manifold wants and imperfections; we have rather distinctly stated the contrary, and intimated that its principle practical task has by no means yet been accomplished. We know also full well that salvation comes not from theology, science or learning, under any form, as many German closet-scholars imagine, but from *life*, from those *divine-human powers*, those aged, yet ever youthful *supernatural facts*, which alone have founded and which alone can renew and complete the Church. But if the evangelical theology of Germany, in conneetion with the other instruments of the age, should, in the hands of a merciful God, serve the purpose of preparing the way, from the Protestant side, through the inward, quiet, yet deeply working "power of thought," for such a reconciliation between Catholicism and Protestantism, and aid in bringing to an end the great schism of the sixteenth century by a greater and more difficult act of reunion: it would truly deserve the praise and gratitude of all true friends of the kingdom of God, which is a kingdom of love, harmony and peace. For what can be more grand and glorious than to heal the bleeding wounds of the body of Christ, and to labor for the realization of the last prayer of our Eternal High Priest: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me!" W.

Mercersburg, December 6th, 1852.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION TO "CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA"

The Evangelical Alliance, founded in London in 1846, was a voluntary association of Evangelical Christians of different churches and countries to manifest and promote the union of Christian believers and advance the cause of religious liberty. At the time of its formation, Philip Schaff was very luke-warm toward it for he saw it as a pan-Protestant movement against Rome and the Oxford Movement. Later he became very active in the Alliance, was the leader of the American delegation to Manchester in 1869, and the organizing spirit of the sixth conference held in New York in 1873.

Schaff was invited to write a report on "Christianity in America" to be presented at the 1857 meeting of the Alliance. The report which was published in the October, 1875, issue of *The Mercersburg Review* reveals not only his clear understanding of the religious situation in the United States but his devotion to it and his scholarly zeal to explain it to his British and Continental brethren.

He recognized America as the land of the future. As soon as possible after coming to Mercersburg he became an American citizen. As early as 1845 he wrote to friends in Germany, "Think of America as one may, there is here more personal piety and practical church activity than anywhere in the Old World, unless it be in a few limited circles in Germany. Here is the future of Protestantism, the cradle of a new and splendid reformation."

He saw American Christianity as distinct from European. Although United States was the daughter of England in general culture including religion, it far surpassed the parent in its aims for a more complete realization of religious and civil liberty based on self-government and general education. In

America is found a "general priesthood and kingship" which is the ultimate end of the history of the church.

He views the religious scene not just from the statistical and analytical but from the historical and theological. One marvels at the comprehension and keen insight that came from the professor who came to America only thirteen years before and lived in the small village of Mercersburg.

Schaff treats the subject under three headings: church and state, Christianity and the world, self-support of the church and self-government of the church. He sees the absolute separation of the church and state and the absolute freedom of religion in the United States as a new chapter in church history and the fulfillment of the Protestant principle. The desire for toleration which was a natural result of the diversity of religious beliefs among the immigrants from Britain and the Continent is fundamental in understanding Christianity in America.

Church membership is not compulsory in America. It is voluntary. While only twenty percent of the population belong to churches and of these thousands from impure motives, yet America is the most Christian nation on earth if the criteria are attendance at worship and support of Christian enterprises. The voluntary principle results in many evils but it wards "off from the church that odium which invariably arises from its alliance with the police."

Self-supporting and self-governing, American Christianity enjoys with other institutions the protection of the state for its property and the public exercise of its functions. It may be said that many economic injustices result for some pastors are poorly paid, but ecclesiastical self-support has justified itself in the United States. The same may be said of self-government. The result is lay-participation in the life and work of the church which makes it "a well organized body of

living Christians."

Throughout the article, Schaff extols American Christianity for its practicality, its piety, and deep religious motives and gently criticizes Christianity as found in Britain and the Continent. In the concluding paragraphs he returns to a theme which he emphasized in his inaugural address, *Principle of Protestantism*, that the United States promises to produce a new theology which will combine German learning and research with English orthodoxy and solidity. Yet he sees threatening clouds on the horizon as there seems "little prospect of a speedy cure of the sore evil of negro slavery." He predicts it will not be solved by a civil war, but partly by silent natural and economic developments, partly by the irresistible progress of Christianity, but especially by the wisdom of God.

THE

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OCTOBER, 1857.

Art. I.—CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA.

A report prepared by request for the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance held at Berlin in September, 1857.

Since the introduction of Christianity which constitutes the divine-human centre and turning point of history, no facts occurred which exceed in importance the invention of the printing press, the discovery of America, and the reformation of the Church. The one is the boldest conquest of the Romanic, the other two are the greatest deeds of the Germanic mind, for the benefit of the entire family of Christian nations. They bring to a close and sum up the last meaning of the Middle Age, while they break the way, at the same time, and control the course, of modern history. Though independent of each other and separated by one or two generations, they were yet intimately connected, especially in their prospective bearings. The press is the main lever of modern civilization; Protestantism is the chief bearer of modern Christianity; America is the largest theatre for both. There is no country under the sun, England hardly excepted, in which the press, at least the periodical press, is so free and independent, so ramified and powerful over public opinion, and where Protestantism is so fully and consistently developed, not only in the religious, but also in the whole political and social life of

the nation, as in the United States of North America. Here we see already, as in a second Europe, all the good and bad elements of the old world, in chaotic fermentation, but placed under new conditions and relations, invigorated by their very amalgamation, and preparing for a new era in the ever progressing history of the human race.

Without detracting from the just merit and importance of any nation, we may boldly assert that the deepest intellectual work of Protestantism and the solution of its theological problems have been mainly, though not exclusively, committed, by an all ruling Providence, to the Germans, while the social and political organization of Protestantism, the solution of its moral problems and the spread of modern civilization in all colonial countries and new territories to the ends of the globe, is the peculiar mission of the English and Americans. In view of such great objects, the two main branches of the same Teutonic stock may well extend to each other, across the Channel and the Atlantic, the hand of brotherhood, and celebrate a free Christian love-feast in the metropolis of German science at the invitation of a monarch who protects them both on the strongest Protestant throne of the Continent, and who honestly wishes the unity of the Evangelical Church and the victory of the heavenly King over all the princes and nations of the earth.

The significance of the discovery of America was felt to some extent even by the celebrated Genoese who reared by this deed an imperishable monument to his name. "Let processions be made; let festivals be celebrated; let temples be adorned with branches and flowers. For Christ rejoices on earth as in heaven, in view of the future redemption of souls. Let us rejoice, also, for the temporal benefit which will result from the discovery, not merely to Spain, but to all Christendom." Thus wrote the bold navigator to the treasurer of Spain, on the return from his first voyage to the new world, when he had attained the object of his noble ambition, and established, beyond a doubt, his theory, after eighteen years of suspense and sol-

licitation, in the face of prejudice and superstition, skepticism and sophistry, sneer and ridicule. He was now to enjoy the honeyed draught of popular and royal favor, to be followed, alas, so soon by the bitter cup of envy, calumny and insult. His journey from the port of Palos to Seville and Barcelona resembled the triumphal march of a conqueror, the eager multitudes thronging the streets, the windows, the balconies and house-tops and rending the air with shouts of acclamation. The nobility and cavaliers, together with the authorities of Barcelona, escorted him from the gates of the city to the royal presence. Ferdinand and Isabella, seated under a superb canopy of state and surrounded by all the splendor of the proudest days of the Spanish monarchy, received the distinguished stranger who, a short time before, had been derided at this very court as an enthusiast and a madman, with the most gracious condescension, and listened with tears of joy to his glowing description of the Western islands, illustrated by several living representatives of the simple-hearted natives, and specimens of unknown birds, aromatic plants, and shining gold which he had brought with him as harbingers of greater discoveries yet to be made. When the admiral had finished, the King and Queen, together with the flower of the nobility and the dignitaries of the Church, sank upon their knees, and raising their clasped hands to heaven, they joined in the solemn Te Deum of the royal chapel in pious celebration of so glorious a conquest to the crown of Spain and the Kingdom of Christ. Nor was this joy confined to Spain. The whole age, as far as it expressed itself in a few leading intellects, shared in the delight at the startling news. At the court of Henry VII of England, the great event was pronounced "a thing more divine than human." Peter Martyr gave expression to the feelings of scholars, when he wrote to Pomponio Lacto: "You tell me that you leaped for joy, and that your delight mingled with tears, when you read my epistle that assured you of the hitherto hidden world of the antipodes." The whole of civilized Europe was filled with wonder at the discovery of

another world which burst upon it with such sudden splendor, and anticipated from it untold additions to the wealth, knowledge and happiness of mankind.

And yet Columbus and his age could have but a very imperfect idea of the immense bearing of this event. He died in the conviction that he had touched simply on the borders of Asia, that Hispaniola was the ancient Ophir visited by the ships of Solomon, and that Cuba was connected with Spain by terra firma. He could not dream of that still greater discovery of a new world of thought which followed on the very heels of his material discovery; nor could he foresee the future dominion of the Anglo Saxon race which, in consequence of the reformation and in spite of the bulls of Alexander VI, that divided the Western hemisphere between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, became master of the destinies of America.

We would not detract in the least from the merits of Catholicism and of the Romanic nations in Christianizing and civilizing the barbarians of the Middle Ages. But no unprejudiced observer can deny for a moment, that the whole intellectual and moral weight of America is conditioned by the English nationality and the Protestant religion. The most superficial comparison of the Northern, i. e. the predominantly Anglo-Protestant half of this continent, with the Southern or Romano-Catholic half, teaches the immense superiority of the former in every branch of political, social, moral and religious life. The contrast here presented of national prosperity and misery, progress and stagnation, life and death, is even more striking than that which is admitted to exist between the Northern or Anglo-Protestant and the Southern or Celtic Catholic part of Ireland, between the Reformed and the Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland, between Portugal and Holland, Italy and Prussia, Spain and England. Even from Mexico, which is so highly favored by nature, we hear nothing, alas, but priest craft and military despotism, ignorance and superstition, revolution and anarchy in unbroken succession. The South American sham-republics prove to a demon-

stration, that the mere forms of a republic without the moral basis of self-government, can as little secure the prosperity of a nation as the forms of monarchy, and that political freedom without religious freedom (which is altogether unknown there) amounts to an empty delusion and falsehood.

North America came under the control and fostering care of the English nationality, from the very beginning of its history, when Cabot touched on the shores of Larbador and Newfoundland, A. D., 1497, one year before Columbus set foot on the mainland of South America. But its most important part has outgrown the era of colonial dependence and is evidently the chief representative of the new world; hence its citizens are emphatically called Americans.

The unexampled external and internal development of the United States of North America is the wonder of modern history. Hardly more than eighty years have elapsed since, by the declaration of independence, they took a place among the nations of the earth; and their present chief magistrate was born several years before the death of the venerable patriarch and first President of the Republic in the retired village where I write these lines, and where his father, a plain but honest citizen, originally from the North of Ireland, lies buried. In this short period the confederation has grown from thirteen States, with hardly three millions of inhabitants, to thirty-one States (there will soon be thirty-four) and nine Territories with more than twenty-seven millions. It extends now over an inexhaustibly rich country of about three millions of English square miles, and rules unconquered and unconquerable from the lakes of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, from the coasts of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, thus stretching one arm of its commerce and influence towards Europe and Africa, the other towards Asia and Australia. This extension of territory and population is not the result of bloody wars of conquest, but of the peaceful purchase of Louisiana (1803), Florida (1820), Oregon and Texas (1845), California, Utah and New Mexico (1848), and of a peaceful migration of nations from nearly all parts of Europe, espe-

cially from England, Ireland and Germany, an emigration which, in 1854 alone, amounted to nearly half a million of souls, and which, though it has since considerably declined, will go on more or less without interruption, until the boundless prairies and forests to the base of the Rocky Mountains and the golden shores of California shall be inhabited by civilized men and made available for those purposes for which Providence created them. Equally astounding is the internal growth of the Republic in all departments of industry, art and education, and betrays an energy and spirit of enterprize which knows no difficulty from the mowing and reaping machine to the colossal undertaking of the transatlantic telegraph, and makes America already a successful rival of England. This inward progress is to be attributed, next to the favors of Providence and nature, to the rich inheritance of European civilization with which the States entered upon their career, instead of having to begin with barbarism and heathenism; to the spirit of freedom which animates their civil and religious institutions; and finally to the contact of different nationalities on an Anglo-Saxon basis, which convey new nourishment from year to year to be converted into national American flesh and blood by the digestive power of this fresh and vigorous people. And yet this nation is evidently still in its early youth, full of youthful hopes and dreams, courage and presumption, virtues and follies, and has, according to human calculation, a long and brilliant career before it, unless—which may God prevent—internal distraction and decay should lay the giant youth in an untimely and inglorious grave.

But here arises the question full of interest to every educated and Christian man: Has the moral and religious development of the United States kept pace with their gigantic material and political progress? Is the present condition of Christianity and the Church as flourishing and promising in this Western land, as the state of its commerce, agriculture, and secular arts? May we look forward to as brilliant a period of Church history in this

land of freedom and promise, and to the final victory of the peaceful reign of Christ which will outlast all the kingdoms of this world?

As I thus enter upon my proper task, I ask you not to expect from me on this occasion a variety of geographical and statistical notices which, in so young and rapidly changing a country as America, would become obsolete in a few months; nor a detailed account of the different denominations of the land, which would require several volumes instead of a few sheets, since it would have to embrace all churches and sects of Christendom from Romanism down to Irvingism and Mormonism.

I shall attempt nothing more than a condensed, though tolerably complete and clear, exposition of the *characteristic features of American Christianity as distinct from the European.*

Before we specify the separate traits which constitute the general religious character and condition of the American nation, we must remember that England is the bridge from the Continent of Europe to that of America, and hence furnishes the key for a genetic knowledge of the latter. The United States is, not only as regards language, manners, customs, laws and literature, but also as regards religion and the Church, the daughter of that remarkable island from which the Puritan pilgrim fathers of Massachusetts, the Episcopalian cavaliers of Virginia, the Quakers and Presbyterians of Pennsylvania emigrated two hundred years ago to lay, in the fear of God, the foundation of a new nation. But they go, in principle, an important step beyond the mother country in religion as well as in politics. I say in principle, which is quite compatible with the acknowledgment of the present superiority of the older English over the younger Americans, in all that makes up the actual condition of a matured and well organized national life. The American republic aims at a far more complete realization of the idea of religious and civil liberty and equality on the basis of self-government and popular education, or of that general priesthood and kingship, which seems to be the ultimate end of the history of Church

and State, though it can never be fully attained till the second coming of Christ as the glorious King of nations and of saints. To this must be added as modifying influences, partly stimulating, partly restraining, the different national elements from the Continent of Europe, especially the Dutch and French in New York and New Jersey, and the German in all the middle and western States. America is as yet in every respect less mature, compact and solid, but more elastic, expansive and more capable of universal development than England. It rules not merely over an island, but over a continent and two oceans.

1. *Church and State.*

If we take into consideration first the legal and social basis on which all the denominations and sects of the United States stand, we are confronted at once with what constitutes the most characteristic feature of American Christianity, namely, the *complete separation of Church and State* and the *absolute freedom of religion*. Here the United States have indeed opened a new chapter in church history, which differs widely from the ante-nicene heathen persecution of the Church by the State, from the mediaeval Roman Catholic dominion of the Church over the State, and from the modern European Protestant subjection of the Church to the State. Here they have made the first bold attempt to carry out to its last consequences the Protestant principle of religious subjectivity and toleration and to make it the basis and guarantee of civil and political freedom. Here they have already exerted a powerful influence upon public opinion in Europe, as the steady progress of similar principles in England, (not only) but also on the Continent (think for instance of the Prussian decree of toleration of 1847 and the 12th article of the new Prussian constitution of 1850), the rise and progress of the Free Church of Scotland, the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud, and a considerable number of works of such men as Vinet and others sufficiently testify. The more important it is, that this point should be placed in its proper light and carefully guarded against frequent misrepresentations of European

writers, who can see nothing but culpable indifferentism and hostility to Christianity in any attempt to emancipate the State from the Church and the Church from the State.

