

Kaleidoscope

Course-book for
'Understanding the History of the Church'

A Lay-Training Course
Of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines

St. Andrew's Theological Seminary
Quezon City, Manila

Preface

This course-book was produced for the Lay-Training program offered by St. Andrew's Seminary from November 2006. The contents are drawn from the notes I used for teaching General Church History 1 & 2 in 2003-4 with supplementary material. The longer chapters include material on the same subject delivered at perhaps three or even four classes.

I am most grateful to include, with their permission, as:

- ch. 27 – Fr. Apolonio Ranche's historical sketch of the IFI as found in the current IFI website, and
- ch. 28 – Bishop Edward Malecdan's notes on the history of the ECP as found in the church's Centennial brochure, published in 2001.

In the summer of 2007 I revised the course-book, correcting typographical and factual errors, augmenting the contents of various chapters and adding three entirely new ones: 'Some Important Post-Nicene Fathers', 'Scholasticism' and 'The Methodists', all of which cried out for attention. I am most grateful to Dr. Joseph Frary for kindly reading my earlier chapter on 'America's Spiritual Development' and suggesting how the information on the Episcopal Church might be supplemented.

Now, for this third edition, I have added a chapter on 'Early British Christianity' which seems an important topic for those wishing to trace the roots of Anglicanism, and updated as best I can the statistics in chapter 26.

There is considerably too much material in this book for a course of 16-18 weeks. The course leader will therefore need to select which chapters s/he thinks essential and ask the members of the group to choose others that particularly interest them. The leader must decide his or her own teaching method but perhaps a good approach would be to ask the group to read beforehand the chapter for the next session noting down questions and comments for discussion.

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The Early Church

Ch.1 The Birth of the Church in the Fullness of Time

Gal.4.3-5

‘In the fullness of time’, when everything was ready, God chose to fulfil many ancient prophecies:

- A child to be born of a virgin (Is.7:14, LXX) called Immanuel
- A Davidic ruler who was also divine (Is.9, 11)
- God would come and bring healing to the sick (Is.35.5-6)
- God’s servant would suffer in the place of many sinners (Is.53)
- The establishment of a new covenant (Jer.31:31; cf. 1 Cor.11:25)

Jesus ministered almost entirely to the Jews (Mt.15:24) but his ‘Great Commission’ was to make disciples of all nations (Mt.28.19), for which they would need his constant presence in the form of the Holy Spirit, whose coming fulfilled yet another prophecy (Joel 2:28-9, Acts 2).

If the birth of Christ was in God’s perfect timing, so was the birth of the Church. When it set out on its daunting task of world evangelism it found:

- A common language throughout the Eastern Mediterranean world and beyond: Greek spread by the 4th C. BC conquests of Alexander the Great (356-323)
- Peace, law and order and fine straight roads established by the Romans throughout their Empire
- Jewish Colonies (Dispersion) far and wide, presenting an excellent starting point for mission. These had a large fringe of Gentile ‘God-fearers’ delighted to find in Christianity all the benefits of Judaism (monotheism, ancient books, fine moral laws) without its drawbacks (nationalism, circumcision and so much legal ‘red tape’) – Acts 13:43-5 etc.

First-Century Church (New Testament)

Characterised by:

- Missionary zeal, bringing both success and hostility
- Missionary strategy : follow the Holy Spirit’s direct guidance when given (Ac.13:2; 16:6-10), otherwise make for strategic centers: Ephesus, Corinth, Rome etc from where the Gospel could percolate out to surrounding areas; visit the synagogues first
- Simple, clear message: Jesus is the promised Messiah before whom all will be judged, who died to save now all who turn to him in repentance and faith and are baptized (speeches of Acts e.g. Acts 2:22-40, 17:30-1, 1 Cor.15:3-4)
- Shared possessions (Ac.2:44-5, 4:32-end, Phil.4:15-16 etc)
- Facing an array of problems posed by living in a pagan world (1 Cor. – various; Gal. – breaking away from legalistic Judaism; Col. – early heresy; etc) as well as Christ’s delayed return -2 Thess.

Ch.2 Second Century – Challenge and Development

1. Roman Writings on Early Christianity

- a) Tacitus about the Fire of Rome, AD 64 (*Annals* 15.44; written about 50 years later): Christians in Rome were hated for their ‘crimes’, tortured to death as Nero’s scapegoats for the fire. The passage acknowledges that their founder was Christ, put to death by Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius Caesar.
- b) Pliny’s letter to Emperor Trajan, c. AD 112:
There are so many Christians here (Bythinia, N. Asia Minor) that pagan temples are being deserted. Some people are being accused to me of being Christians, including in an anonymous pamphlet. I have put to death those who persisted and refused to worship the gods and curse Christ. Such of their activities as I have been able to investigate seem quite innocent. Trajan’s reply: You have done right, but anonymous accusations must be disregarded.

2. Christian Writers and Writings

- a) The Apostolic Fathers : Christian writings from the first 50 years after the apostles; include:

- (1) First Epistle of Clement (of Rome), AD 97

(Rather tedious to read because packed with OT quotations.) Clement as head of the Church in Rome, it seems (though not calling himself ‘bishop’), is writing to the Church of Corinth to protest that they have no right to dismiss from the office of presbyter-bishop those appointed by the apostles and their successors.

- (2) Didache, c.AD 100, Syria

The earliest ‘church order’ – includes regulations on baptism, fasting, prayer, prophets...

- (3) Letters of Ignatius of Antioch, c.AD 107

Written on his way across Asia Minor to martyrdom in Rome; addressed to churches along route and to Polycarp, young bishop of Smyrna. His letters display his vigorous spirituality and passionate desire for martyrdom.

- (4) The Shepherd of Hermas, c.AD 140?

A complex work of Christian prophecy consisting of 5 Visions, 12 Instructions on Christian behaviour and 10 Parables about Christian principles. Very popular for a while but a bit obscure.

- b) The Apologists

Philosophically educated Greek Christians who, in the second half of the 2nd century, addressed their defences of the Christian faith to the Roman emperors, but also had a far wider audience in view. The most important apologist is Justin Martyr. Their aims were:

- To refute the charges being levelled at the Church and show that in fact Christians are exemplary in behaviour and a benefit to society
- To expose the absurdities of paganism, and
- To present Christianity as the supreme truth.

Justin Martyr (c.AD 100-165)

Born of pagan parents in Samaria. As a young man, in his quest for truth, he investigated a number of Greek philosophies before one day falling into discussion with an elderly Christian, who directed him to read the OT prophets. This played a major part in his conversion to Christ. He then, as a Christian philosopher, taught the faith in Ephesus and then Rome. Of his writings we have two *Apologies* and a *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. The *Apologies* give a reasoned defence of the faith to pagans, the *Dialogue* deals with Jewish criticisms. The other main apologists were Athenagoras of Athens, Tatian the Syrian (once a student of Justin; later in Syria he produced a harmony of the 4 gospels, the *Diatessaron*, and practised an extreme, ascetic form of Christianity), and Theophilus, 6th bishop of Antioch in Syria. These three writers do not mention the name of Jesus but refer to him as the Logos (Word) of God.

c) Irenaeus (c.140-200)

A native of Smyrna in Asia Minor, it seems, where, as a youth, he listened to the elderly Polycarp. He became bishop of Lyons in 177. He was the most important theologian of the 2nd C. Of his writings *Refutation and Overthrow of Falsely Called Knowledge* and *Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching* survive. He came from a church of martyrs, believed the Holy Spirit to be central to the life of the Church and spoke of the use of the charismatic gifts including healing, and he is our major source of information about the Gnostics against which he delivered a powerful blow.

3. Developments in the Church

(a) The Ministry

In the earliest Church, like the parts of a body, every member had a ministry. St. Paul (c.AD 53) gives a list of apparently the most important in 1 Cor. 12:28: apostles, prophets, teachers, healers, (other) miracle workers, carers, administrators and speakers in tongues. A little later (c.AD 63) in Eph.4:11 he lists as God's gifts to the Church: apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers to equip Church members for ministry themselves. In the local churches the apostles founded we hear they appointed presbyters (elders) as leaders (Acts 14:23). This followed the pattern of leadership in the Jewish synagogues. We also hear of local officers called bishops ('overseers') and deacons ('servants'). In NT times the terms 'presbyter' and 'bishop' referred to the same office (Titus 1:5, 7).

At the end of the 1st C Clement of Rome still uses these terms interchangeably (1 *Clem.* 44.1). However, about this time, in some places at least, the leading presbyter appears to have become known as bishop. Time and again Ignatius in his letters speaks of the three-fold office of bishop, presbyters and deacons (*Eph.* 3-6 etc). The bishop as single leader was to be the focus of unity of the local church, and the preserver of true apostolic teaching. (*Magn.* 6) etc. Irenaeus,

much later in the century, goes a stage further. He speaks of a succession of bishops in local churches guaranteeing apostolic teaching in them. (*Haer.*3.3.4)

(b) The Sacraments

- (1) Baptism: *Didache* 7: Immerse candidates, if possible, otherwise sprinkle them 'in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit'. Candidate, minister and perhaps others are to fast for a day or two before.

Justin (*I Apol.* 61): Faith, commitment, fasting (implying penitence) and prayer are needed before baptism. The candidate is born again through washing in the three-fold Name.

- (2) Eucharist: *Didache* 9: Gives preliminary prayers to be said over the chalice and bread. Only the baptized are allowed to partake. There is a post-communion prayer.

Justin (*I Apol.* 65-7): On Sundays Christians gather from a wide area. There are readings from 'the memoirs' of the apostles or the writings of the prophets, then a sermon by the president based on these. Then all stand and pray together. Kiss of peace. President's extempore prayer of thanksgiving over the bread and mixed cup. All respond at the end with 'Amen'. Deacons then distribute to those present and take to the absent. It is called the 'Eucharist'. Only baptized believers may partake because it is not ordinary bread and drink but the flesh and blood of Jesus.

(c) The Canon of Scripture

'Canon' (Gk. 'measuring rod') came to mean an authorised list (of books). The books ultimately put in our NT were those believed to be written by the Apostles or their close associates. Some of our NT books were quoted respectfully by the Apostolic Fathers and Justin. Clearly they were read at the Eucharist. A trigger for forming an authorised list was clearly the heretic Marcion, son of a bishop in Pontus. He joined the Church in Rome c.140, came under the influence of the Gnostic Cerdo, developed a further standpoint of his own and was expelled from the Church in 144. He believed that the just and jealous god of the OT is much inferior to the good God revealed by Jesus Christ. He therefore rejected the OT and drew up his own canon of Scripture: St. Luke's Gospel, edited to remove references to the OT, and a collection of ten of St. Paul's epistles. Irenaeus (Gaul, c.180) and later Christian writers set about refuting him. The Muratorian Canon (c.200 or earlier, Rome) lists all our NT except Hebrews, James, 1 & 2 Peter and mentions just a 'couple' of letters of John, adds one or two extra items and excludes the Shepherd of Hermas and various heretical works. (Bettenson, II.III.III) Irenaeus speaks of the 'New Testament' as on a par with the 'Old Testament'.

(d) Martyrdom

The statements of Tacitus and Pliny reveal that, from very early in the life of the Church, it was illegal to be a Christian and punishable by death. There was not continuous persecution, but there were sporadic outbursts, as from time to time Christians were reported to the Roman authorities. Some Christians faced death with outstanding courage and the blood of the martyrs proved to be 'the seed of the Church'. Justin's trial and condemnation (165) is recorded, as are the arena

deaths of the elderly Polycarp (155) and the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne (177) – the last two are in Bettenson.