It is true, already Constantine the Great gave to his subjects full liberty of religion in his famous edict of toleration of 313; but this was simply a temporary measure of political expediency and a natural transition from the persecution of Christianisy to its exclusive dominion in the old Roman empire. It is true, the Reformers of the sixteenth century claimed and exercised the liberty of protest against the Papal uniformity and tyranny of conscience; but they inconsistently denied the same right to others as soon as the new faith was fairly established by law. It is true, a Voltaire of France, a Frederic the Great of Prussia, and a Jefferson of America, brought forth and defended, in the last century, the principle that morality is independent of religion, that religion belongs exclusively to man's private conviction, and that every body should be permitted—to use Frederic's favorite expression—"to save his soul according to his own fashion;" but these distinguished men were more concerned about the liberty of irreligion than the liberty of religion, and that a toleration resting on indifferentism and infidelity may under circumstances pass over into the fiercest intolerance to religion itself, is amply shown by the horrible scenes of the French revolution and the absurd blasphemy enacted under Robespierre of dethroning the Almighty in favor of fallen reason turned mad. With such wicked follies America has nothing to do whatever.

Its liberties, both civil and religious, are of English growth, and resulted from those severe and earnest struggles commencing with the reformation and continued through the greater part of the seventeenth century, in which the Protestant principle, under its most rigorous Puritanic form, was arrayed against the Catholic traditions of the past, and the principle of individual freedom against the principle of general uniformity, until in 1688, they came to a compromise in an established Church, representing the

majority simply of the nation, and tolerating, with certain restrictions, the dissenting minority, still excluding, however, the Roman Catholics, and the anti-Trinitarians from the offices of government. As matters now stand since the abolition of the test act and the passage of the reform bill in 1829, the English dissenters, both Catholic, Protestant and Unitarian, enjoy practically the same amount of freedom as the various sects in the United States, and according to the census report of 1854, they now even outnumber in their combined force the membership of the Church of England and the Kirk of Scotland. But England still maintains in theory and in fact the principle of a religion established by civil law, i. e., the Episcopalian in England and Ireland, and the Presbyterian in Scotland, and regards the toleration granted to all who dissent from it as concessions simply which may be withdrawn again by the same government who gave it (think of the antipapal ecclesiastical titles' bill of 1851). But the Federal Constitution of the United States, formed by the combined wisdom and experience of the revolutionary fathers and patriots under the presiding counsel of Washington, disowns all idea of an ecclesiastical establishment and proclaims the liberty of religion as a sacred right of nature and a permanent principle, by the famous declaration: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."*

* The original Constitution as made by the Convention of Philadelphia in 1787, says nothing of religion except in the third clause to Article VI, which excludes all religious tests as a qualification to any office or trust under the United States. But this is simply negative and secures the independence of the State, but not of the Church. The law as given above is the first article of the Amendments which were proposed in the first Congress, Sept 25th, 1789, having been approved of by three fourths of the thirteen States, were ratified by Congress in December 15, 1791, and thus became part of the Constitution, The article on religion was first proposed, it seems, by Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, in this form: "The Legislature of the United States shall pass no law on the subject of religion, nor touching or abridging the liberty of the press; nor shall the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus ever be suspended, except in case of rebellion or invasion." See Elliot's Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, Vol. V. p 131.

The connection of religious liberty with the liberty of speech and of the press, and with the right of public assemblage and petition, points out the true interpretation of this article. Religious liberty in the sense of the Federal Constitution, which may be called the political Bible of the Americans, is not only negative, but above all positive, not freedom from religion, but freedom of religion and its actual exercise; just as the freedom of the press is not the negation or absence of the press, but its real existence and active operation. In a sinful world like ours the full freedom of religion does imply indeed the freedom of irreligion, nor can we expect the right use of liberty of any kind to exist without the possibility of its abuse by bad men. But the question is, Whether the abuse of religious liberty so far as it is strictly confined to the sphere of religion and does not violate the civil and political order, belongs to the jurisdiction of the State, or not? The American Constitution answers this question in the negative, and does so, we wish it to be distinctly understood, not from indifference or contempt of religion, but on the contrary from high regard for the same, as a sacred affair of man with God that lies far beyond all physical force and political legislation, and has no value before God and men, unless it be the free expression of the inmost conviction. It was felt that it would be best for the interests of religion as well as for the secular government, to keep them altogether distinct; that this separation was the legitimate result of the freedom of conscience; that the confounding of the spiritual kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of this world would lead to endless difficulties; that this peaceful separation would be the distinctive feature of America and the safeguard against both ecclesiastical and political despotism. The American government then has tied its own hands from the very start, as regards religion and the Church, by declaring them equally independent of its legislation and jurisdiction, as it claims to be independent in turn of any particular profession or creed, whatever may be the religion of its members in their private capacity.

From the European point of view this may appear as a dissolution of the sacred and time-honored alliance of the government with Christianity, as a degradation and contraction of the idea of the State by sundering it from all higher moral duties and conforming it simply to the secular and material interests of the nation. But it should be remembered, that it was a voluntary self-limitation, and that in favor of personal and ecclesiastical rights and liberties. What the State lost, or rather what it never possessed in North America (except in a few colonies before the revolution), accrues to the benefit of the individual, of free associations, and of the Church itself.

This, it seems to me, is the true sense of that article from which must be dated a new epoch in the history of the relation of Church and State. It is not a sanction of irreligion and the infidel philosophy of Voltaire, but a solemn protection and guarantee of religion against undue encroachments of the civil power both legislative and administrative. If time permitted, I might prove this at length, I think, from all the official documents bearing upon the subject, such as the "Madison Papers," the Congressional Debates and Proceedings of 1789 (Gale's edition Vol. I, p. 729, ff), the Debates of the several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution (Elliot's edition in 5 vols. 1845), and the private writings and the personal religious character of its principal framers, especially Washington, Madison, Hamilton and Jay.

I know well enough that Jefferson who took such a leading and efficient part in the separation of government from religion in Virginia as early as 1779, nearly ten years before the formation of the Federal Constitution, was a deist of the French school, and that he meant religious liberty, as he says expressly in his Autobiography, to be absolutely universal and to "comprehend, within the mantle of its protection, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mahometan, the Hindoo and infidel of every denomination." But he had nothing to do with the framing of the Federal Constitution, being then absent in France, nor could he

ever have succeeded in the overthrow of the Episcopal establishment in Virginia, had he not been strongly supported by the unpopularity of the Church of England arising from its connection with the English government, and by the united influence of all the dissenters in Virginia, especially the Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers, who had no sympathy, of course, with his infidel sentiments.

The framers of the Constitution of 1787 were all Christians, at least in name, and the religious sects which then existed in the land, were all Christian sects, with the exception, perhaps, of a few Jewish synagogues. The liberty, therefore, which they secured to religion, presupposed Christianity as the general basis, and it never entered their minds that heathenism, or Mohammedanism, or Judaism, or any other religion would ever take the place of the Christian, or assume any importance in the country sufficient to justify a restriction of that liberty. Nor were they mistaken in this expectation. Christianity is now far stronger and more deeply rooted in the American people than it was in that skeptical age, and yet there is not a single denomination which would advocate a repeal of the first amendment to the Constitution. Congress moreover appoints chaplains to this day and opens its sessions with prayer—differing widely in this respect from the unfortunate German Parliament of 1848, which voted down a proposition to that effect with sneering contempt, and the President of the United States fills the chaplaincies in the army and navy (mostly with Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Methodist clergymen). All this, as well as the customary appointment of days of public prayer and thanksgiving by the Governors of the several States, may be unconstitutional, as Jefferson maintained; it certainly is not prescribed (though still less prohibited) by the Constitution; yet it is a voluntary, and for this very reason the more sincere and valuable tribute to Christianity, as adhering not, indeed, to the State as such, but to the nation, and consequently also to its representatives in the highest spheres of legislation and administration. I venture to say, that,

with all the absence of constitutional disqualification, it would be far more difficult in the United States than either in Germany, or France, or Russia, to elect an open enemy of Christianity to a high office of State, and if he should be elected, it would not be on account, but in spite of his infidelity, and from purely political considerations.

Whatever may be the abstract merits of the question here under consideration, it must be admitted that religious liberty, and what necessarily preceeds it, religious toleration, is not an artificial growth in the United States, nor the violation of any established historical rights, but natural and unavoidable. Whatever may best suit other countries, it is the only possible state of things here, and no other could be established without a radical revolution and the grossest injustice. This land was from its first settlement a hospitable asylum for persecuted Protestant Christians of every denomination, Puritans, Huguenots, Quakers, Irish Presbyterians, Moravians, Salzburg Lutherans, Reformed Palatinates, also English Catholics (in Maryland), who, under the pressure of persecution had learned to appreciate religious liberty, and exchanged their home for the then unbroken wilderness of a new world, in order that they might enjoy this highest, most important, and most sacred of liberties. It is true, in several of the colonies, which were quite independent of each other before the revolution, the government was identified with a particular denomination, in Virginia and other southern States with Episcopacy, in Massachusetts and the greater part of New England with Congregationalism. It is only too true, moreover, that the Puritans in the seventeenth century inconsistenly enough persecuted Baptists, Quakers and Papists almost with the same, though short lived intolerance, which had driven their own fathers across the ocean. But in other colonies, such as Rhode Island, Maryland, and especially Pennsylvania, in whose first settlement not only Quakers, but Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Lutherans, German Reformed, Moravians, etc., took part, the principle of toleration obtained from the beginning.

When the time had arrived for the colonies to become

an independent confederacy of States, there were so many religious denominations in the land, that the governmental patronage extended to one, would have been injustice to the other, while the toleration of one implied of necessity the toleration of all. Hence the Convention of those patriots, who framed the federal constitution at Philadelphia in 1787, were sacredly bound by every consideration of justice and regard to the rights of the various States and religious parties represented by them, to proclaim perfect liberty of religion and its public exercise. This again could not be done without a complete separation of Church and State, since the degree of the union of the two powers always implies consistently a corresponding amount of exclusiveness and intolerance against all dissenters. There was, therefore, no other just course left for them to pursue, but to deny Congress, from the very start and forever, the right of interfering either negatively or positively with matters of conscience and public worship, and to leave them with the various churches and sects of the land.* The coëxistence of these denominations, nearly all of which sprung directly or indirectly from the great protestant movement of the sixteenth century, and which were forced in part, by persecution, to seek a common asylum in this western world, is the historical condition without which the bond of union between Church and State would probably never have been broken, but continue to exist in the United States, as it does in fact in all the central and south

* From this empirical and common sense point of view the matter was regarded by James Madison, one of the chief framers of the constitution and afterwards President of the United States. In the debate of the Convention of Virginia on the adoption or rejection of the federal constitution, he disposed of the objection that Congress might assume powers over religion, in these words: "Happily for the States, they enjoy the utmost freedom of religion. This freedom arises from that multiplicity of sects which pervades America and which is the best and only security for religious liberty in any society; for where there is such a variety of sects, there cannot be a majority of any one sect to oppress and persecute the rest. Fortunately for this commonwealth (Virginia) a majority of the people are decidedly against any exclusive establishments. I believe it to be so in the other States. There is not a shadow of right in the general government to interfere with religion. Its least interference with it would be a most flagrant usurpation. Comp. Elliot's Debates, Vol. III, 330.

American republics. The North American toleration and freedom of religion may, therefore, be called the sweet fruit of the bitter European, especially English intolerance and persecution.

As matters now stand, no denomination in the land wishes a change in the relation of Church and State, not even the Roman Catholic. They feel that the liberty of their neighbors is the best and only just security of their own. But whether the same degree of religious liberty be desirable and applicable to Europe, especially to those countries where the majority of the population belong to but one or two confessions, is a very different question, with which we have nothing to do here, being confined simply to the task of giving an objective exhibition of the state of things in America. One remark only I think it proper to make, in order to avoid hasty inferences, that I regard it one of the most difficult problems of Church government and statesmanship to define the exact limits of religious toleration, i. e., not simply the liberty of conscience, which no despot can deny, but the liberty of public worship with the right of proselyting, in those countries which still hold to the principle of some official connection of the government with the Christian religion and a national Church establishment. This problem, I believe, can not be solved abstractly by theory, but only practically and gradually by the irresistible course of events, as was the case in England and in this country. There are questions which are too knotty for philosophy and theology, and can only be satisfactorily answered by history itself.

With the exposition, however, of the relation which the general government of the United States sustains to religion, we have not yet fully disposed of this point. The federal constitution does not prohibit the union of Church and State in the single States. Such a union may exist even in the territories, at least since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, which makes them entirely independent in all internal affairs. In Massachusetts the Puritan establishment continued for many years after the

adoption of the constitution and was only gradually abolished as the exclusive dominion of Puritanism was destroyed partly by an internal apostacy to Unitarianism, partly by the immigration and increase of other sects. Even to this day there exist in most of the States severe laws against blasphemy, the profanation of the Lord's day, attacks on the Christian religion; and in the public schools the Bible must be read or may be read. In one or both of the Carolinas, if I am not mistaken, Universalists are even excluded from appearing as witnesses, because of their denial of the doctrine of future punishment. But with this last exception perhaps, all these regulations are concessions simply which the States make to Christianity, and restrictions they put upon the abuse of religious freedom; but not violations of this liberty itself, as little as laws against theft, murder and adultery can be said to be violations of civil liberty. All State constitutions place the different Christian denominations on a basis of perfect equality before the law, require no religious tests from civil officers beyond the ordinary oath, and levy no taxes for the support of religion. There can be no doubt that the genius of American liberty, if consistently carried out, must lead in every member of the confederacy to an entire separation of the spiritual and secular power as being the most advantageous condition for both.

The only exception to this rule at the present time is the Mormon State or rather territory of Utah; for it has not yet applied and probably never will apply, with its present population, most of which refuse even to be naturalized, for admission into the Union as a member of the confederacy. In the "theo-democratic" government of the Mormons, as they call it, religion and politics are inseparably interwoven, and the civil head (at present Brigham Young, Joe Smith's successor, who was unwisely appointed Governor of Utah under Mr. Fillmore's administration) is also the spiritual head, or high priest of the whole tribe.

But this Mormonism is a monstrous anomaly in America, at war not only with its religion, but equally so with its whole policy and civilization. It recruits itself mostly from

the offscouring of foreign countries, especially England and Wales; it hates all Christians as heathens; it stands in open rebellion to the United States government, and will sooner or later have to yield to the armed power of the latter, if not to a war of extermination, unless, what is not improbable, it should destroy itself by internal distractions and moral corruption, or leave once more the territory of the States, before the matter comes to a bloody crisis. The settlement of the Mormon trouble is one of the most important and interesting questions now before the administration at Washington, and may lead to a practical official definition of the true American idea of a republic and the precise limits of religious liberty. At all events the irreconcilable antagonism of the American nationality with the pseudo-Christian, polygamistic, deceitful, rapacious, and rebellious Mormonism is one of the many proofs for the assertion which we made above, that American liberty of religion is not hostility or indifference to religion, and that the separation of Church and State is by no means meant to be a separation of the nation from Christianity, but simply a peaceful emancipation of two distinct, though equally necessary divine institutions for the purpose of enabling them to fulfil the more successfully their peculiar mission.

We have now gained the stand-point, from which alone we can properly understand and appreciate the condition of Christianity and the movements of the Church in the United States of America.

2. *Christianity and the World.*

In consequence of this separation of Church and State we have in America a marked distinction of believing and professing Christians from the unbelieving world which disappears almost entirely on the continent of Europe where every citizen is *eo ipso* also a baptized and confirmed Christian and fully entitled to all the privileges of church-membership at least in the eyes of the law. Another distinction is made, especially in New England, between the Church proper, i. e., the communicating members, and the congregation or society, which includes all who attend preaching

and contribute towards the support of the pastor. The former may be compared to the "fideles," the latter to the "catechumens" of the ante-nicene period. The separation is carried out most fully among the Puritanic denominations, but very imperfectly among Roman Catholics and congregations of continental immigrants.