What do we suffer for our allegiance to Christ in comparison?

(e) Heresy

‘Heresy’ is departure from the true faith of the Church, either by the exaggerated use of human reason or through a claimed special revelation. Some early heresies:

- (1) Docetism (Gk. *dokeo* ‘I seem’): Jesus only *seemed* to be a real man, or to die on the Cross. The Apostle John knew of such views (1 Jn.4:1-3). Ignatius attacked such views. Often combined with other heresies.
- (2) Ebionites (Heb. ‘poor ones’): Jewish ‘Christians’ who said Jesus was only the human son of Joseph and Mary, inspired by the Holy Spirit at his baptism. They stressed that the whole Jewish law was still binding.
- (3) Montanists: Followers of Montanus and his two prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla in Phrygia, central Asia Minor. Montanus claimed to be the fulfilment of the promises of the Paraclete (‘Comforter’ etc) in Jn.14 -16. He and his prophetesses went into trance and prophesied the imminent end of the world, practised rigid asceticism and encouraged martyrdom. In recent times charismatics, feminists and others have seen them as genuine Christians but misunderstood by the increasingly mundane mainline of the Church.
- (4) Gnostics
‘Gnosticism’ (from Gk. *gnōsis*, ‘knowledge’) embraces a large and varied movement from the 2nd C. Each Gnostic sect had its own myth about the origin of the world, but perhaps one may summarize their general approach:

In the beginning the Supreme First Cause existed alone. Then from him came out a series of spiritual powers (‘aeons’), cooling off, as it were, in goodness and power as they moved from him. The lowest of these, led by the wrathful god of the Jews were hostile to him. Man was their creation. Yet man (or certain chosen ones) had within a spark of light. To awaken this to its true nature a Redeemer was sent by the Supreme Cause. If a man received his teaching (gnosis) and joined the sect, he was assured of ultimate release from his material body at death, rising by uttering correct passwords through the various spiritual realms up to the Supreme One.

In their contempt for matter some Gnostic sects were flagrantly immoral. Others were strongly ascetic and forbade marriage. None would suffer martyrdom for his belief. The origins of Gnosticism lay in a ‘pick and mix’ approach combining the philosophy of Plato, Iranian religion, Babylonian astrology, anti-Judaism and, from Christianity, the idea of a redeemer. Though the refutations of Irenaeus and others effectively separated them from the Church, they persisted for several centuries, their teachings evolving as time passed.

Ch.3 **The Third Century : Growth and Persecution**

Christian Life at the Turn of the 2nd Century

In his famous *Apology* (c.197) the North African writer Tertullian reveals there was a price to be paid for being a Christian. Christians were mocked for their 'foolish' beliefs. Yet their services as exorcists were valued, they prayed for the well-being of the emperor, and they were renowned for their care for one another. So, do your worst in persecuting us, he challenges the magistrates, "The blood of Christians is the seed of the church."!

Worship

The *Apostolic Tradition* (Rome, c.215) tells us about:

Baptism: there is preliminary exorcism; the children receive baptism first with parents or another family member making promises for them; adults recite something close to our Apostles' Creed in answer to three questions about their faith; the laying on of the bishop's hand and anointing are part of the complex ceremony.

Eucharist: (less than a full description, e.g. no words of institution)

Other aspects of the Christian Life: Ordination of clergy, fasting, prayer, the agape, making the sign of the cross 'if you are tempted' ...

Persecution

The emperor Trajan's policy about Christians remained in force into the 3rd C. There were only occasional and local persecutions. In 202, however, the emperor Septimus Severus, finding Christians and Jews would not simply merge in with other religions, may have passed an edict forbidding the making of new converts on pain of death, for there were some prominent martyrdoms: the wealthy Perpetua and her servant Felicitas in Carthage, Origen's father in Alexandria. Under Maximin there was a brief persecution in Rome which saw the death of leading figures Hippolytus and Pontian. But in 250 the emperor Decius, a traditionalist who thought the welfare of the empire depended on the favour of the Roman gods, ordered an empire-wide sacrifice to the gods in which *all* must take part. Those who did so were given certificates. A number of prominent Church leaders were exemplary: Bishop Fabian of Rome and the Bishop of Antioch were tried and executed and the Bishop of Jerusalem died in prison. In North Africa Bishop Cyprian went into hiding, but it appears the vast majority of Christians sacrificed. It was similar in Alexandria. In 251 Decius was killed in battle by the Goths and the persecution stopped. Then came the problem of dealing with the lapsed. In 257 the emperor Valerian turned upon the Christians again, ordering compliance with the traditional religion. Some Church leaders were arrested including Cyprian, who courageously professed his faith and was martyred in 258. In 260 Valerian was captured by the Persians at Edessa.

Facing the Plague

In Alexandria, after the persecution came the plague. Bishop Dionysius, in his 263 Easter letter, points out the valiant care of Christians, tending their sick and dead though this might mean they themselves also were struck down. How this contrasted with the pagans, who threw their sick onto the streets and left their dead unburied! (Eusebius, *H.E.* 7.22)

Some Important Fathers

(a) Tertullian (c.160 – 230)

An adult convert with an acute legal mind, who wrote in Latin and Greek, he is the first theologian of the North African church and coined the term ‘trinity’ for the Godhead. He wrote prolifically on a wide range of subjects: from short works on patience, prayer and baptism to a masterful 5-volume refutation of Marcion. In time his admiration of the charismatic gifts and his extreme asceticism led him to become a Montanist and his later writings betray a degree of bitterness as he defends their prophets against the view of the mainstream Church. It is doubtful whether he made a complete break from the Church as his writings were preserved and his earlier works, particularly his *Apology* (197), were recognised as effective in promoting the welfare of the Church.