The separation of Church and State does away, of course, with all compulsory baptism and confirmation. Hence the public profession of Christianity and connection with a particular Church is left altogether to the free choice of every individual. Now this profession is by no means a disgrace or in any way a disadvantage as it was in the days of martyrdom. On the contrary, it belongs to social respectability in America far more than, for instance, in France, where not long since the very reverse was the case, and even in Germany, or any where else on the Continent, to attend at least the preaching of the gospel, and to contribute something towards the support of the ministry. Then we must make allowance for all the educational influences of the family which determine the will of every child more or less, for the high position and influence of woman, who can not live without religion, and for the zeal and rivalry of the many denominations, so that probably very few native American families may be found who are in no connection whatever even as occasional attendants with any Church or sect.

Nevertheless there are many thousands, yea millions in the United States who have never received Christian baptism—not only descendants of the numerous Baptists, but also of indifferent pædobaptist parents—who never make a public profession of religion by confirmation or otherwise, and who leave this mortal life without having ever received the holy communion. The number of church-members, even if we include all the sects, hardly amounts to five millions, or about one fifth of the whole population, and even from these five millions must be deducted thousands who profess religion from impure mercenary motives, and are perhaps much worse at heart than many men of the world.

This is a gloomy fact indeed, and must startle, at first sight, every European who is accustomed to regard his whole land and nation as Christian. But I respectfully ask you—not in a polemical, but historical interest—: Is the proportion of true disciples and followers of Christ to the great mass of purely nominal Christians more favorable in any State-Church of Europe, not excepting even the Church of England, the Kirk of Scotland, the Prussian Wupperthal and the Kingdom of Württemberg, highly favored as they are with all the means of grace? Or has the proportion ever been more favorable in any previous period of church history, except in the first three centuries, when a hypocritical profession was indeed by no means very rare, but far less common than afterwards on account of the persecutions? I ask moreover: Which is the greater anomaly and a more monstrous contradiction, millions of unbaptized and unconfirmed Christians, or millions of baptized and confirmed heathens? The fact that there are cities in Christian Europe where of a hundred thousand inhabitants hardly more than five or six thousand ever attend church, at least as a habit, exceeds every thing which the chronique scandaleuse of America can produce. If the celebration of the Lord's day, the frequentation of divine service and the liberality for religious purposes are reliable criteria of true Christianity, the Americans, as far as my observation goes, must be called the most Christian nation on earth.

The whole difference, then, in this respect, resolves itself into this. In America the unbelievers and indifferentists are mostly out of the church proper, and confine themselves to making money, to politics and other secular pursuits; while in Europe they are all in the church as to the body, and not seldom even preach from the pulpits, rule in the consistories, and teach from the chairs of theology. It is the difference of the snake out of the grass, and the snake in the grass, the devil in the world, and the devil in the house of God. We may regard it as the great advantage of the State-Church system, that it secures to the Church the whole population for baptism, instruction, confirmation,

marriage and spiritual care, and thus gives her an opportunity of doing her whole duty to the whole people. On the other hand, however, every enlightened Christian of Europe must admit, that all compulsion in matters of conscience which is the peculiar province of God, does more harm than good and tends almost of necessity to promote hypocrisy and secret opposition to the Church, as a supposed tyrannical power. "Faith is a free thing," says Luther somewhere, "which can not be forced on any body." Even Tertullian, amidst the persecutions of the second century, told the heathens who tried to force the Christians to offer sacrifices to their idols: "It belongs to the human right and natural power of every one (humani juris et naturalis potestatis est unicuique) to worship that God in whom he believes. It is not the nature of religion to enforce religion; for it must be freely accepted, not imposed by power. Even the sacrifices must proceed from a willing heart. If you, therefore, compel us to offer sacrifices, it will be of no advantage to your gods." This is precisely the American theory and practice.

The defects and abuses of American Christianity which abound in every sect, prove indeed that the voluntary principle can not do away altogether with those evils which are often falsely attributed to the system of compulsion and State-Churchism as such. For fallen human nature is substantially the same under all governments. It revealed its corruption even in the apostolical congregations in spite of the extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit, as every epistle of the New Testament and the state of the seven churches as described in the Apocalypse abundantly show. But the natural tendency at least of the voluntary principle is undoubtedly to ward off from the Church that odium which invariably arises from its alliance with the police; to diminish hypocrisy; to prevent the monstrous profanation of the holy sacraments so common in religious establishments; to separate heterogeneous elements; to facilitate discipline; and to promote the unity and purity of the various Churches within their own limits. Whether these

advantages outweigh the defects of the voluntary system, and the advantages of the Church-State system, I must leave to the European brethren to decide.

3. *Self-support of the Church.*

Another consequence of the separation of Church and State is what is more particularly called the voluntary principle, that is, the necessity of the Church to provide for her own support by the free contributions of her membership, without any taxes imposed by the State. For by depriving itself of all power of control over the Church, the civil government regards itself relieved also of the duty of supporting it, except in the few cases of military and naval chaplainces.

In this respect American Christianity is placed on the same footing with the apostolic and anti-nicene Church, with that important advantage, however, that it is not *religio illicita*, but has a legal existence and enjoys the protection of the State as to its property and the public exercise of its functions.

This trait, too, like every other characteristic feature of religion in this country, has two sides. The disadvantages of the voluntary principle are innumerable vexations and annoyances to ministers and theological professors, at least in such congregations which are weak and poor or illiberal and mean—of which there are not a few—or whose membership consists mostly of European immigrants, accustomed to look to the State for the support of religion; the great disproportion in the contributions as compared with the wealth of the donors; and finally the overloading of ecclesiastical assemblies and synodical minutes with financial business, which, instead of tending to edification, exerts unquestionably more or less a secularizing influence. The advantages, on the other side, are the removal of the odium connected with State-Church-taxation; the promotion of attachment of the supporting members to the Church of their choice on the principle, where their money is there is their interest; and above all, the development of habitual, systematic benevolence, which should be regarded as an essen-

tial duty and privilege of the Christian as much so as prayer and attendance on the means of grace.

The objection which is frequently made to the system by Europeans, that it makes the ministry disgracefully dependent on the congregation, I must deny as entirely unfounded, as far as my observation of things in this country goes. For the American admires no trait of character more than manly independence and consistency, and esteems, loves and supports a minister in the same degree in which he discharges the solemn duties of his office faithfully and conscientiously as an ambassador of Christ without fear and favor of man. This at least may be regarded as the rule in all the respectable denominations of the land. The tone of preaching in America is upon the whole more free and bold, I think, than in Europe, and yet no profession is more esteemed and more influential here than the clerical. The only real sufferers of the voluntary system under this aspect, are the clerical mercenaries, idlers and loafers, and they deserve to suffer, so that the individual loss is a general gain to the congregation and the reputation of the ministry. So much, however, must be admitted, that the successful discharge of ministerial duties in a republic like the one we speak of, requires a far higher degree of prudence and caution in the treatment of the individual members of the congregation, and in abstaining from all improper intermeddling with secular affairs, such as party politics, than is the case under monarchical governments.

As to the practical execution of the voluntary principle, America presents, of course, the greatest contrasts. There are congregations in every denomination, who, as far as in them lies, literally "starve out" their ministers, as the phrase is, and I know many a worthy German clergyman, especially in the new settlements of the West, who has to make greater sacrifices with his family than the foreign missionaries who can at least depend upon a regular support from the society in whose service they labor. On the other side, there are congregations, though "few and far

between," who give the ministers, in addition to a regular salary of from three to five thousand dollars, quite a handsome Christmas or New Year's-gift, buy him a fine house or farm, and pay all his expenses for an occasional trip to Europe for the benefit of his health. Some congregations, as the Episcopal Trinity Corporation and the Dutch Reformed Collegiate Church of New York, have come in possession of an immense income by legacies, the rise of real property, or perhaps by speculation of more than doubtful propriety. Experience, however, teaches that large wealth is rarely favorable to the spiritual prosperity of a congregation and has a tendency to lower the standard of liberality among the members. There are rich Americans who give nothing, or a mere trifle, to God in return for his innumerable daily blessings; but there are also others who cheerfully devote more than the tenth of their income to religious and benevolent purposes and prosper only the more for it. I could mention not a few names who have immortalized themselves, not by legacies on the dying bed, but during their life-time, when they could enjoy their wealth, by truly princely donations of thousands and hundred thousands to the Bible—the Tract—the Missionary—the Colonization causes, to Theological Seminaries, Colleges, the building of churches, and other good objects. It must be admitted, that so far New England has stood at the head in the virtue of liberality. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the Unitarians of Boston are fully as liberal as their orthodox neighbors, not indeed, for the church and theology, which is a subordinate interest with them, but for education and philanthropy.* It would be idle to deny the restless and inordinate thirst for wealth, the over valuation of tem-

* Quite recently the London banker, George Peabody, a native of Massachusetts, and now on a visit to this country, donated, besides a number of smaller sums to various objects, $350,000 to the city of Baltimore, where he laid the foundation of his immense wealth, for the erection of a scientific institute. Another American, Mr. Cooper, a Unitarian, I believe, erects at present, not with the stiffened hand of bequest, but in the vigor of life, immense buildings in New York for a sort of University, which must have cost him already not far from half a million.

poral prosperity and comfort, the large amount of wild speculation and dishonest swindling, which characterizes American life, especially since the annexation of California and the unexampled rise of the new States in the West. But it would be equally unjust to deny the Americans the credit of a large amount of liberality, benevolence and generosity, and if it was not for this and the power of Christianity generally, the cursed worship of the golden calf would undoubtedly ruin the nation in a short time.

The average salary of the Protestant clergy in the United States is supposed to be from $400 to $500 per annum. There is at present much complaint made about the inadequate support of the ministry in these times of expensive living. Innumerable newspaper articles, and several books have been written on the subject. It has also been discussed and acted upon in ecclesiastical assemblies. So much may be said to be certain that the same amount of talent, education, zeal, labor and moral worth, which characterizes the American clergy, would command a much higher temporal reward in any other profession or occupation in so prosperous a country as this.

Taking, however, all things into consideration, we may perhaps be surprised rather, that so much is done in this respect. The comparative success of the voluntary system may, upon the whole, be regarded as the greatest glory of American Christianity. The Free Church of Scotland alone, with its heroic sacrifices, deserves the same, perhaps still greater praise. Next to it come the dissenting bodies in England, especially the Methodists, who are reported to raise larger sums annually for missionary purposes than the entire Church of England. But the Continent of Europe has nothing to be compared with it. I was told a few years ago by some of the most distinguished men in Germany, France, and Switzerland, that the withdrawal of the government support would bring perhaps more than one half of the preachers and theological professors on the brink of starvation, at least for the moment. Now, in contrast to

this admission, I ask you to consider the fact that the Americans not only sustain, with their voluntary contributions, without any aid from the government, all their ministers, domestic and foreign missionaries, the operations of the Bible—Tract—and other societies, but erect and repair also innumerable houses of worship, establish theological seminaries, colleges, academies, support poor students for the gospel ministry and encourage a hundred other benevolent objects of a local, sectional and general character.

I beg leave to prove my assertion with a few statistical facts. You have heard, no doubt, of the great spiritual destitution among the hundreds of thousands of German immigrants, especially in the new settlements of the western States. The same complaint is made by the Roman Catholics with regard to the equally numerous Irish immigrants. This is all perfectly true, and has its reason partly in the enormous tide of immigration from Germany and Ireland, with which the education of ministers in a few feeble seminaries cannot possibly keep pace, and partly in the poverty of these foreigners, a large number of whom have first to struggle for a material existence. But no inference should be made from this as to the average supply of the country with the means of grace. This, on the contrary, surpasses that of many established Churches in Europe. According to the official census report of 1850, there were at that time in the United States twenty-six thousand eight hundred and forty-two ministers of the gospel (not including the numerous local, or lay-preachers of the Methodist bodies), i. e., more than one for a thousand souls; thirty-eight thousand, one hundred and eighty-three houses of worship, estimated at eighty-seven million four hundred and forty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-one dollars, and furnishing accommodation for fourteen millions two hundred and seventy thousand one hundred and thirty-nine persons, i. e., for more than the half of the population, which, in 1850, numbered twenty-

three millions one hundred and ninety-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; while even the rich and highly favored Church of England, according to the census report of 1851, had accommodation only for five millions three hundred and seventeen thousand nine hundred and fifteen souls, to which must be added four millions eight hundred and ninety-four thousand six hundred and forty-eight sittings of dissenting chapels, thus making the total number of sittings at the highest estimation, ten million two hundred and twelve thousand five hundred and sixty-three for a population of seventeen million nine hundred and twenty seven thousand six hundred and nine (for England and Wales).* A comparison with the Continent of Europe gives a result still more favorable to the United States. Paris had, in 1855, only forty-six churches for a population of one million one hundred thousand souls; this, on an average, would hardly give one house of worship to twenty-three thousand souls; but the disproportion was so great that the fourth district numbered forty-five thousand nine hundred inhabitants and only one church. In Berlin, with all its recent zeal for Church extension, the state of things in this respect is not much better, in Hamburg perhaps still worse. Let us now take some statistical facts of a few American cities from Lippincott's reliable Gazetteer for 1855. In 1853 the city of New York had a population of five hundred and fifteen thousand five hundred and forty-seven and no less than two hundred and fifty four houses of worship (viz: forty-four Episcopalian, thirty-seven Presbyterian, nineteen Dutch Reformed, thirty-seven Methodist, thirty-two Baptist, six Congregational, six Lutheran, twenty-two Roman Catholic, two Unitarian, etc.); Brooklyn had sixty-six churches for one hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants; Philadelphia, with four hundred and eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-two souls, numbered

* Religious Worship in England and Wales. Abridged from the official reports made by Horace Mann to George Graham, Registrar General. London. 1854. p. 57, ff.

two hundred and seventy-five places of public worship (viz: sixty-two Presbyterian, Old and New School, together with the smaller branches, thirty-eight Episcopalian, sixty-six Methodist, twenty-seven Baptist, twelve Lutheran, ten Dutch and German Reformed, twenty-one Roman Catholic, etc).

We may, therefore, boldly assert that, so far, the system of ecclesiastical self-support has fully justified itself in the United States. Church extension has kept pace with the increase of population in the cities and villages and new settlements of the West. A few years ago the Congregationalists alone raised in one day, if I recollect aright, one hundred thousand dollars, for the building of churches in the missionary charges of the great West; a year afterwards the New School Presbyterians did the same; and thus one general effort of two denominations facilitated the erection of several hundred houses of worship in the new States and Territories. It is true, our houses of worship are not Byzantine and Gothic cathedrals, (although even such have been erected within the last ten and twenty years not only by Roman Catholics, but also by Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and even Baptists and Unitarians); but they are generally better adapted to the wants of Protestant worship, which addresses itself mainly to the ear and intellect through the preaching of the Word, than the collossal structures of mediæval Catholicism, which makes much account of imposing ceremonies and operates chiefly through the eye upon the imagination. The American churches, whatever be their defects in an artistic and aesthetic point of view, are generally comfortable and kept warm during the cold season. This, no doubt, contributes to secure a regular attendance, while the chilling cold in the huge churches of the Continent keep off thousands of people during the winter. In addition to this, the American, with characteristic freedom and boldness, frequently converts school-houses, streets, market-places, meadows and groves into temples, and stones, steps, store-boxes and stumps into pulpits.

As to the numerical relation of pastors and churches, the collegiate system, so frequent in Europe, is very rare here, and where it exists, it is apt to foment envy, jealousy and party spirit. Generally speaking, a charge has but one minister who then feels the whole responsibility resting upon him. Experience teaches that this is upon the whole the best system. But in communion seasons, where the services are generally protracted for several days, it is customary to invite the assistance of neighboring brethren. It is also a part of clerical courtesy to offer the pulpit to a travelling minister in good standing, though he be of a different denomination. The writer of this, for instance, preached often in Reformed, Lutheran, Presbyterian, occasionally also in Episcopal and other churches. There is far more freedom and friendly intercourse in this respect in America, than even in England, where, till quite recently, not even a foreign Episcopalian was permitted to officiate in the established Church, not to speak of the Continent, where similar prohibitions more or less rigorous, exist to this day.