(b) Hippolytus (c.170-236)

The most important 3rd C theologian of the Church in Rome. His wide interests are shown in the many diverse writings attributed to him. His most important appears to have been a *Refutation of All Heresies*. Of great interest too is the *Apostolic Tradition*, a church order written c. 215, edited by others later. A presbyter in Rome, he would not accept the teaching of Pope Zephyrinus or of his successor Callistus, whom he rejected as a heretic, and against whom he seems to have allowed himself to be elected as a rival Bishop of Rome. He remained in schism it seems until both he and his rival Pontian were sent by the emperor Maximin in 235 to Sardinia, where it is believed they were reconciled before being martyred. In 1551 a statue of Hippolytus seated with the titles of some of his writings listed on its base was discovered in Rome.

(c) Cyprian (c.200-258)

From a wealthy land-owning family in North Africa, Cyprian was converted c.246. Soon after baptism he was ordained presbyter and, in 249, elected bishop of Carthage. He was much influenced by the writings of Tertullian whom, Jerome says, he viewed as his teacher. His own writings were largely brief and pastoral. His collected letters (65 by himself and 16 replies) give remarkable insight into the life of the North African Church in the mid-3rd C, a time of persecution, apostasy and plague. He was martyred in 258.

(d) Origen (c.185-254)

Origen is generally recognised today as the greatest theologian of the Eastern Patristic Church. Details of his life are given by Eusebius in *H.E.*6.1-39. Born into a strongly Christian family in Alexandria Origen received a good education both in the Scriptures and in secular Greek writings. Before he was 17 his father was martyred... By 18 he had been made head of the catechetical school in Alexandria. By 212 he began work on what was to be the *Hexapla*... He was a strict ascetic who took Mt.19.12 literally, mutilating himself. He also wrote a number of massive Bible commentaries and the first work of systematic theology *On First Principles*, which is rather speculative in speaking of the pre-existence of souls, but also explains Origen’s view that Scripture should be read at three levels: the literal (for ‘simple’ Christians), the moral and the spiritual

(allegorical). His fame as a scholar spread far and wide and he travelled abroad. On one such trip to Palestine c.230 he was ordained presbyter which antagonised his bishop in Alexandria. By 232 he had moved to Caesarea where he established another catechetical school and worked further on his commentaries and other books and preached perhaps 500 sermons, over half of which survive, most in Latin translation. In 248 he wrote an important apology *Against Celsus* refuting the earlier work of that anti-Christian writer, *The True Doctrine* (c.180). In the Decian persecution of 250 he was arrested and cruelly tortured, dying c.254 at Tyre.

(e) Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260-339)

Eusebius spent his youth in Palestine and became a pupil of Pamphilus through whom he had access to an excellent library and from whom he developed a great love of Origen. When Pamphilus was martyred in 310 Eusebius fled to Tyre and then to Egypt where he was imprisoned for some months. By 315 he was Bishop of Caesarea. He became a supporter of Arius and was condemned by the Council of Antioch (324) but exonerated at the Council of Nicea (325). A great admirer of Constantine, he delivered the public oration in 336 in honor of the thirtieth anniversary of the emperor's accession to power. He died in 339.

Like Origen, Eusebius was a prolific writer but is best known for his *Ecclesiastical History* (completed and revised by 325), notable for its extensive quotation of original documents. Scarcely less important are his massive *Preparation for the Gospel* and *Demonstration of the Gospel*, written 312-318 as a massive apology for Christianity, again characterised by massive quotation from other writers.

Ch.4 **Constantine and the End of the Persecution**

After the dreadful disgrace of or the Roman emperor Valerian's capture (and presumably execution) by the Persians in 260 his son Gallienus, who succeeded him, immediately issued an edict of toleration granting bishops back their churches and cemeteries. But he and his successors had short reigns. The Empire was plagued by inflation and attacks by hordes of barbarian raiders. Only with the accession of the emperor Diocletian in 284 did stability return. He shared power at first with one other, Maximian, whom, in 286, he made Augustus of the West of the empire and then, in 293, he made Galerius his Caesar (assistant) in the East and Constantius Caesar for the West. Each had his own area of military oversight. Many battles were fought in the next few years bringing Roman victories concluding with that of Galerius over the Persians in 298. Diocletian also set about stabilising the currency and, in 301, issued an edict of fixed prices, though it soon became a dead letter. He was a prudent man but also a strong supporter of the traditional Roman religion, and, influenced by the less prudent Galerius, became a persecutor of the Church.

On February 23rd 303, the Feast of Terminalia, the campaign to terminate the Christians began. The Christian cathedral opposite the imperial palace at Nicomedia was razed to the ground. Soon an edict was published for churches throughout the Empire to be destroyed, Scriptures to be burnt, Christians who held high offices to lose their privileges, and others in the public service to be removed from their jobs. In the summer a second edict required all bishops to be imprisoned and compelled by all means to sacrifice. The prisons could not cope! Some leaders complied; more, it seems, refused. During the winter of 303-4 Diocletian became ill and effective control of the Empire fell to Galerius. In 304 he ordered a day of general sacrifice throughout the Empire. The penalty for non-compliance was death or the mines. Some showed tremendous faith and courage in defying the order, others complied.

On May 1st 305 Diocletian abdicated, forcing an unwilling Maximian to do likewise. Constantius and Galerius became Augusti and Severus and Maximin Daia (Galerius' nephew) were appointed new Caesars. Thereafter Maximin Daia assumed the role of chief persecutor of the Church. In 306 he issued another edict to sacrifice. He rebuilt pagan temples in every city under his control and appointed priests and high priests. Forged *Acts of Pilate* were produced, full of blasphemy against Christ. They were widely circulated and taught to children in school. In 311 Galerius, clearly dying, issued an edict of toleration, allowing Christians to meet again unmolested and requesting them to pray for him. After his death soon afterwards, however, Maximin encouraged pagan councils to petition him against the Christians. So persecution resumed.