In regard to Church extension and the multiplication of parishes, German governments, especially in the growing capitals, might learn a good lesson from the zeal and activity of American Christians. But it would be altogether premature to make the comparative success of the voluntary principle in America an argument for its introduction in Europe. For it must be kept in mind, that the reward of labor and the general prosperity of the people is much greater in the United States than in the old world, with its thicker population and less rapid motion; secondly, that the Americans, by the nature of their young and growing country and by long habit, are more accustomed to pecuniary contributions for all sorts of public improvements than the continental Europeans; and, finally, that the Protestant Churches of Germany, for instance, have a just claim upon the State for support, because the government secularized their large property and thus of course assumed

the sacred duty of allowing the Church at least a part of her own original revenue.

4. *Self-government of the Church.*

For the trouble of self-support the American Churches enjoy the full right of self-government, and thus differ widely from the various forms of Cæsaropapism, or as the English generally call it, Erastianism, which, in every Protestant country of Europe, lodges the supreme government of the national religion in the temporal head.

Here American Protestantism runs parallel with the political self-government of the nation, and is considerably influenced by its parliamentary forms. We must, therefore, say a few words on the latter, in order to place this important feature in a clear light for the European mind.

The American republic rests throughout on the basis of *self-government*, and would not last six weeks without it. This truly English word* signifies in a general way the political maturity of the people on the basis of the moral self-control of its individual citizens. It enables and entitles them to take an active part in the legislation and administration of public affairs, but in an organic way and by a proportionate number of representatives, not as a chaotic mass, like the degenerate Athenian market-democracy after the time of Cleon, the tanner, or the French *peuple-empereur*, of revolutionary memory, which is only a boastful name for mobocracy. Self-government aways implies

*Dr. Francis Lieber, an Americanized German, who, strange to say, wrote the best work extant on "Civil Liberty and Self-government," (Philadelphia, 1853, in 2 vols.), directs attention to the fact (I, p. 207) that this "proud word," doubtless an imitation of the Greek autonomy, was originally used in a moral sense by the divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; that subsequently it seems to have been dropped for a time, but reappeared again towards the end of the last century, both in England and the United States, and is now used as far as Anglian liberty prevails. You look in vain for it either in Johnson's or even in Webster's Dictionary, among the many words compounded with self. Dr. Worcester has it but marked with a star, which denotes that he added it to Dr. Johnson's, and gives Paley as authority, which Dr. Lieber assures us is an error. The *self*, in this word, signifies the object of government, and has, therefore, a reflective meaning; while in autocrat, Selbst-herrscher, self-ruler, as applied to the Russian Czar, it is used in the substantive and exclusive sense (he who rules alone, and nobody else).

two apparently opposite, but in fact complementary elements, liberty and loyalty, sense of independence and love of order, manly self-respect and respect for others, coöperation in the making of new laws and obedience to the existing laws until they are constitutionally repealed. It secures the rule of the majority, but fully as much also the sacred rights of the minority and a lawful opposition ; for this, in a free government, like the English and the American, is generally the guardian of the popular liberties and puts a wholesome restraint upon the majority, thus keeping it from the abuse of power to which weak human nature is always exposed. It goes on the assumption that there is no right without a corresponding duty, no liberty without the supremacy of law, no power without self-limitation. For this reason self-government, in its various ramifications from the general departments down to the municipal and domestic, which, like the tender fibers of a living organism, reach to the extremities, constitutes the firmest, yea, the only base of free institutions and a bulwark against revolution; while centralized despotism, whether individual or collective, monarchical or republican, is indeed the simplest and as long as it lasts, the strongest, but at the same time the unsafest form of government, which may be overthrown by the shot of a pistol successfully aimed at the despot's brain.

Self-government has its natural root in the Germanic, especially the Anglo-Saxon nationality, and was developed and matured under the influence of Protestantism during the severe struggles which agitated England for the greater part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which gave rise to the first and most influential settlements in North America. We may say, self-government is Protestantism itself, viewed as a social and political principle, or the general kingship as an emanation of the general priesthood of true Christians. It is the soul of the Anglican liberties and their guarantee against anarchy and dissolution. It is the secret of the gigantic power of the English nation

which now rules, from its island-fortress, over five millions of square miles and more than two hundred millions of souls, that is one fifth of the population of the globe. It is the strength and glory of the Anglo-Saxon republic. It explains the astounding fact that the people of the United States of America enjoy the highest degree of security for their lives and property without a standing army; for the immense country has not half the number of regular troops as the city of Paris alone, or even Berlin; and these ten thousand soldiers are mostly stationed on the Indian frontiers, so that you might travel for days and weeks through the States without seeing a uniform or a bayonet. They cannot do without a police, of course; but the police men of American cities, like the constables of London, are not armed, and not even distinguished by pecular dress, for they are there for no other purpose than "to assist the people, and the people are ever ready to assist them;" while on the continent of Europe, the military and the police seem to maintain a threatening attitude to the people, as if they needed the constant watch and superintendence of the cocked hats. The word which Napoleon III spoke at what is called the fête of the eagles, in 1852: "The history of nations is in great part the history of armies," may be true of France, but fortunately it is absolutely inapplicable to the United States.

The American self-government celebrates its greatest triumph every four years, on the fifth of November, in the universal calm which succeeds the storm of the Presidential election. During the summer and autumn of last year the thirty one States, from Maine to Florida, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, were divided into three hostile armies, a Democratic, a Republican, and a Know-Nothing or Native American; each of them strained every effort to secure the vote of the people for its own candidate; the most retired villages, as well as the cities, were carried away with the national excitement and resounded with political speeches; some ministers even—though not to their credit of course

—"took the stump" and mixed in the wild warfare; and many false prophets foretold the inevitable dissolution of the Union, unless the candidate of their choice were elected. But when the fourth of November arrived, the people marched in quiet majesty to the polls, to decide the battle, and when on the day following the result became known, through countless telegraphs, the beaten minority submitted to the *vox Dei* as it had spoken through the *vox populi*, without dreaming of a revolution, or even the possibility of a *coup d'etat* after the French fashion, and every branch of business went on as if nothing had happened. And yet not only was a new President elected, but according to the doubtful maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils," which, at Marcy's suggestion, has been in operation since Jackson's administration, the whole army of federal office-holders was placed upon the resignation-list, to make room for a tenfold greater army of office-seekers. I doubt whether any country, England excepted, could stand every fourth year such an unbloody general political revolution without running into anarchy, and without falling at last into the iron grasp of military despotism as the only means of restoring public order.

We freely admit that the American self-government is often put to the severest test, and that with the fullest enjoyment of rational freedom we have also a large amount of libertinism, its hideous counterfeit. It is a painful fact that most of our large cities, especially New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, abound in lawless "rowdies," who not only give vent occasionally to their wild passions in bloody street riots, but control even to a certain extent the fire-companies, and exert a considerable influence at the primary meetings in the nomination (which as far as the party is concerned is tantamount to an election) of candidates for the municipal offices, for seats in the State legislatures, and at times perhaps even for Congress. It is a fact that disgraceful excesses frequently take place at our elections, and that the politics of the country generally, at least in its

lower branches, without distinction of party, is awfully corrupt and contaminated by the meanest selfishness, bribery, slander and falsehood. No wonder that thousands of the best and most orderly citizens turn away from it in disgust and abstain from voting, to the injury of the public interests. Many occurrences of the last few years, above all the scandalous troubles in the newly organized territory of Kansas, which, owing to the interminable slavery question, in connection with the approaching Presidential election, was for some time, on the very brink of civil war and demanded the interference of the military force, are indelible spots in the annals of this proud nation. While I am writing, the peace of New York, where "cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque," to a greater extent even than in Rome at the time of Tacitus, is jeopardized by a serious conflict between the old city police and the new State authority, so that possibly the orderly citizens may be forced at last, like those of San Francisco, in 1856, to the desperate remedy of a vigilance committee and temporary suspension of the ordinary wheels of government.

Such phenomena must fill the heart of every American patriot with humiliation and grief, and may well undermine for a moment his faith in the capacity of the masses for self-government and the ultimate success of this republic. So much is certain that nothing can permanently secure the American liberties but the Christian religion and its moral influence on the people.

But, on the other hand, we should never form our judgment from momentary impressions and single events. These anarchical outbreaks, compared with the general state of society in America, are after all but as a drop in the bucket. The great mass of the American people are unquestionably conservative, orderly and peaceable. Yea, if we take into proper consideration the awful corruption of human nature, and the fact that the large cities and new settlements of the United States, where by far the most of

these excesses occur, contain in connection with the best elements of society, the very offscouring of all nations in Christendom, including the American, unrestrained by a standing army, or even a sufficient police-force, we should be surprised rather that the violations of the public order are not much more frequent and of a far more dangerous character. If we observe, moreover, that order and peace are always restored after every such outbreak of a disorderly spirit; that the sound sense of the people speedily and successfully reacts against these excrescences; that, in spite of unprincipled and selfish demagogues, who disgrace the city councils, the legislatures, and at times even Congress itself, the country prospers, progresses and enjoys upon the whole as much security of person and property as Germany, France or England: the desponding fears concerning the future should give place to cheerful hopes and the firm conviction of the steady, though often interrupted progress of history in the path of true liberty. Sober reflection and impartial consideration will lead at last to the conclusion that self-government is after all no empty dream or vain boast, but a fact, the greatest and most imposing fact in the social and political life of the English race, and especially of the republic of the United States.

The same judgment may be applied to the religious and ecclesiastical life of America. However numerous the instances of disorder and confusion, especially among the more radical sects, it is nevertheless a fact, a most important fact, that the Protestantism of this country is characterized, upon the whole, by a degree of self-government, a capacity of managing its own affairs in a popular way and taking care of its general interests without any assistance from government, as no Protestant Church in Europe, unless it be the Free Kirk of Scotland.

There is here, first of all, a free, well organized, Christian congregation consisting of voluntary professors of religion, as distinct from an accidental heap of passive nominal Christians which meets us so often in the State-Churches

of Europe under the name of a congregation or parish. There are in America innumerable congregations with a constitution based upon the Bible and one of the great confessions of the reformation period; electing their pastor from the regularly ordained ministers of the denomination to which they belong, not as a hireling, but as their divinely appointed and ecclesiastically sanctioned spiritual-head; associating with him as assistants a number of elders and deacons from the most worthy and zealous members; exercising discipline against gross offenders; managing their affairs in the fear of God, with prayer, calmness and well-drilled business tact, under the official presidency of the minister and according to the constitution; and taking an active part in all the general interests of the kingdom of God. Contrast with this a congregation of German immigrants, especially one that is independent of any Lutheran or Reformed Synod, assembled to consult on their local concerns: and there you will behold a motley mixture representing the various shades of belief and unbelief of the mother country; suddenly emancipated from the maternal control of the State-Church-system; compelled to take care of themselves without the capacity of doing so; every one anxious to rule and none willing to obey; a chaotic mass destitute of public spirit, talent of organization and parliamentary tact; hiring some clerical mercenary or vagabond, yet suspiciously excluding him from a seat in the consistory; and after much useless and pointless talk breaking up in hopeless confusion, unless some prudent and self-denying German minister, or some benevolent American friend should succeed by his cool self-possession, meekness and patience, to keep them together and lead them into the path of order, until they are Americanized in the best sense of the term, i. e., enabled to rule themselves.

This contrast is not overdrawn. It is a singular fact, that while the German stands unrivalled for freedom, independence and boldness in the sphere of science and speculation, and excels also by peculiar excellences in a religious

point of view, he should be so far behind the Englishman and American in all that pertains to political and ecclesiastical self-government. But the simple cause lies in his want of training in this direction; for self-government, like every other art, must be gradually acquired. It is impossible to learn to ride without handling horse and bridle, or to swim without venturing into the water. It may be a dangerous thing to emancipate the congregation in those countries, where the civil community, and not the voluntary profession of religion, is the basis of the Christian congregation, and the danger is increased when indifferentism and infidelity prevail. The above contrast shows that a sudden emancipation from the accustomed control of the higher authorities would lead to endless confusion. But, on the other side, it will hardly be denied that the Protestant idea of the general priesthood of believers, if true at all, must lead to a certain degree of congregational independence or self-government, and to an active cöoperation of the laity with the ministry. The American experience proves, beyond contradiction, that such kind of congregationalism, (I take it here in its theological, not in its technical denominational sense) instead of injuring the interests of the Church and religion and undermining the influence of the ministry, greatly promotes them. Hence we heartily wish God's blessing to descend upon all the efforts now made by the Church authorities of Prussia and other parts of Germany, to revive true congregational life, by introducing the office of lay-presbyters and lay-deacons, where it does not already exist. The process may be slow; but every solid building must begin with the foundation. The effect will be good in the end and may greatly benefit also the German Churches of America, through the improved character of the immigrants. Already there is a manifest difference between those Germans who come from a free congregational life, as it prevails, for instance, in the Wupperthal, and those who were brought up in the system of absolute passivity.

For this capacity of popular self-government in the

Church, America is indebted, no doubt, to the consistent development of the Reformed element, partly in its Presbyterian, partly in its Congregational form.

In connection with this congregational maturity and activity, we have also in the United States a true synodical life. Our regular annual or semi-annual meetings of Presbyteries or Classes, Synods, and General Assemblies or Conventions, serve the same purpose as the free pastoral conferences and the Church Diet for Germany, being bodies for the promotion of unity and all the general interests of the kingdom of God in and through its different branches or visible churches. But in addition to this, they are also, at least in the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, legislative bodies, and thus answer, at the same time, to the consistories and other ecclesiastical tribunals in the German State-Churches. Their resolutions are not recommendations simply, but legal enactments, to be obeyed by all the ministers and congregations represented. To them belong the final settlement of disciplinary questions, the control of theological schools, the examination and ordination of candidates for the ministry, the support of the education-cause, of domestic and foreign missions, and the encouragement of every enterprise that pertains to the external and internal prosperity of the Church. These meetings give annually a powerful impulse to the activity of ministers and people, and are a special blessing to the communities in which they convene, and from which they receive in return the kindest hospitality.

The same self-government, parliamentary tact, love of order, and public spirit, that characterize the meetings of the local congregations, attach, in a still higher degree, to these synodical bodies, together with a very considerable amount of oratorical talent. It is true, the weakness of human nature reveals itself here also in various ways. There is always danger of an excess of legislation, of hasty resolutions, which remain a dead letter, and a useless display of eloquence. But have ecclesiastical assemblies—not to speak of political ones—ever been free from such exerescen-

ces? Does not Gregory of Nazianzen, who himself presided for some time over the second oecumenical council at Constantinople, bring more serious charges against the great synodical meetings of the Nicene age? Was there not "much disputing" even in the apostolical council at Jerusalem, before they reached that wise conclusion concerning the relation of the Gentile converts to the law of Moses? And did not even St. Paul get into an open collision with St. Peter before the assembled congregation of Antioch? Human imperfection enters into the very sanctuary of the Church militant, and the celestial treasure is committed to earthen vessels, that no flesh should boast and all glory be given to God alone.

One of the most important features in the evangelical Synods of America is the lay-element. It flows from the protestant idea of the general priesthood, and forms the best check upon the hierarchical spirit, which Gregory of Nazianzen charges as one of the worst faults upon the old Catholic councils, and against which even St. Peter found it necessary to warn the elders of the apostolical congregation. The fundamental principle of Anglican liberty: "No taxation without representation," is characteristic also of American Christianity. It thoroughly disowns the view that the Church is identical with the clergy, and that the congregation is doomed to blind obedience. The ministers take the lead, of course, in all ecclesiastical matters, except the financial, and will always do so because of their superior knowledge and zeal. But the lay deputies are by no means passive spectators; they have generally the same number of votes and often take the most lively interest in all synodical transactions, even those of a purely theological character. They are chosen from the most worthy elders of the congregations, and a genuine American congregation, I must repeat it, is not a motley heap of a few dozen converted disciples and several hundred baptized heathens, but a well organized body of living Christians. Such laymen are never dangerous in Synods, but exert almost invariably a salutary conservative influence.