In the West, however, persecution ceased with the abdication of Maximian. In Gaul and Britain, the area ruled by Constantius, only a few churches had been destroyed. In 306, as he was dying, his son Constantine managed to escape from the court of Galerius and travel to be with him in York. When Constantius died his troops proclaimed Constantine the new Augustus. Galerius said he could be Caesar. Meanwhile in Rome Maximian's son Maxentius was proclaimed Augustus by the Praetorian Guard. Constantine moved slowly into Gaul, then Spain. He received support from old Maximian and married his daughter Fausta. When later Maximian rebelled he forced him to commit suicide. In 312 Constantine invaded Italy. But how was he to defeat Maxentius, well fortified in Rome? In urgent need he implored the Sun(god) whom his father worshipped to tell him who he was and to help him. As he was still praying, shortly after noon, a cross of light appeared in the sky above the sun

with the inscription 'Conquer by this' attached to it. He and his army were amazed. The following night Christ appeared to him with the sign and instructed him to make it into a military standard to use in all his battles¹. Having done this he won the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, Maxentius being drowned in the Tiber. The following year, deeply grateful to the Christians' God, Constantine met with Licinius, now also an Augustus, and signed the Edict of Milan, making Christianity *for the first time* a fully legal religion. Licinius moved against Maximin Daia who fled, was defeated in battle, and died the same year. Licinius then took charge of the East. But soon there was friction between the two Augusti. Licinius, aware of Constantine's ambition to rule the entire Empire, and that in this he was supported by the prayers of the Christians, took on the role of persecutor. Ultimately he was defeated in battle in 324 by Constantine, who always went into battle under the emblem of the Christian God, at Chrysopolis, east of the Bosphorus and was put to death. Thus Constantine brought peace to the Empire. He also gave it economic stability. His gold *solidus* remained the currency of the Mediterranean world for centuries.

Constantine as a Christian

Constantine's victory at Milvian Bridge drew his allegiance to the God of the Christians, but for some time he seems to have been uncertain how to relate this to his previous worship of the Unconquered Sun. Coins minted at one mint continued to honour this deity till 323. Such ambiguity changed after his victory over Licinius. From much earlier he was convinced the Christian God had a special role for him. In 314 writing to Aelafius, Vicar of Africa, he speaks of himself as one 'to whose care, by his (God's) heavenly decree, he has entrusted the direction of all human affairs' (J. Stevenson, *New Eusebius*, 273). Eusebius reports that he once remarked to a gathering of bishops at a banquet, 'You are bishops of those within the Church, but I am perhaps a bishop appointed by God over those outside.' (*Life* 4.24) Some of his legislation bears this out. He made grants of money, food and clothing available from public funds for poor parents so that they need not to sell or expose their children. The branding of slaves on the face was forbidden because 'man was made in the image of God'. Crucifixion was abolished. Christian soldiers were allowed time off on Sundays to go to church, whilst the rest Constantine marched out to recite together a prayer he had composed! (*Life* 4.18-20)

He elevated quite a few Christians to high office, though others posed as Christians to reap the benefits. He exempted clergy from public office and its accompanying taxation. He gave large sums of public money for building splendid churches, including three in the Holy Land. He was horrified when he found division within the Church and made every effort to cure it.

Constantine was not, though, perfect. He was ruthless to potential rivals. Also, when his eldest son Crispus was implicated in a charge of adultery with his wife Fausta both were killed. Perhaps then it is not surprising that Constantine delayed his baptism until just a few days before his death. He was buried in a magnificent shrine in his Church of the Twelve Apostles in his new city Constantinople.

But is A.H.M. Jones (*Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*) right when he says that the effect on the Church of Constantine's support was largely bad?

The Beginnings of Monasticism

Jesus taught his disciples to be in the world but not of it. He did not shun it, but mixed with all strata of society, accepted invitations to dinner, drank wine, etc. While of course he set aside considerable times for solitude with the Father, he was not a rigorous ascetic.

Many Christians, however, have felt unable to preserve a mental attitude of detachment from the world without practising also a certain *physical* detachment. By and large being a member of the persecuted Church meant that one was well aware of detachment from the world. When persecution stopped and it became respectable to be a Christian this detachment could too easily be forgotten. In the 3rd C Christian nominalism grew. After Constantine embraced the Church it seems there were mass ‘conversions’ and much nominalism. Could better spirituality be found *outside* the regular life of the church? Hence the birth of Christian monasticism. Its cradle was the desert surrounding the Nile valley in Egypt. The desert was thought to be the special abode of demons (cf. Mt.4, Lk.4). Through solitude, prayer, Bible memorisation and ascetic practices the monks believed they could conquer the flesh and its desires, vanquish demons, and enter the deepest communion with God. Broadly speaking there were two types of monk:

1. the hermits (from *erēmos* ‘desert’) who lived independently, and
2. the cenobites (from *koinos* ‘common’ and *bios* ‘life’) who lived in communities bound by a common discipline or rule.

The founder of eremetical (hermit-type) monasticism is generally considered to be the Copt **Antony** (c.251-356), well known through a biography by Athanasius; the founder of cenobitic monasticism is considered to be **Pachomius** (c.290-346), a former soldier. Bishop **Basil** of Caesarea (c.330-379) added to the aim of growing in holiness the complementary aim of rendering service to society. He drew up a rule and established communities of 30 – 40 monks. They met for prayer six times during the day and twice at night. No extremes of asceticism were allowed. Houses were established in towns as well as the country so that monks could staff schools and hospitals. Each house was placed under the control of the local bishop. The *Rule* of St. Basil is preserved in longer and shorter forms and is the basis of Orthodox monasticism to this day.