The lay representation in connection with the Presbyterian form of government, is most fully carried out in the various branches of the Reformed communion of Dutch, Scotch, English, and German origin. But even the organization of the Episcopal Church, which, of all Protestant denominations, approaches nearest the Roman hierarchy, has undergone a very significant modification in this country, by admitting a regular lay delegation, equal in number to the clerical representation, into its diocesan conventions, and into the lower house of its triennial general conventions (the upper house is exclusively composed of bishops). As far as I know, the American Episcopalians are not likely ever to give up this popular feature in their ecclesiastical polity. Even in the mother Church of England it has recently found warm advocates, and it is more than probable that it will be incorporated at some future day in the contemplated reorganization of the convocations, which at present have a mere nominal existence, the government of the Church being in the hands of parliament and the privy council.

There are, however, two important exceptions to this rule in America, which we cannot pass by unnoticed. Methodism and Romanism, although diametrically opposed to each other, agree in the exclusion of the laity from all participation in the government of the Church.

The former gives rise, for this very reason, to occasional protests and secessions in the United States as well as in England. Of these seceders the Protestant Methodists are the most important. But the purely clerical government of the Methodist Episcopal Church does not rest on a hierarchical basis, and is merely a matter of policy connected with its missionary character. Moreover, what it refuses the laity in the sphere of discipline, it restores to them in the department of worship by the important institution of lay, or local preachers, class-leaders, and in the weekly prayer meetings, where the laymen are permitted to make the largest use of the general priesthood. Hence its peculiar and very efficient organization does not prevent it from

being one of the most numerous and popular denominations of the country; it marches in the van of the great westward tide of American emigration, preaching every where with great earnestness, repentance and faith, and exciting the flame of practical piety.

Very different is the position of the Roman Catholic Church. This ancient and unchangeable body maintains, of course, also in the United States its old ground, that the clergy is the Church, and regards the Christian people merely as the sandy plain on which the colossal pyramid of the hierarchy rests. As the first Napoleon, the greatest and most genial incarnation of absolute despotism, made it his maxim: "Every thing for the people, (i. e., in his sense for himself, l' état c'est moi), nothing by the people": so the Roman Church says: Every thing for the congregation, nothing by the congregation. But by this very principle it stands in direct opposition to the national genius of America, which, in religion, as well as in politics, follows the maxim: Every thing for the people, nothing without the people. The absolute papacy, as well as the Napoleonic military despotism, which sees only common soldiers under the emperor general, may indeed easily connect itself with a certain kind of democracy. The hierarchical pyramid requires a dead level to show off in its grandeur. But the people here are not a living organism, with inherent rights and liberties, but a dependent mass, moving only at the absolute command of the priesthood. In her relation to the State, the Roman Church enjoys in this republic perfect liberty and independence, and can exercise her hierarchical self-government, if we may so call it, to the fullest extent. In this respect her condition is even more favorable than under the Roman Catholic governments of Europe, which are all more or less tinctured with Gallicanism. But she meets here with a more powerful opponent in public opinion, and the genius of free America, which is thoroughly Protestant with all its religious, social and political institutions, sympathies and tendencies. Hence we need not be surprised that Romanism, with all its undoubted growth,

has not been able to keep pace with the immense immigration of Irish and German Catholics, which, within the last twenty years has been perhaps twice as large as the entire present membership of this Church. Still less has it been able, with all its imposing cathedrals, sisters of charity, and well organized benevolent institutions, to gain the sympathies of the people. On the contrary, just in proportion as the papacy extended, the American spirit has risen against it, and recently produced even a powerful political party, called the Know-Nothing or American party, which is professedly based upon hatred of Romanists and foreigners, and has for its object to destroy their political influence. This Know-Nothingism spread, in 1856, with lightening rapidity all over the Union and threatened for a while to absorb the old Whig party and to annihilate the Democratic party then in power, until it was most signally defeated in the last Presidential election, being forced to succumb to anti-slavery republicanism in the North and to the democracy in the South. Its proscriptive spirit is directly opposed to the fundamental American principle of the political equality of all Christian sects. But for this very reason it reveals the more strikingly the irreconcilable antagonism between Romanism and native Americanism, as intelligent Catholics, especially the able dialectician, Brownson, the only really important American convert to that Church, have on several occasions reluctantly admitted. It would be absolutely impossible to organize a political party against any Protestant denomination of the country. For Mormonism, which is still more unpopular than Romanism, does not belong to Protestantism in any sense whatever, and has much more affinity with Mohammedanism than with Christianity. The future must show whether the Roman Church, with her unyielding tenacity, will be able ultimately to resist the powerful Protestant current of this country, or whether she will be carried away by it and undergo an important process of transformation.

The United States of North America is the most Protestant country in Christendom. Even its toleration, which

Romanism likewise enjoys, and should by all means be permitted to enjoy without the least molestation, is a legitimate fruit of Protestantism, and operates upon the whole more against than in favor of Romanism. The United States is the greatest world-and church-historical conquest which has been made by the genius of the Reformation since the sixteenth century, and which far outweighs all the Roman acquisitions of baptized heathenism and barbarism in South America. North America is, therefore, emphatically a land of hope for Protestantism, not negative, rationalistic and pantheistic, but positive, scriptural, evangelical catholic Protestantism, which takes its stand on Christ and his everlasting Gospel as the only source of salvation and the only guarantee of true civil and religious freedom.

Here we must bring our report to a close. We sensibly feel its imperfections and incompleteness in view of the mass of material which might claim our attention. Much might be said on American theology, which for German taste is rather too dry and mechanical, somewhat unchurchly and, as to the doctrine of the holy Sacraments, even rationalizing, but which, in other respects, is strictly scriptural and confessional, better adapted to the intelligence of the people and the wants of the congregation, than the German, and promises to produce a new phase in the sacred science by combining German learning and research with English orthodoxy and solidity ;—on the many theological seminaries and the method of theological study, which, in the United States, is not as thorough, comprehensive and free as in Germany, but safer and more practical, since it is not entered upon simply as a profession and for a decent support, but from religious motives, and hence conducted with the view to a growth in piety as well as in learning, and with constant regard to the pastoral office in a particular denomination ;—on the innumerable religious papers, magazines and reviews, which represent all possible shades of piety and fanaticism and carry in hundreds of thousands of copies truth and falsehood to the most distant dwelling ;

—on the Christian life, which has a predominantly Reformed stamp, full of vigor, energy and enterprise, and presents all the excellencies and defects of a practical common sense Christianity, more broad than deep, strong in outward action and weak in inward meditation, laying hold of the understanding and will, rather than the imagination and feeling, running frequently into the errors of Pharisaeism and legalism, but very rarely into the opposite extreme of Sadducaeism and antinomimanism, to which the German mind is exposed;—or the American celebration of the Lord's Day, which, with all its Judaizing and legalistic features, is an imposing weekly testimony of the nation's reverence for God's holy law, a mighty bulwark of public religion and virtue, and in its practical workings infinitely preferable to the European pseudo-evangelical laxity;—on the American pulpit, which, whatever be its defects as compared with the European, is upon the whole, perhaps, superior to it, and must be said to be free, bold, energetic and decidedly evangelical in its tone, rousing the conscience with great earnestness and power, urging repentance and faith in Christ and a holy walk and conversation, shedding the light of God's word upon all the important questions of society and exerting more influence for good upon public opinion than the combined power of the press;—on the extensive activity of free associations, as the Bible, Tract, Sunday School, and African Colonization Societies, which rise superior to our sectarian divisions and distractions and present a field for united action to the various evangelical denominations;—on the growing missionary zeal of the leading Churches which follows the western tide of emigration to the base of the Rocky Mountains and the shores of the Pacific, supplying the new settlements with the means of grace, and which sends, at the same time, the messengers of the cross to the heathen on the Sandwich Islands, in China and the East Indies, to the negroes on the western coast of Africa, and to the stagnant sects of the decaying Turkish empire, extending to the ven-

erable seats of primitive Christianity and binding thus the extreme west to the ancient east by the gospel of love and peace. All this and many other things I can merely allude to; for a detailed account would not only transcend the limits of this report, which I would like to condense still more, if I had time, but also lead me into the field of the inner divisions and controversies of Protestantism, and these the Evangelical Alliance would rather forget for a moment in the enjoyment of that deeper unity and harmony, which, after all, underlies the various branches of evangelical Christendom.

For the same reasons I can only make one short remark on the most difficult problem of American statesmanship and philanthropy, which, in addition to its political and social bearing, presents also a very important moral and religious aspect and connects itself with the ultimate Christianization and civilization of Africa. Although there is little prospect of a speedy cure of the sore evil of negro slavery, which preys upon the very vitals of the American Union and threatens its dissolution, it will as certainly be healed in due time, as its root, the African slave trade, and slavery itself in all the northern States, was abolished. This desirable result, however, will not be attained by any undue foreign interference, which a nation as sensitive and high minded as the American will either indignantly repulse, or ignore; nor by political agitation, which so far at least has rather thrown back the process of emancipation and called forth a fanatical pro-slavery reaction in the southern States; nor by a dissolution of the Union and the terrors of a civil war, which may God in mercy prevent; but it will be brought about partly by the silent influence of physical and material causes, such as climate, agriculture, industry, railroads; partly by the irresistible progress of Christianity, humanity and freedom; and especially by the adorable wisdom of the almighty ruler of events, who makes even the wrath of men to praise him, who delivered Israel from the bondage of Egypt, and of Babylon, and who will in his own good time

gloriously solve this dark mystery by the elevation and salvation of the entire African race.

Yea, Jesus Christ, by whom all men were created and redeemed, will, according to the sure word of prophecy, raise at last his banner of freedom and peace over all nations and races, over all continents and islands, and heaven and earth shall resound with the triumphal song: "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever." His visible Church is still unfortunately divided by human guilt, though not without wise providential design, into many hostile camps; yet in the deepest source of her spiritual life and in her invisible head she is but one, and when each division, be it Protestant, or Roman, or Greek, shall have fully accomplished its separate mission, the hidden unity of life will also visibly appear arrayed in the beauty of infinite variety. Before this paper can reach the capital of Prussia, the transatlantic telegraph will bind the two hemispheres together, and Europeans and Americans will be no more antipodes, but neighbors. Who would have dreamed, twenty years ago, of such wonders in the natural world? And why should not the invisibly omnipresent power of divine love be able to unite the most distant parts of Christendom, for which it bled on the cross, into one, holy, catholic brotherhood of faith and love?

May the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance strengthen the consciousness of present unity in the midst of strife, give a fresh impulse to Christian zeal and activity, and help to prepare the way for a true and abiding union of believers of all countries and nations, all tongues and confessions, in Him who is their common Lord and Saviour!

With this wish and prayer I transmit to you, dear brethren, being unable to appear among you in person, this written contribution to your feast of love, hoping that under the blessing of God it may contain some comfort and encouragement to the faith of the evangelical Churches of Europe, which we Americans shall always gratefully

revere and love as our mother. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all the children of God.

P. S.

Mercersburg, August 10, 1857.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION TO "THE NEW LITURGY"

A Liturgy; or, Order of Christian Worship. Prepared by the direction and for use of the German Reformed Church in the United States of America, 1858, was the work of a committee of ministers and elders of the denomination chaired by Philip Schaff. Although the Synod had expressed a desire for a liturgy over thirty years before, it was not until the synod of Baltimore in 1852 that serious work began.

John Williamson Nevin had been appointed chairman in 1849 but doubted very much that the committee could produce a liturgy which the church would accept. He had no enthusiasm for the task. When he resigned his professorship at Mercersburg in 1852 he relinquished the chairmanship but remained on the committee.

Philip Schaff accepted the task of directing the committee with enthusiasm. At the Baltimore Synod he presented a report of the "general plan" of the liturgy and seven principles which the committee suggested should guide their work. These are given in detail in the article "The New Liturgy" which follows.

Philip Schaff is well known as a church historian and renowned for his historical writings but his work as a liturgical scholar is less well known. His natural abilities and ecclesiastical training well equipped him for this task. As a young scholar in Germany he was in the thick of the debates about the Prussian Agenda of 1821 which was a liturgical service the king forced upon the Lutheran and Reformed Churches that formed the Prussian Union of 1817. He knew the theologians and historians whose research was the basis of the arguments.

In addition to his liturgical orientation he was a poet of some ability, well acquainted with the hymns and devotional literature of the historic church and possessed the gift of creative compilation.

The *Liturgy* was published in November of 1857. In the issue of the *Mercersburg Review* published (January 1858) before the issue in which this article appeared, Schaff wrote a short notice of the publication of *A Liturgy*. He notes that the book is offered to the Christian public as a help to public and private worship, not as an original composition but as the "digesting and reproduction of evangelical forms . . . both ancient and modern." While it is reminiscent "of the sweetest liturgical devotions of earlier times, it will also be found savory of the freshness of an original production." Schaff promised that the next issue of the *Mercersburg Review* (April 1858) would contain a review of the book. The first printing (first edition) of 1,000 copies was sold in three weeks. Two additional printings or editions were issued within a year.

The promised review is the article which is here reproduced. Schaff had hoped to present "a full history of its preparation" and a "short analysis of its contents" but found that the length of the history prevented the latter. As controversy in the German Reformed Church developed over its use it was Nevin, pessimistic over its production, who became its chief defender. The enthusiastic Schaff who guided the committee in its production would say that "for my part, I feel almost indifferent as to the result" of its introduction as a norm of worship in the churches, "leaving it altogether in the hands of that Merciful Providence." He was proud of the work done, sure it would serve as a useful guide in the family and "as a general guide to the ministers in preparing for the exercises of the sanctuary even if it should never become an authoritative standard of worship." He had no stomach for the rising controversies. He had done his work. The defense of it rested upon the shoulders of others.

He saw liturgies, next to Scripture, catechisms and hymn books, as most important in shaping moral and religious sentiments. This particular liturgy, which was now published was not

to be forced upon the Church but was to be accepted as an experiment, for provisional use. Hence the name given to it in subsequent years "The Provisional Liturgy." He pleaded for an honest evaluation of it as a standard of public worship for it represented the organic growth of the theological understanding of the position of the "German or Evangelical Reformed Church" in this country. A full and detailed account of the work of the Liturgical Committee and an analysis of the liturgy itself can be found in Jack Martin Maxwell, *Worship and Reformed Theology. The Liturgical Lessons of Mercersburg* (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1976).

Art. II.—THE NEW LITURGY.

A Liturgy; or, Order of Christian Worship. Prepared by the direction and for the use of the *German Reformed Church* in the United States of America. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1858. (Third edition.)

Next to the Word of God, which stands in unapproachable majesty far above all human creeds and confessions, fathers and reformers, popes and councils, there are no religious books of greater practical importance and influence than catechisms, hymn books, and liturgies. They shape the moral and religious sentiments in early youth; they feed the devotions in old age; they are the faithful companions of the most solemn hours in the house of God, around the family altar and in the silent closet; they give utterance to the deepest emotions, the purest thoughts, the highest aspirations; they urge to duty and every good work; they comfort in affliction, and point to heaven at the approach of death. Even the ripe scholar delights to return from time to time, if not daily, to the first question of his Catechism, or a familiar verse, or the simple Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, which his pious mother taught him when a child, on his knees, and derives more solid wisdom and substantial comfort from them than from a whole library of learned volumes. They embody his earliest and his deepest impressions; they remind him of his best moments; they are his sacred things "which doubt has never dimmed and controversy never soiled;" they teach him his "only comfort in life and in death." Luther did more good by his little Catechism and few hymns than by all his twenty-four large quartos, save only his translation of the book of books. The authors of the Heidelberg and the Westminster Catechisms exerted greater influence upon their age and subsequent generations, than all the schoolmen of the middle age by their subtle commentaries on Aristotle and Peter the Lombard. The author of the simple verse, "Now

I lay me down to sleep," etc., was one of the greatest benefactors of children, and through them of the race.