In the cooler climate of the Western Europe monasticism took root and spread more slowly. To begin with it was largely an upper class movement. **Martin** (d.397) founded a monastery at Tours in Gaul (now France) which became a major center of missionary endeavor in Gaul and Britain. **Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and John Cassian** (c.360 – 435) were all important figures in developing such monasticism.

Note

1. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 1.26-9

Arius

Arius (d.336) from Antioch in Syria, was by the early 4th C a member of the Church of Alexandria. He was respected as an expert logician. At first he was a supporter of the rigorist Melitius of Lycopolis, then he changed sides and was ordained presbyter by Achillas, Bishop of Alexandria. He proved a popular preacher. According to 5th C historian Socrates, a dispute broke out when one day (c.319) Pope Alexander was lecturing his clergy on 'Unity in Trinity'. Arius, thinking him to be propounding the heresy of Sabellius (who, in the 3rd C, taught that God had appeared successively in different modes) put forward a radically different view:

'If the Father begat the Son, he that was begotten has a beginning of existence; and from this it is evident that there was when the Son was not. It therefore necessarily follows that he had his essence from the non-existent.' (Socrates, *H.E.*1.5)

God was for Arius emphatically the God of the Platonists. He wrote to Alexander that the traditional faith he received was: 'We acknowledge one God, alone unbegotten, alone everlasting...alone wise ...unalterable and unchangeable.'

If the Father is one, his essence cannot be shared with any other.

As the Father is alone unbegotten, the Son is begotten – there was a beginning of his existence.

As the Father is alone wise, the Son cannot fully understand him.

As the Father is unchangeable, the Son is susceptible to change and even sin.

Arius' doctrines caused a major stir in his home diocese. Alexander summoned a council of nearly 100 Egyptian bishops who condemned the obdurate presbyter. Arius appealed to other Eastern bishops including Eusebius of Nicomedia who chided Alexander. The controversy split Eastern Christendom. Constantine, having united the empire militarily, hoped a united Church would ensure its prosperity. He was horrified to find it so divided. First he sent his Western envoy, Hosius of Cordova, with a letter pleading with Alexander and Arius to be reconciled. When this failed Hosius convened a council at Antioch which sided with Alexander, condemned Arius and provisionally excommunicated Eusebius of Caesarea and two other bishops. Hearing this Constantine summoned 250 - 300 bishops to an Ecumenical Council at Nicea.

The Council of Nicea

It was opened with considerable pomp by the Emperor himself on May 20th 325. The East was widely represented but there were only about five bishops from the West and two Roman presbyters. The debate was fierce. Eusebius of Caesarea presented the baptismal creed of his church and was cleared of heresy. The Emperor sought to be a calming influence and himself proposed the term *homoousios* ('of the same substance') and, though many present felt this had the taint of Sabellianism, they dared not challenge him. The final Statement of Faith of the Council closed with a series of anathemas against false doctrines. All bishops signed the statement except two Egyptians who, with Arius were condemned and exiled. Two bishops who refused to sign the anathemas were banished to Gaul until 327. Whilst Constantine was pleased with the general success of the Council it seems most bishops, still harbouring Arian sympathies, were dissatisfied with it and interpreted the Creed

according to their own views. The doctrinal uniformity it achieved was thus paper thin.

Why was Arian doctrine dangerous?

Athanasius, who attended the Council as a deacon, in his later Anti-Arian Treatises gave 3 reasons:

1. Arianism undermined the doctrine of God by presupposing the divine Triad was not eternal, and virtually reintroduced polytheism.
2. Arianism made nonsense of established liturgical traditions – baptism in the Son’s name as well as the Father’s; offering prayer to the Son.
3. Arianism undermined the doctrine of redemption since only if the mediator was divine could he re-establish fellowship with God, imparting divine life to men.

After the Council

The victors of Nicea could not long enjoy their success. Athanasius, who had been elected bishop of Alexandria upon the death of Alexander in 328, aroused the animosity of a number of bishops and was pronounced deposed by a council in Tyre in 335. He appealed to Constantine and was receiving a sympathetic hearing until his opponents urged that he had threatened to prevent the corn fleet from sailing from Alexandria, upon which in fury the Emperor banished him to Gaul. With the death of Constantine in 337 Athanasius returned to his see, but intrigues continued.

The Empire was divided between the three sons of Constantine. They quarrelled and fought. Eventually, in 353 Constantius II emerged victorious, but he was under the influence of the Arian bishop Valens of Mursa. Four Christological parties vied for the supremacy of Christendom:

1. The Homoousians, led by Athanasius, who stood by the Nicene Creed.
2. The Homoiousians, who said Christ was ‘of like substance to’ (*homoiousios*) the Father.
3. The Anomoeans, who said Christ was ‘unlike’ (*anomoios*) the Father. (An extreme position)
4. The Homoeans, who said Christ was ‘like’ (*homoios*) the Father. (Valens of Mursa’s view)

At twin councils in 359: Ariminum in the West and Seleucia in the East Valens of Mursa’s view prevailed. As Jerome was later to comment, ‘The whole world groaned and wondered to find itself Arian.’ But this radical victory led the first two parties to explore common ground. Complete reconciliation was, however, only brought about by a group of theologians known as ‘the Cappadocian Fathers’: Basil of (Neo-) Caesarea (c.330-379), his friend Gregory of Nazianzus (c.329-390), and Basil’s younger brother Gregory of Nyssa (c.330-395).

Cappadocian Contributions to Theology

1. They defined *homoousios* in a way acceptable to the majority of Eastern bishops by making a hard and fast distinction between *ousia* (the essence of the Godhead shared by all three Persons) and *hypostasis* (the identifying quality of each of three Persons, i.e. ‘fatherhood’, ‘sonship’, ‘sanctification’).

A favourite analogy for the Godhead was that of three individuals, each having a distinct personality but all sharing common humanity.