It is difficult to say which of these three nurseries of the Church occupies the first rank. National and denominational differences must here be allowed their due weight. In Protestant Germany, which produced the richest hymnology in the world, and still adheres to the practice of congregational singing as an essential element of public worship, hymns have a power and influence as in no other land. The Presbyterian and Puritan Churches would no doubt at once give the Catechism and Confession the preference, and look upon liturgies with suspicion as tending to formalism. In the Episcopal Church, the "Common Prayer Book" has probably done more to keep her together, to preserve her faith, to nourish her piety, to attach her membership and to attract a certain class of foreign material, than all her bishops, priests and deacons. The best state of things would perhaps require the equal excellency and harmonious coöperation of the doctrinal and devotional standards. But we know of no denomination which may claim to have at once the best catechism, the best hymn-book and the best liturgy.

The German or Evangelical Reformed Church of this country has undertaken the difficult and responsible task of providing for its membership a new Liturgy or Directory of public and private worship. She did not seek it, but was providentially prepared for, and led into it. The book is now before the public, but simply as an experiment and for provisional use. The Committee which prepared it, have no wish whatever of seeing it introduced into any congregation without their free and full consent. All they ask for their work, is a fair examination and trial. In their final report, they requested Synod not to take any action at present either for or against the book. Its merits or defects can only be properly tested by practical experience in the family and the church. It may require several years to settle the question of its adaptedness to the wants of the denomination for whose use it has been prepared.

This is indeed a new method of introducing a Liturgy, and its practicability may be doubted. But if it be wrong, its fault lies not in the Romanizing, but in the Protestant direction, and should, therefore, give at least no alarm to any body on that score. It makes full account of the general priesthood of believers. It may be called a republican and even a democratic method, or an application of the popular sovereignty-principle to church movements. If the ministers and congregations do not want the new prayer book, all they have to do is, to vote it down, and either to refer it back to the old committee for revision, or to order the preparation of a new liturgy on a different plan, or to drop the subject altogether and settle upon the exclusive system of extemporaneous prayer in the house of God as well as in the family.

But whatever may be the ultimate fate of this provisional liturgy as a public standard of worship, it has some significance even as an experiment. It is certainly one of the most important works which the German Reformed Church has attempted in this country. It represents a piece of her present spiritual life. It forms a chapter of her inner history and development. It is the practical result of a theological movement which has agitated her for a number of years past. It may have considerable influence even beyond the pale of the denomination that gave it birth. For this liturgy, although defective and admitting no doubt of considerable improvement, is by no means a mere compilation or patchwork, but something of an organic growth. The stones are old, but the building itself is new. The book has a life and spirit of its own. It is an American product, grown up on American soil and intended for American use. It is at least an earnest effort to solve the vital question of the best mode of conducting public and private worship for the wants of the present age ; and that question will have to be met sooner or later by every Protestant denomination of this great and future-pregnant country.

These considerations will fully justify a more extended

article on the work which is now before the Church for its inspection and experimental use. We propose to furnish a key for its proper understanding and thus to contribute our share towards the final settlement of the practical question of its adoption, rejection, or modification. We will endeavor, if possible, to review it objectively, as if we had no connection with its composition.

We shall first present a full *history* of the preparation of the new Reformed Liturgy, and then give a short *analysis* of its contents with critical remarks on what we regard as deficient in its present provisional form. The members of the committee will easily understand that I can have no disposition here to censure any one of them more than myself. And as to the reader, I would ask him from the start to lay aside personal considerations and to hold the committee as a *whole* responsible for the defects as well as the merits which he may discover in the book. This is the best way, I think, to reach a satisfactory practical result in this important matter.

HISTORY OF THE LITURGY.

The proper history of a book, if it have any—for most books, it must be admitted, fall still-born from the press, or die in early infancy—commences with its publication. But it has also a previous subjective history in the mind of the author from its conception to its birth, and in its relation to the wants of the time or denomination which call it into existence. This preparatory history, as far as it may justify the publication and interest the reader, is generally brought out in the Preface. The Liturgy under consideration appeared without a preface, as well as without a name, because it was thought best to let it speak for itself and to disconnect it as much as possible from all personal associations.

The German Reformed Church, like all the Churches of the Reformation, is originally liturgical. Zwingli, Calvin, Bucer, and even John Knox, as well as Luther and Melanchthon, Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, were all in favor of a fixed and settled order of public worship that should serve as a guide to the minister and secure decency, digni-

ty and harmony to the exercises of the sanctuary. Their object was not to overthrow, but to purify, to simplify and to adapt the ancient devotional forms which had been handed down from the previous life of the Church, to transfer them from the Latin into the vernacular tongues, and to enrich them with new forms that should embody and perpetuate the peculiar spirit of evangelical Protestantism. Hence the great number of liturgies and sacred hymns which sprung up in the sixteenth century during and after the pentecostal days of the Reformation.

But while agreed as to the liturgical principle even on ordinary occasions, the Protestants differed from the beginning as to the extent to which it should be carried. The Lutheran and the Anglican Churches adhered more closely to the traditional Catholic order of worship and allowed less room for free prayer in public than the Calvinistic Churches. A few extreme branches of Calvinism, namely, Presbyterianism in Scotland and Puritanism in England, with their large offshoots in America, have, during the seventeenth century, dropped the public use of prayer-books almost entirely. This can be easily accounted for, by their extreme antagonism to the Church of England, by the unsatisfactory character of Knox's liturgy which never took proper root, and by the unwise and tyrannical attempts of archbishop Laud and the Stuarts to force the Anglican service upon the reluctant Scotch nation. In the course of time the anti-liturgical prejudices have in these ecclesiastical bodies assumed the power of tradition which it is very difficult to overcome, especially in this country. But we have no room here to enter into a general argument in favor of liturgies against their opponents.

The Protestant Churches of the Continent are without exception liturgical to this day, and make use of prescribed forms in every service in connection with more or less extemporaneous prayer. But they have too many liturgies and consequently too little unity and harmony in worship. These liturgies, moreover, are intended as guides and helps simply to the ministers, and not for the use of the

people, like the catechism and hymn book. And yet the Protestant doctrine of the general priesthood of believers should lead to some active coöperation of the congregation with the pastor in praying as well as in singing. Here are some of the reasons why none of the Continental liturgies, either Lutheran or Reformed, has been able to take very deep root in the popular heart and to prove as successful as the Common Prayer Book. For the latter is truly a national institution, as strong and powerful as Parliament itself; it has stood the test of three hundred years without serious alteration; it is now as popular as ever, and extends further than ever.

The German branch of the Reformed Church uses a considerable number of liturgies in Germany and Switzerland, where almost every canton has one of its own. Some of them are excellent in many respects, especially those which date whole or in part from the sixteenth century. But none of them, not even the old Palatinate Liturgy, can be called at all equal in depth, fervor and power to the Heidelberg Catechism. None of them combines those merits which constitute a truly popular church-book, and exempt it from the necessity of a revision in almost every generation. But the same holds true of the Lutheran Church, which has as many, or more, liturgies in Germany as Germany has independent sovereignties.

This is one of the causes of the unsatisfactory liturgical condition of the German Reformed Church in America. The missionary fathers of the last century brought with them the different liturgies then in use in those sections of Germany, Switzerland or Holland from which they emigrated. None of them ever received, as far as we know, the exclusive sanction of the Synod. Each minister was left to help himself as well as he could, and this is in point of fact the case still. The Palatinate Liturgy was used more extensively perhaps than any other. But it was superseded in Germany itself, and never republished in this country. Hence only a few copies of the original are to be found even in East Pennsylvania. Several older ministers in that

section of the Church have manuscript copies of some of the old Palatinate forms and use them to this day, while a few others prefer the German translation of Dr. Mayer's Liturgy. In addition to these, there are in use, especially among our foreign German congregations, several Swiss Liturgies of Berne, Basel, Zurich, Coire, and Ebrard's Reformirtes Kirchenbuch. Such a diversity and arbitrary freedom in public worship is certainly undesirable in one and the same denomination and leads to confusion.

In the course of the present century our Church was gradually anglicanized and in the same proportion also presbyterianized and puritanized to a very considerable extent. This influence showed itself in public worship by the gradual introduction of the free prayer-system in the *regular* services of the Lord's day. It gradually gained the ascendency and prevails now almost without exception in our English congregations. But the Church never prohibited, of course, the use of liturgies even on ordinary Sundays, and always adhered to the liturgical principle for all special occasions, and sacramental transactions. Here the same loose practice and arbitrary freedom prevailed to this day, as in the German congregations. Some use the translation of portions of the Palatinate liturgy as appended to the hymn book of the Dutch Reformed Church; others, Dr. Mayer's; others, portions of the Episcopal Common Prayer Book; others, prefer to compile from various sources their own forms for the sacramental occasions, for confirmation, marriage and the burial of the dead; while still others go the full length of the Puritan principle and depend altogether upon their individual resources and the inspiration of the moment for all these solemn occasions.

This is the state of things which the Church has long in vain tried to correct and to regulate. For the last thirty or forty years the Synod has agitated from time to time the liturgical question, with the view to do away with this loose practice and to introduce a settled and uniform system of public worship, both in the English and German congregations under its jurisdiction, through means of a liturgy

that should breathe the spirit of its doctrinal standard, the Heidelberg Catechism, and yet be adapted in arrangement and style to the wants of the Church at the present day and in this country in midst of Anglo-American relations. This will appear from the following historical statement, which our esteemed colleague, the Rev. Dr. Wolff, has kindly prepared for us from the minutes of the earlier meetings of Synod, in nearly all of which he took part, first as lay delegate and subsequently as one of the leading ministers.

"It might be supposed from one unacquainted with its history, that the Liturgy, recently prepared and published by a Committee appointed for the purpose, by the Synod of the German Reformed Church, was the product of some precipitate and uncongenial movement, and as such was sprung upon the Church in an uncalled for way. A greater mistake can scarcely be imaginined than any supposition of the kind. The want of a Liturgy, adapted to the condition of the Church, appears to have been felt at an early period. At the Synod of Hagerstown, in 1820—the first delegated Synod that met after the division into Classes—a request was sent up from the Maryland Classis to make a revision of the Church *Agenda*, with a view to their publication in both the English and German languages. A Committee was appointed in accordance with their request, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. *Hendel, Hinsch, S. Helfenstein, Rahauser and Becker.* The Committee was continued from year to year until the Synod of Bedford, in 1824, when they submitted a report, which was referred to a special Committee for examination; at whose request the whole subject was deferred until the next meeting of Synod. At the ensuing Synod, which met at Philadelphia, another Committee of examination was appointed; but there is nothing upon record to show that the report at Bedford was ever acted upon. The difficulties connected with the establishment of the Theological Seminary, and its subsequent removal from Carlise, were so serious and absorbing as to throw every thing of minor consideration into the back ground. Another cause probably was, that the older ministers interested in the preparation of a Liturgy, after the Synod at Bedford, began to yield their places in the councils of the Church to others. The consequence was, that the subject was lost sight of, until at the Synod of Hagerstown, in 1830, it was again brought up by the Maryland Classis, in the form of a request, to have the Liturgy printed and bound up with the comtemplated English hymn book. A Committee was appointed to attend to the duty; but the Liturgy never appeared.

At Pittsburg, in 1834, the attention of Synod was again directed to the subject by an action from the Classis of Susquehanna for "the appointment of a committee to prepare an improved Liturgy to be submitted to the next Synod." A committee was accordingly appointed, consisting of Drs. *Mayer, Rauch, Hoffeditz,* and the Rev. Messrs. *Fries, Geiger* and *Hacke.* Three years after, in 1837, the chairman of the committee transmitted the draft of a Liturgy for examination to the Synod of Sunbury, which, after "having been read and referred to several committees, was sent down to the Classes for their action." At the ensuing Synod at Lancaster, it appeared that a majority of the Classes were in favor of its adoption; but Synod deemed it best to submit it again for revision. The committee appointed to attend to this duty never met, and at the Synod of Philadelphia was superseded by another made up of the Rev. Messrs. *Smaltz, J. Helfenstein, Schneck, Cares* and the Elder *J. C. Bucher,* who submitted the original draft, with alterations and amendments, to the Synod of Greencastle, in 1840, when it was adopted, and ordered to be printed, in the form in which it is now before the churches. Dr. Mayer's liturgy appeared in 1841, in both languages, but never reached a second edition, although the number of copies printed was very small.

The Church generally was not satisfied with the work. In many of the charges it was never used. At the Synod of Lancaster, in 1847, the Classis of East Pennsylvania openly expressed its dissatisfaction, and requested that "the old Liturgy should be reprinted, or a new one prepared more congenial to the spirit of the Heidelberg Catechism." The whole subject "of the revision of the Liturgy so as to secure one which is adapted to the wants of the whole Church, and the general use of which can be enforced," was referred to the consideration of the several Classes, and at the next Synod at Hagerstown, it appeared, that all the Classes, with the exception of North Carolina, had expressed themselves in their minutes in favor of a new Liturgy."

This brings us to the very threshold of the last stage of the liturgical movement in the German Reformed Church, which utimately resulted in the present book.

In the mean time, since the year 1844, this body began to be strongly agitated by a theological controversy known as the "Mercersburg" movement. It referred to the church question under its theoretical and practical aspect. It commenced with the discussion of the original and fundamental principles of Protestantism in its relations to Roman Catholicism, on the one hand, and to rationalism,

and sectarianism on the other, and extended gradually over a considerable number of important historical and doctrinal topics, including the sacraments, the ministry and the nature of public worship. It led to serious synodical discussions since the meeting at York, 1845, where the members of the new liturgical committee have in part occupied very different ground. As this movement is not yet closed, but in active, though more silent and peaceful progress, it would be premature to pass a final judgment on its merits. The best in it is unquestionably its *providential* character which justifies the hope that it will lead ultimately to good re-results in and out of the denomination in whose bosom it was first started. We are here merely concerned with its bearing upon the new liturgy. The Mercersburg controversy did evidently not originate the liturgical movement in the German Reformed body, as appears from the preceding statement, but it gave it a new impulse and direction and carried it to a practical result that differed very widely from what was originally contemplated. It called attention to the liturgies of the age of the Reformation and of the primitive Catholic Church, which had been almost entirely lost sight of in this country, and recommended them as the general basis on which the new work should be constructed. It placed, moreover, the defense of liturgical service on different grounds. It viewed it not simply in the light of convenience, decency and propriety, but as a sacred bond of union between the different ages of Christ's Church, as a guarantee against excesses of arbitrary freedom, as a conservative power in doctrine and discipline, as the organ for the exercise of the *general* priesthood, and as the artistic form which the very spirit of social worship instinctively assumes and which will characterize even the worship of the redeemed in heaven as a complete harmony of united thanksgiving and praise. The friends of that system deprecated the idea of a liturgy that should be either a purely subjective and narrow denominational production, or a mechanical compilation from other sources without principle and vitality. Such a book would hardly deserve the name and not be worth the trouble of prepara-

tion. They called for a free reproduction and adaptation of the time-honored devotions of the purest ages to our particular age and country. In one word, they desired a truly *scriptural*, *historical*, *evangelical catholic*, and *artistic* liturgy for the *people* as well as the ministry. Whether this aim be at all attained in the new book, is an altogether different question. For, from the ideal to the real, from theory to practice, there is more than one step, and many of the noblest aims of mortal men remain *pia desideria* in this world of imperfections.

The new phase of the liturgical movement then commenced, as far as the corporate action of the German Reformed Church is concerned, at the Synod of Hagerstown, Md., in the year 1848. From want of time, and from prudential considerations the subject was not discussed in that meeting, but referred to a committee, consisting of the Rev. John H. A. Bomberger, Daniel Zacharias, D. D., John F. Mesick, and Elders George Besore and W. Cameron, to report at the next annual meeting. (Minutes for 1848, p. 75.)