2. As against the Arians, and the Pneumatomachians ('Spirit-fighters') who saw the Holy Spirit as a superior angel, they granted him full divine status. The Gregories explicitly granted that *homoousios* applied to the Spirit. When the Arians jibed that this implied God had two sons, they pointed to the different modes of origin – the Son was 'generated' by, the Spirit 'proceeded' from, the Father.

This paved the way for the supplemented Nicene Creed (almost our Creed) which was endorsed at the Council of Constantinople.

The Council of Constantinople (381)

This Council, attended by 150 Nicene bishops and 36 with Neo-Arian and Pneumatomachian sympathies though no bishop from the West, is generally recognized as the Second Ecumenical Council of the Church. It was summoned by the Emperor Theodosius I to unite Eastern Christendom on the basis of the Nicene Creed. This it did, supplementing it to state clearly the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

John Chrysostom (c.347-407)

John was the son of an army officer in Antioch. He received a secular education in rhetoric, and then was trained in theology by the Antiochene school. He sacrificed a good career in the civil service for the life of a Pachomian monk, but injured his stomach with severe mortification and returned to Antioch, where he was made a deacon in 381, presbyter in 386. He then began his outstanding ministry of preaching for which he received the title 'chrysostom' ('golden mouth'). In 398, against his will, he was made Patriarch of Constantinople and set about dealing with corruption. He was strongly ascetic and forthright. He criticized the Empress Eudoxia for taking over some property without due regards for the rights of the owners. Later he was ordered by the Emperor to try Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria for having had some Origenist monks beaten and expelled from Alexandria for saying it was wrong when praying to have in mind an anthropomorphic figure of God 'up there'. When he summoned Theophilus, the latter with a considerable number of Egyptian bishops bypassed Constantinople and set up a council at the Palace of the Oak in Chalcedon and condemned Chrysostom. He was exiled but restored after mass protests and an earthquake. Further criticism of the Empress brought him, in 404, permanent exile. In 407 he died as the result of forced travel in severe winter conditions. Later he was exonerated, his ashes were interred in the Apostolic Church of Constantinople, and he was created a 'Doctor of the Church'. A large number of his sermons have been preserved.

Ambrose (c.339-397)

Ambrose came from one of the few long-standing Christian aristocratic families in Rome. After legal and administrative training he became Governor of the province of Aemilia-Liguria at the age of 34. In 374, though only a catechumen, he was elected bishop of Milan. Baptism and then consecration as bishop followed in a matter of days, and then he devoted himself to serious theological study, helped by his knowledge of Greek. He proved an able preacher and, influenced by Origen, favored allegorical interpretation of Scripture. He soon showed himself a great ecclesiastical statesman, in 382 encouraging the young Emperor of the West, Gratian, to take important moves towards suppressing paganism in Rome, and in 385 effectively resisting the hostile moves of the Arian Empress Justina. In 390 he forced the Emperor Theodosius to make public penitence for ordering the butchery of 7,000 people in the circus at Thessalonica. Ambrose also made an important contribution to the development of hymnody in the Western Church; his preaching prepared the ground for the conversion of Augustine of Hippo. He is considered one of the four 'Doctors of the Western Church.'

Jerome (c.345-420)

Jerome belonged to a wealthy Christian family in Strido in N Italy. He received his higher education in Rome, where he acquired a great love of the Latin classics. After baptism at 19 he travelled with friends in Gaul, then renounced secular prospects for a life of asceticism and meditation and, with Rufinus and a few others, formed a small community near Aquilea c.370. A few years later he travelled east and settled in Antioch where he began to learn Greek and immersed himself again in the Latin classics. Fever and a painful vision led him to devote himself primarily to the Bible. Soon he went to spend several years in a cave in the desert near Chalcis, SE of

Antioch. There he learnt Hebrew, wrote letters and involved himself in theological controversy. After a few years he returned to Antioch and was ordained presbyter by Bishop Paulinus with whom he attended the Council of Constantinople (381). Next year he went to Rome to be theological adviser to Pope Damasus, who encouraged him to undertake the great work of his life – making a fresh translation of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek into Latin (the ‘Vulgate’). Soon after Damasus died he returned east and, in 386, and settled in Bethlehem where he founded a monastery.

For the rest of his life he devoted himself to theological scholarship, completing the Vulgate c.404, writing Bible commentaries, translating certain Greek documents into Latin, and composing *Concerning Illustrious Men* which contains much biographical information about earlier Fathers of the Church. He entered into fierce controversy with Rufinus by condemning Origen as heretical. He also took up Augustine’s cause against the Pelagians (though without any real appreciation of the theological issues at stake) and, in consequence, was besieged in his monastery by armed Pelagian monks! He is the second of the four great Doctors of the Western Church.

Augustine of Hippo (354-430)

Augustine was born in Thagaste, Numidia (N. Africa), of a pagan father, Patricius, and a devoutly Christian mother, Monica. He received his higher education in Carthage. There, at 17, took a mistress who bore him a son, Adeodatus. Reading Cicero’s *Hortensius* (now lost) he developed a passion for the truth. He turned to the Scriptures but was put off by the rough Latin of the translation then available and took up instead Manicheism (a late form of eastern Gnosticism), attracted by its appeal to reason, and adhered to it for 9 years. In 383 he went to Rome to teach rhetoric, and in 385 was appointed Public Orator of Milan. There he abandoned Manicheism, was moved by reading works of the Neoplatonists to believe that reality is non-material and evil has no independent existence, and by the thoughtful sermons of Ambrose. He studied the letters of St. Paul, in 386, was converted (recorded in his *Confessions* 8.12). At Easter 387 he and his son were baptised by Ambrose. They returned to N. Africa where, in 391, he was ordained presbyter. He became assistant to the elderly Bishop of Hippo and, after the latter’s death, in 396, was consecrated bishop in his place.