At the Synod of Norristown, Pa., in October, 1849, this committee submitted a majority report, which, after some amendments, was adopted, as follows:

"*The primary object* of Christians in 'assembling themselves together,' is, according to the Scriptures, and should therefore be in practice, *to worship God.* The ancient sanctuary was known to the most evangelical of the Prophets, chiefly as *a house of prayer.* (Is. 56: 7.) And this sentiment has the express sanction of our Lord himself, in his quotation of it in defence of the zeal exhibited in driving the money-changers from the temple. The prevalence of this view is also exhibited in the entire public devotions of the Jews under the old covenant—(their attachment to which, as well as their rigid perseverance in it, is proven by their public religious ceremonies at the present day.) Their gathering together on Sabbaths, and new moons, and solemn feasts, was emphatically and almost exclusively for the purpose of worshipping God, by uniting in public acts of devotion. Whatever time or place may have been given to other duties, such as the reading of the law and exhortation, their devotional ceremonies always occupied the chief place in their services and the larger portion of their time. And *all this was by explicit divine appointment.*

Neither was the precedent, thus divinely set, wholly abolished, either in principle or practice, at the introduction of the later dispensation. Zealously as the Lord urged his disciples, both by command and example, to preach the Gospel of the kingdom he had come to found, there is nothing in all his teaching or conduct, that evinces the least purpose of having this preaching supersede the acts and duties of ancient worship. In the nature of the case more time and effort had to be given to the proclamation of the kingdom about to be set up. But no sooner were its principles made known, and companies of believers gathered in different places, than we find them uniting in the formation of Christian societies (of churches), meeting statedly for mutual edification by means of public worship, and adapting the ancient form of worship to the peculiar spirit and principles of the remodeled order of things. For whilst the peculiar form of their devotional acts differed wholly from that of the preceding dispensation, yet the spirit and principle were retained. There was indeed no altar smoking with incense,

> "No bleeding bird, nor bleeding beast,
> No hysop branch nor sprinkling priest,"

no Sion or Gerizim to which their devotions were confined. But whilst the mere outward accidents of their old ritual were abrogated, there was neither an abolition nor demolition of the thing itself. The times of types and shadows, had indeed passed by, but they were gone because the anti-type and substance had come to take their place. There was still an altar, an incense, and a sacrifice—and external forms in which these existed. Only they were more spiritual in their character. The Christian Church was far from being a society formed upon the principles and after the heartless asceticism of the exclusive Essenes—but exhibited that intimate relation to the order of things which preceded its institution, which at once proved it to be the offspring of the same mind and heart—a continuation and completion of the old in a higher and fuller form—the old things passing away, by all becoming new.

And now to aid them in their worship, and to secure the desired uniformity and edification in their devotions, the earliest Church organizations of whose history any authentic traditions have reached us—at once availed themselves of set forms of devotional hymns and prayers, which were in part transferred from the Jewish Church, and in part framed expressly for the latter, by those to whom their superintendence was committed. And these acts of devotion, their singing and praying, and reading of the Scriptures, constituted an important element, and occupied a large portion of time, in all their public worship. *This again was by divine appointment, and under apostolical sanction.*

Of the gradual perversion of the spirituality and simplicity

which originally characterized the worship of the Christian Church, of the corruptions which crept in with the various elements that were mingled with it, in the course of its progress and extension—and of which so dark a picture is exhibited in the history of the Papacy, and especially in its professedly devotional ceremonies, and of the fearful prevalence of these during the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, the committee need say nothing.

With the opening of the following century came agitations and changes which characterized the great Reformation. But amidst all these the thought of abrogating all forms of Church worship was never once cherished. At first those forms previously employed were continued in use, with such omissions and modifications as were thought necessary. And as soon as circumstances permitted, both branches of the Protestant Church set themselves diligently to the work of preparing suitable Liturgies—and the use of such in all public acts of worship has always continued to characterize the German Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Germany to the present day. Thus the Churches of the Reformation have ever conformed with the example set by the earliest ages—in making acts of worship the great business of the sanctuary—and making suitable provision for this. The result of this provision we possess in the old and excellent Liturgy of the Palatinate—which obtained general approbation in our Churches in Germany and which was sent over to the Church in this country with our Missionary Fathers—and is known among us both in the original language and a translation of large portions of it found attached to most Reformed Dutch Hymn Books.

In view of these facts your committee suggest

1. That the use of Liturgical forms of church worship, as recognized by our forefathers, has the clear sanction of the practice and peculiar genius of the original protestant Churches.

2. That there is nothing in the present circumstances of our Church in this country to call for or justify a total departure from this ancient and long-established usage.

3. That the Liturgy now authorized and partially used by the Church, is inadequate to our wants, inasmuch as apart from other deficiencies which may be found in it, it makes *no provision for ordinary occasions of public worship.*

4. That whilst the older Liturgies of the Church, and especially that of the Palatinate, are of such a character as to commend the greater portions of them for adoption, there is still need of various modifications in order to adapt them fully to our wants and circumstances.

5. That the present would be as favorable a time for making the requisite provision in the case, as any which may be anticipated in the future.

6. That Synod, therefore, proceed to make such arrangements as it may in its wisdom think best for the securing of this object.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN H. A. BOMBERGER, *Chairman.*"

This report gave rise to a lengthy and earnest discussion on the general subject of the liturgy, which was continued throughout several sessions, and excited a great deal of interest in the religious community of the place at the time. As the Minutes of Synod contain no speeches, we have to draw here upon our memory as one of the participants in the debate. The question then was: Liturgy, or no liturgy. The modern Puritan spirit which had gradually crept into the Church made a vigorous effort to defeat the object of the report altogether. One member of the committee, who became also a member of the final committee, had prepared an elaborate argument against all forms of prayer, as interfering more or less with the freedom, fervor and spirituality of devotion, and quoted Justin Martyr's well known *οση δυναμις αυτω*, and Tertullian's "*ex proprio ingenio*," concerning the public prayers in the second century. But he was evidently influenced by ill-founded apprehensions of Romanizing tendencies, and did injustice to his own churchly instincts and deep-rooted German Reformed sympathies. His objections were respectfully met by arguments from the Scriptures, from history, from considerations of order, respectability, unity and practical usefulness, which it would take us too long to give in full. Another speaker embodied his anti-liturgical prejudices in the lines:

> "Prayer is the simplest form of speech
> That infant lips can try."

But he was promptly silenced by the quotation of what immediately follows, in the same hymn of Montgomery, who as a Moravian, was certainly in favor of liturgical worship:

> "Prayer the sublimest strains that reach
> The majesty on high."

A third opponent of the report asked the question: "If I

read another man's prayer, is it I who prays, or the one who wrote it?" He was effectually answered by another question: "If you sing a hymn, is it you that sings, or the man who composed it; or must you make both the poetry and the music in order to use it as an act of worship?" The last speech, as far as I recollect, was made by Dr. J. W. Nevin, with his usual solemnity and earnestness. He stated frankly, that the study of the church question had wrought a complete theological revolution in his mind and entirely removed his inherited Presbyterian prejudices against liturgies, and then went on to show the necessary connection of liturgical worship with the idea of the Church as the body of Christ, of the communion of saints as a present reality enjoyed in the public devotions, of the sacraments as means of grace, and of the nature of true worship as a united act of the whole congregation.

The great majority of Synod was evidently in favor of a liturgy, and seemed to appreciate also more or less its true character, as rising far above all merely utilitarian considerations. After the adoption of the report, it was resolved, on motion of Dr. B. S. Schneck, to appoint a committee with instructions to examine thoroughly the liturgical literature of the Reformed Churches, and to prepare for the next meeting of Synod a plan or outline of the proposed liturgy, with some specimens, old or new, as they might see fit.

This committee, as appointed by the President, (the Rev. J. Rebaugh) consisted of the Rev. Dr. John W. Nevin, Philip Schaff, Barnard C. Wolff, Elias Heiner, John H. A. Bomberger, Henry Harbaugh, Joseph F. Berg, and the Elders William Heyser, John C. Bucher, Dr. Caspar Schæffer and George C. Welker.

The individual members of the committee kept the subject before their mind and bestowed upon it such attention as their many engagements would permit. During the next Synodical year, Dr. Wolff translated the instructive introduction to Dr. Ebrard's "Reformirtes Kirchenbuch," on the Reformed Liturgies of the sixteenth century. Dr.

Bomberger brought out in an English dress, several parts of the Palatinate liturgy from a German copy of 1684. Both these contributions appeared in the second volume of the Mercersburg Review for 1850, and were followed by other communications on the same topic in subsequent volumes of this quarterly. But the committee held no meeting and thought it prudent indefinitely to postpone the whole work, for which the Church seemed not yet sufficiently prepared. Hence the following report in the Minutes of the Synod of 1850, held at Martinsburg, Va.:

"The committee appointed to commence the preparation of a new Liturgy, respectfully report, that after such attention as they have been able to give to the subject, and in view of the general posture of the Church at the present time, they have not considered it expedient as yet to go forward with the work. Should it be felt necessary on the part of Synod to bring out at once a new formulary for public use, it is believed that the most advisable course for the present would be to give a translation simply of the old Liturgy of the Palatinate; although the Committee are by no means of the mind, that this would be the best ultimate form in which to provide for the great interest here in question. Altogether it is felt, however, that other questions of vital moment now before the Church need first to be settled, in order that it may become important really to bestow any full and final care on this question of a new Liturgy

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN W. NEVIN, *Chairman.*"

In the year 1851 the Church was so engrossed with preparations for the removal of her literary institutions from Mercersburg to Lancaster, with the theological discussion of the Church question, which now assumed a more solemn and critical aspect than ever, and with the withdrawal of Dr. Nevin from active service in the Theological Seminary, that the liturgical question, although never lost sight of altogether, was thrown into the back ground by questions of more urgent and immediate interest, which seemed to involve almost the very existence of the German Reformed Church as a separate denomination. For this body was just then shaken to its very base by attacks from without and agitation from within. The contemplated removal of the literary institutions, too, seemed for some time doomed

to a humiliating and disastrous failure. The prospects were dark and gloomy indeed, and yet not without promise and hope to the eye of faith. It is now evident that the apprehensions were groundless, and that the organized persecution to the German Reformed Church for real or supposed heresy, instead of tending to her dissolution, resulted in her consolidation. But the delay of action on the side of the liturgy committee was altogether judicious and wise under the circumstances. The work itself only gained by it in the end.

At the next annual meeting of Synod held at Lancaster, in October, 1851, Dr. Nevin resigned his theological professorship in the Seminary, and with it also his chairmanship of the committee on the liturgy, and proposed his colleague, being the second on the list, in his place. The request was granted with the instruction that the committee should report to Synod as soon as possible. Besides this, the composition of the committee appointed at Norristown underwent gradually several other changes by the death of some (Judge Bucher, Dr. Schæfer), and the withdrawal of other members (Dr. Berg, etc.), who were replaced at subsequent meetings of Synod. One or two members were added for special reasons. Thus Dr. Gerhart, after his removal from Ohio, was elected at the synodical meeting of Chambersburg in 1855, with the view to represent the interests of the Western Synod, as the former chairman of the Western liturgical committee, which was appointed to coöperate with that of the Eastern Synod as far as practicable.

The committee on the Liturgy, as it finally stood, since October, 1855, and is alone responsible for the work as actually prepared and published, consisted of ten ministers and four elders, viz: Philip Schaff, John W. Nevin, B. C. Wolff, J. H. A. Bomberger, Henry Harbaugh, Elias Heiner, Daniel Zacharias, Thomas C. Porter, E. V. Gerhart, Samuel R. Fisher, and elders William Heyser, John Rodenmeyer, George Schæfer, George C. Welker.

These names represent pretty well the various sections and interests of the German Reformed Church, and include

even its theological extremes, having often met on opposite sides in the discussion of important questions on the floor of Synod. And yet upon the whole they got along very harmoniously with the task, although it involved directly or indirectly almost every point of dispute between them. To them it has been a work of peace and reconciliation rather than of strife and division. This is one of the most encouraging features in this movement. May the book as published have the same effect at last for the whole German Reformed Church and prove to it a bond of unity and peace!

Of the fourteen members about four took no part in any of the meetings held. But this was owing to modesty or sickness or unavoidable engagements, and to no want of sympathy with the movement itself of which they heartily approve, as far as I know. The remaining members all coöperated in furnishing selections or original contributions. But all contributions were submitted, before their adoption, to a thorough revision of the committee at their several meetings, and a large number of them were laid aside or superseded. Every chapter of the Liturgy proper, as now published, even to the rubrics and notes, became in this way more or less the work of the whole committee. The only partial exception to this is the appended selection of hymns, for whose examination in detail by the committee as a whole, there was no time left. For this reason the new Liturgy can and should never be baptized with the name of any individual, like the one which preceded it in the German Reformed Church. The comparative freedom from subjectivity and individuality we regard as a decided recommendation to a church-book, provided it do not destroy its unity and harmony.

Soon after the Synod of Lancaster the proper execution of the work itself was seriously commenced. The members of the committee residing at Mercersburg held weekly meetings during the summer of 1852 and prepared a general plan, also four forms for the regular service on the Lord's day, two baptismal services, a form for the solemni-

zation of matrimony, and a part of the Scripture lessons and collects for the ecclesiastical year. These labors were approved by a general meeting of the committee, and then laid before the Synod convened in the city of Baltimore, October, 1852. The following report, embracing the plan of the work, was adopted at that Synod:

"The Committee on the Liturgy beg leave to submit the following report:

Soon after the last meeting of Synod at Lancaster, the Committee gave the subject entrusted to their care such attention as their time and regular duties would allow. Those members who reside at Mercersburg, held weekly meetings of conference and consultation during last summer, while the other members were requested to prepare, in the mean time, certain portions of the proposed Liturgy, and to submit them afterwards to the revision of the whole Committee. The further they proceeded in the work, and the more they made themselves acquainted with the liturgical literature of ancient and modern times, the more they felt the importance, difficulty and responsibility of the task committed to their hands. Next to the confession of faith, no book, not even the hymn book excepted, is calculated to exert so much influence in forming the peculiar religious character of a Church, as a liturgy which should embody its whole devotional life. The difficulties are increased in this case by the great number and variety of such works issued before and after the Reformation, which makes the selection sometimes more embarrassing than the original production; also by the reigning tone of piety in the Protestant denominations of this country, which, with a few exceptions, are more or less, however unjustly, prejudiced against the whole system of liturgical worship as tending to formalism; and, finally, by the peculiar position of our own communion, which seems to be just now in a state of transition. In view of these considerations, it might seem prudent for Synod indefinitely to postpone the work, until the liturgical reforms, which are just now agitated in various evangelical churches of Germany, both Reformed and Lutheran, shall come to definite results, and until perhaps similar movements in other sections of our American Protestantism, which may be expected to take place at no distant day, shall facilitate its execution.

But, on the other hand, there can be no doubt, that our Church, which, in common with all the Churches of the Reformation, has at all times, to a greater or less extent, approved of stated forms of public worship without excluding thereby the right use of extemporaneous prayer, is entirely dissatisfied with its present liturgy, and calls loudly for a book of public

devotion which should embrace the best portions of older works of the kind, and be adapted, at the same time, to the peculiar wants of its present condition. Besides, the power of your Committee, according to the Minutes of the Synod at Norristown, A. D., 1849, which first brought up the subject in a definite form, does not extend, for the present, beyond proposing a general *plan* and presenting a few *specimens* of liturgical forms. It is, therefore, only a preparatory work which we are expected to bring before Synod at this time, and it is hoped that your further advice and more definite instructions will greatly facilitate the continuation and final consummation of the task, to whomsoever it may be hereafter entrusted.

With this expectation your Committee would bring before your reverend body :

I. *A plan of the proposed Liturgy.*

It is designed to make provision for the following heads, which are generally comprehended in a full and regular Liturgy in the proper sense of the term :

I. The regular Service on the Lord's Day.
II. The Festival Seasons, especially Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday.
III. Prayers for Miscellaneous Occasions.
IV. The Administration of Infant and Adult Baptism.
V. The Order of Confirmation.
VI. The Holy Communion.
VII. The Visitation and Communion of the Sick.
VIII. The Visitation of Prisoners.
IX. The Solemnization of Matrimony.
X. The Ordination and Installation of Ministers, Elders and Deacons.
XI. The Laying of a Corner Stone.
XII. The Consecration of a Church.
XIII. The Burial of the Dead.
XIV. The Family Liturgy, or Prayers to be used in Morning and Evening Devotions, and on special occasions.
XV. A Table of the Lessons of the Holy Scriptures to be read in the Church throughout the year, and a similar Table for the private use of the Scripture.

II. *The principles on which the new Liturgy is to be constructed.*

1.) The liturgical worship of the *Primitive Church,* as far as it can be ascertained from the Holy Scriptures, the oldest ecclesiastical writers, and the Liturgies of the Greek and Latin Churches of the third and fourth centuries, ought to be made, as much as possible, the *general basis* of the proposed Liturgy ; the more so, as they are in fact also the source from which the best portions of the various Liturgies of the sixteenth century

were derived, such as the forms of confession and absolution, the litanies, the creeds, the Te Deum, the Gloria in excelsis, the collects, the doxologies, &c. For the merit of the Reformation in the department of worship, if we except the hymnology, which has been very materially enriched, especially by the evangelical Churches of Germany, does not so much consist in producing new forms of devotion, as in transferring those handed down from former ages into the vernacular tongues, in purifying them from certain additions, in reducing them to greater simplicity, and in subordinating them to the preaching of the Gospel, as the principal part of Protestant worship.

2.) Among the later Liturgies special reference ought to be had to the old *Palatinate* and other *Reformed* Liturgies of the *sixteenth* century.

3.) Neither the ancient Catholic nor the Reformed Liturgies, however, ought to be copied slavishly, but reproduced rather in *a free evangelical spirit and adapted to the peculiar wants of our age and denomination;* inasmuch as these Liturgies themselves exhibit to us a considerable variety with essential unity, and as every age of the Church has the promise of the Spirit and a peculiar mission to fulfil. For the same reason, *new* forms may be prepared also, where it may seem desirable, but in keeping always with the devotional spirit of the Church in her purest days.

4.) Those portions of the Liturgy which are most frequently used, as the regular service on the Lord's Day, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper, should embrace *several* forms, some shorter and some longer, some with and some without responses, with a view to avoid monotony, and to adapt them the more readily to the condition and wants of our various ministers and congregations which are evidently not prepared for an entire uniformity.

5.) The *language* and *style* ought to be throughout *scriptural* as much as possible; that is, simple, sublime, and devotional, such as we find in the Psalms especially, and in the Lord's Prayer. The doctrinal tone, which predominates too much in most of the Calvinistic Liturgies, ought to be used only within certain limits.

6.) The addition of a *Family Liturgy*, including a sufficient number of prayers, seems to be very desirable, not only on account of its independent value, but especially also because it would facilitate the introduction of the Liturgy amongst our laity, and thus promote its right use in the Church. For, in the opinion of your Committee, a Liturgy will never fully answer its purpose, and be sufficiently appreciated by the congregation, if it is confined to the hands of the minister. Like

the Bible, the Catechism and the Hymn Book, it ought to be the common property and manual of *every member of the Church.* The laymen will take a far deeper interest in the devotional exercises, if they can follow the minister by their book, and respond at least with an audible *Amen* at the end of each prayer.

7.) Finally, a Liturgy ought not to interfere with the proper use of *extemporaneous* prayer, either in public or in private, but rather to *regulate* and *promote* it. Sufficient room should be left for its exercise in connection with the Sunday afternoon and evening services, as well as in weekly Bible lectures, social prayer meetings, catechetical exercises, and on special occasions.

If these principles be conscientiously and wisely carried out, it is hoped that, by the blessing of God, a Liturgy might be produced at last, which will be a *bond of union both with the ancient Catholic Church and the Reformation,* and yet be the *product of the religious life of our denomination* in its *present* state.

III. *Some specimens of the new Liturgy.*

In conclusion, we lay before Synod some *specimens,* as Synod required of us, viz: four forms for *regular worship* on Sunday morning, a form for the administration of *Infant Baptism,* another for *Adult Baptism,* and a *Marriage* service. They have been constructed on the above principles, and have undergone a thorough examination of the members of the Committee as far as they could be brought together.

It is now for Synod to approve, or reject, or to modify what we here submit under a deep sense of the responsibility of the work and of our own insufficiency for it, and to make the necessary arrangements for its continuation and completion.

If we are expected to suggest any plan to this end, it would be this: that Synod appoint a committee with instructions to print, as soon as the nature of the work will admit, a *specimen Liturgy,* for the *inspection* of our Church.

Respectfully submitted,

PHILIP SCHAFF, *Chairman.*"

In connection with this report the several specimen forms above mentioned were read, and then referred to the same committee with instructions "to carry out the suggestions made at the close of the report." All these forms, together with a communion service on the basis of the Palatinate, and several other liturgical contributions, were subsequently printed in the Mercersburg Review for 1854 and 1855, so that the Church at large had an opportunity of forming some idea of the probable nature of the work under preparation.

The scheme and the general principles adopted by the Baltimore Synod, were conscientiously, yet not pedantically adhered to by the committee in their subsequent labors, as will appear from a comparison of the report with the book. The order of subjects was improved; the chapters on miscellaneous prayers and the visitation of prisoners were dropped, and replaced by a few others not included in the original frame work. The recommendation mentioned under 4.) in the report, was carried out only in regard to the service for the Lord's Day, and the Baptism of Infants. In all other services the duplicates originally contemplated, were dispensed with, as it was thought, on more mature consideration, that a variety of forms might only introduce confusion.

After the adoption of a definite basis, the chairman distributed the various chapters of the Liturgy among members of the committee, with the understanding that they should have them ready till Spring, 1853, when a general meeting was to be held for their examination, correction and adoption.

But owing to various causes the work proceeded very slowly, and it was impossible to convene a general meeting of the Committee at the time contemplated. The more the members studied the subject and tried their hands at the preparation of devotional forms for others, the more they felt the difficulty of the task and their insufficiency satisfactorily to perform it. The Synodical Minutes for 1853 and 1854 report no further progress.

But the Synod held at Chambersburg in 1855 gave the enterprise a new impulse, a tolerably full meeting of the Committee having been secured. A report was submitted and adopted, in which the Committee wish their task to be confined simply to the preparation and publication of a *provisional* liturgy for *experimental* and *optional* use, and strongly advise Synod not to take action upon it, until it could be thoroughly revised on the ground of *practical experience* as to its actual working in the congregations under their care, (*Minutes*, p. 80, 81). The same Synod reduced the quorum of the committee to five persons, in order to facilitate

their labors, and passed also a resolution proposing a well meant but impracticable plan for defraying the expenses of the publication of the provisional liturgy by public collections. This was, however, happily superseded by making the book pay for itself.

After this Synodical meeting the work was resumed with more spirit and energy than ever and persevered in, until it was finally completed. The Committee held several meetings, more than were originally contemplated, one in March 13, 1856, and four in 1837, viz: January 2, April 20, August 25, and October 13. Each lasted from one to two weeks. The number of the morning, afternoon and night sessions, as I learn from the secretary, amounts to one hundred and four, exclusive of the sessions of the Lancaster, and Mercersburg sub-committees, and those preceding the Synod of Baltimore. The first four of these general meetings were held at Lancaster city, owing to its central location and its being the residence of several members of the Committee; the last was held in Philadelphia in the midst of the late financial panic, and the proof was read as the book passed through the hands of the printer. The members will not easily forget the old fashioned round walnut table in the consistory room of St. Paul's church at Lancaster, and the similar table in the equally comfortable consistory room of the Race street church in Philadelphia, one of the oldest in the city and in our denomination, where once Schlatter, Hendel, Weiberg and other missionary fathersof pious memory labored in their generation. There the Committee sat many a day praying, writing, consulting together, criticising, examining and pondering over Bibles, Concordances, Liturgies, old and new, from the Clementine down to the Irvingite, and

"Over many a quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore."

They applied the pruning knife very freely to their own productions and laid aside whole piles of manuscript. Human nature, unaided by divine grace, would hardly have submitted to such an unceremonious process. But the book, I am sure, is only the better for it. Almost every sentence

and word were rigidly examined and measured. Sometimes interesting theological discussions would spring up and relieve the mind of the wearisomeness of minute verbal criticism. The whole was a capital training school, and if the committee could have recommenced their labors where they stopped, with the experience they had acquired, they would probably make a much better book than the one now published. Several forms prepared with considerable care, as prayers at sea, for the opening of consistorial meetings and Sabbath schools, could not be finally acted upon, partly from want of time, partly from want of room, the agreement with the publishers limiting the book to 400 pages. The last meeting, consisting of five members, was held on Wednesday the 21st of October, 1857, at Philadelphia, and closed at six o'clock, P. M., in a solemn manner by prayer and the singing of a doxology.

If we date the proper commencement of the labors of the Committee from the Synod of Lancaster in 1851, and deduct the year 1854, during which they were entirely suspended, owing to the absence of the chairman in Europe, we may call the new Liturgy the result of five years' combined labor. This is certainly not too much time for a work so difficult and responsible. But we must take into consideration that the members of the Committee, being all engaged in the active duties of teaching and preaching, could only bestow a limited portion of their time to this task. Under these circumstances it was completed in as short a period as could reasonably be expected.

A few days after the final session of the Committee they laid, through their chairman, their final report before the Synod convened in Allentown, which, after some discussion, was unanimously adopted on Tuesday, October 27, 1857. It was drawn up by Dr. Nevin, and reads as follows:

"The committee appointed to prepare and publish a *Provisional Liturgy* for the use of the German Reformed Church, beg leave to lay before the Synod respectfully, at this time, their final report.

It is with much satisfaction, and heartfelt thankfulness to God, they find themselves able to announce, that their difficult

and laborious task has at length been brought to completion. A Liturgy, or General Order of Worship, including some Prayers for family use, and a small selection of choice Hymns, the whole forming a volume of about 400 hundred pages, has been prepared, and is now in the hands of the Printer, with the prospect of being published in the course of a few days.

It is not for the committee to speak of the merits of their own work. They may be allowed to say, however, that they have spared no pains to make it worthy of the solemn purpose for which it has been framed. It might have been produced in much less time, and with much less labor, had the object been simply to bring out a collection of written prayers of the first best sort that might have come to hand. But it was felt from the beginning, that the true idea of a Liturgy involved a great deal more than this; and that a great deal more than this was needed in fact, to satisfy the expectations and wants of the German Reformed Church. It was found, moreover, that with the progress of the work itself, the idea of what it should be, acquired new depth and force in the mind of the committee themselves; while it seemed to them, that the feeling of the Church also called for more in this direction than might have been distinctly thought of in the beginning. This gave rise naturally to caution and delay. A large part of the first preparations of the committee proved wholly unsatisfactory afterwards to themselves, and were either altogether laid aside, or at least wrought into entirely new form and shape. In this way, moreover, the work has been subject to long interruptions; and it seemed doubtful indeed at times, whether it would ever be completed at all. Nothing, however, has been lost, it is now believed, by any such difficulty and delay. The studies and conferences of the committee have at all events, as they believe, contributed much to their own qualification for the service committed to their hands, and enabled them to work out a result by their own united labors which could hardly have been reached in any other way. The new Liturgy is not a mere compilation, or outward putting together of heterogeneous parts. It has a true life of its own, such as gives unity and harmony to it as a whole; and it is hoped, that this will be found to be in harmony, at the same time, with the theological life and historical genius of the Church for whose use more particularly it has been prepared.

It is a matter of much satisfaction, we may be allowed to add, that no attempt is to be made to force the Liturgy upon the Church, without such general inward and free consent to its use. The Synod has ordered it to be prepared and published only for *provisional* use, and is not expected of course to take any action upon it one way or the other at the present time. It must go forth among the churches simply as an *experiment*.

Every congregation is left to settle the question for itself, how far it will accept the new book, or whether it will be accepted and used at all. This is, in the judgment of the committee, just as it ought to be. They would be sorry, indeed, to have the Liturgy introduced in any quarter, sooner or farther than there may be a disposition among the people to make it welcome, as a help to them, and not a hindrance in their public worship. In this way, the Liturgy asks no ecclesiastical sanction in its favor. It is enough that the Synod has sanctioned the principle of worship in such form, and that the new book is submitted to the churches by its direction and order. Whether it shall satisfy their judgment, and be taken into their full confidence and trust, remains yet to be seen. Years may be required to settle this question; and the interest involved in it is so vast, that no one should object to have years allowed for the purpose. As the case now stands, the Liturgy must work its own way, quietly and silently, into general use; or else pass away at last without any authority whatever, as a provision for which after all there has been no real demand in the reigning life of the Reformed Church.

Should this be so, the committee would not feel still that their labor has been wholly thrown away. They think it of much account, in any event, that a fair trial should be made in this way of the possibility of incorporating the true conception of a Liturgy practically with the worship of the Reformed Church. For it is not too much to say, that if the present Liturgy should prove inadequate to this end, no other is ever likely to be formed that will be attended with any better effect.

Signed in behalf of the committee.

J. W. NEVIN."

Here ends the Synod's action with reference to this liturgical movement, for the present. A few weeks after the adjournment of Synod the book left the press of the Messrs. Lindsay & Blakiston in Philadelphia. The Committee succeeded in having it published in good style, without any cost to Synod. They expect and ask no remuneration for their labors, whatever may be their just claim to it. All they received is fifty free copies in plain binding from the publishers which were distributed among the members, including those who took no part in the preparation, the literary institutions of the Eastern and Western Synods and the two congregations which kindly granted them the use of their consistory room. Whatever may be paid to them from the proceeds, beyond the necessary expenses, will be handed

over to Synod for some benevolent object which they may hereafter designate. The contract with the present publishers, however, covers merely the provisional liturgy. Whenever the Church, by action of Synod, adopts the book as her own, she can make her own arrangements as to the plan and manner of publication. We would not have alluded to this point at all, if it were not for the expression of dissatisfaction in a certain quarter entitled to respect. The Committee have consulted in this matter the best interests of their work and of the Synod to which alone they are responsible. So far their course has been justified even beyond their expectation.

These are, to the best of our knowledge, the principal facts relating to the liturgical movement in the German Reformed Church from its beginning to the actual completion and publication of the new liturgy. The particulars of the various meetings, should they ever be of interest to any body, may be found in the minutes as recorded and kept by the faithful Secretary of the Committee, the Rev. Henry Harbaugh.

It remains now for the Eastern and Western Synod of the German Reformed Church—for both are here equally interested and have the same right to speak—to decide the fate of this Liturgy as a standard of public and private worship within their jurisdiction. There need be no haste in this matter. It may be best to delay final action for several years. The Church may either reject the book altogether, which it will hardly do, in view of its preceding actions. Or it may refer it to the old, or to a new committee for revision, with such instructions as practical experience may suggest. The Liturgy, thus revised, may then be made a binding law of the Church, or it may be adopted merely for optional use, allowing the ministers to use it in full, or in part, or not at all, as they may deem best.

I have no right to speak for the Committee as to what course may be the best. For my own part, I feel almost indifferent as to the result, leaving it altogether in the

hands of that merciful Providence which has thus far guided the German Reformed Church in this country. I regret no time and labor bestowed upon the work, although I am free to confess, that I would never have consented to act as chairman, could I have foreseen the amount of trouble, anxiety and vexation which it involved. Without any disposition to boast, which is an offence against good taste, as well as good morals, it is not too much to say, that the book, both as a literary production and a book of devotion, reflects at least no discredit either upon the Committee, or upon the German Reformed Church, and will answer a useful purpose in the family and as a general guide to the ministers in preparing for the exercises of the sanctuary, even if it should never become an authoritative standard of worship. Whatever may be its ultimate fate, as an ecclesiastical standard, the Committee have the satisfaction that, in discharging the important trust committed to their hands, they did the best according the measure of their abilities and were guided by a pure regard to the spiritual welfare of the Church of their fathers.

We intended to condense all we have to say on the new Liturgy into one article. But as this historical account has extended beyond the limits originally contemplated, we must delay the critical *analysis* of the Liturgy to a future number of the Review. We would be still better satisfied, however, if another member of the Committee, or an outsider, well acquainted with the general subject of Liturgies, would relieve us of this delicate task.

P. S.

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