He wrote against the Manichees, and entered into major controversy with the schismatic Donatists. In 410, after the sack of Rome by Alaric and the Visigoths he began his great apology for Christianity *The City of God*, completed in 422. During 399-419 he wrote another major work, *On the Trinity*. His other great controversy was against the Pelagians, in which he insisted Adam’s sin had corrupted the entire human race which could only be saved by God’s grace through the Savior Jesus Christ. He believed only those chosen by God could be saved. The debate continued until Augustine’s death in 430 as the Vandals were besieging Hippo.

Augustine, the third of the Doctors of the Western Church, is arguably the greatest Christian theologian of all time. His prolific writings have been a major influence in the development of both Catholic and Protestant theology.

We do not know how Christianity first reached Britain. A 12th-century legend claims that Joseph of Arimathea arrived at Glastonbury in Somerset in SW England and planted his staff which grew into a flowering shrub known as the 'Glastonbury thorn'. Early evidence for such a notable missionary is completely lacking, but it is quite possible that Christianity took root first at Glastonbury, for Britain's main trading with Gaul and the Mediterranean was conducted via the Severn mouth and Glastonbury.

The earliest written testimony to the existence of Christianity in Britain dates from around the end of the 2nd century when Tertullian writes that even 'parts of the Britains inaccessible to the Romans were indeed conquered by Christ.' Origen, a few decades later, also lists Britain among the countries to which the Church has spread. The first British martyr appears to have been **Alban**, a citizen of Verulamium¹ who, giving shelter to a fugitive Christian presbyter was himself converted. He exchanged clothing with his guest and, while the latter escaped, he was sentenced to death. Whilst Bede dates the incident to the Diocletian persecution (AD 303-5)² most scholars today think he may have died in the persecution of Septimius Severus in AD 209. Bede says many other Christians suffered torture and death in the same persecution.

As in the wider Church moniscopacy must have soon developed, for three British bishops attended the Council of Arles in 314, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London and one other. The material poverty of the British Church is shown by the fact that the three British bishops at the Council of Ariminum (359) were the only ones to accept the imperial offer of a free return journey via the imperial postal service. Yet there is evidence that there were some well-to-do Christians in Britain by this time. Archeological evidence has shown that the Roman villa at Lullingstone in Kent in SE England was used for Christian worship by c.350; two of its rooms bore large chi rho monograms (Χ ρ the first two letters of 'Christ' in Greek) within roundels encircled by wreaths of fruit and flowers.³ From about the same date comes the silver treasure trove discovered at Water Newton, which includes the earliest communion chalice found in the West, and small triangular plaques with leaf pattern found in Romano-Celtic pagan worship, now stamped with the chi rho.⁴

Pelagianism

About the year 380 the monk Pelagius left Britain for the Continent. He never returned but his views⁵ were spread by Agricola and others. The British church, unable to refute these heretics, appealed to the church of Gaul who, in 429, sent them Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes. Not only did they refute the Pelagians, Germanus who had been a military commander in Gaul, led the timid Britons, it is claimed, to a bloodless victory over a united army of Picts (Scots) and Saxons with war cries of "Alleluia!"⁶ A further resurgence of Pelagianism brought Germanus back to Britain in 444-5, but this time he took the propagators of the heresy back with him to Gaul.

Evangelization of Scotland and Ireland

Evangelistic activity in Scotland began it seems in the 5th century with **Ninian**, a native of North Wales who studied in Rome and then at the monastery of St. Martin

of Tours in Gaul. He was then consecrated as missionary bishop among the southern Picts. He built a stone church and founded a monastery at Candida Casa ('white house') now Whithorn in Galloway, which became the base from which he made missionary tours.⁷

Outstanding for his evangelistic activity in Ireland in the 5th century was **Patrick**, now patron saint of Ireland. Born into a Christian family perhaps in NW England, at sixteen he was captured by a band of raiders and taken to Ireland where he spent six years as a herdsman before escaping to Britain. There he received a missionary call back to Ireland similar to that of St. Paul when he was summoned by a man of Macedonia (Acts 16:9) and he went to Gaul. About 432 he was consecrated bishop of Ireland and returned there. He undertook extensive evangelistic tours, encountering serious opposition from the Druids, though overcoming it. He went to tribal chiefs to win their support and then founded churches and monasteries. Each monastery was independent and administered by an abbot, who had among his monks perhaps a number of bishops with purely spiritual functions – confirmations, ordinations etc. He attempted to organize a diocesan system, but the only see with any degree of permanence was his own at Armagh. Towards the end of his life he wrote a moving *Confession* in Latin, though this was later embellished. A biography of him written by Adamnan, a 7th-century abbot of Iona, has some historical value but the facts of Patrick's life are the subject of much scholarly debate today.

From Ireland came the great Celtic missionary to the northern Picts, **Columba** (c.520-97). He was a member of the royal house of Niall of the Nine Hostages. He received a monastic training in the school of Finnian at Moville in County Down. It appears that, from a trip to Rome, Finnian brought back a copy of the four gospels in Jerome's Latin Vulgate edition. Columba secretly borrowed it and set about copying it. When he had almost completed his work Finnian discovered and demanded the copy. Columba refused to surrender it and the case was brought before Diarmuid, the high king of Ireland. He pronounced in favour of Finnian: "To every cow belongs her calf, to every book, its copy. The copy belongs to Finnian." This judgement appears to have been one of the factors that led to a great tribal battle at Culdreimhne in 561 in which 3,000 were slaughtered. Columba was excommunicated and in 563 left Ireland with a few companions and sailed to Scotland, arriving at the island of Iona where they built a monastery. This Irish settlement lay in the territory of King Brude of Inverness, high king of Pictland. After two years Columba visited Brude and, despite opposition from the Druids, the king was converted. Columba engaged in vigorous missionary work with the slogan 'Christ is my Druid', performed miracles, and broke the back of Druidism. He died eight days after Ethelbert, king of Kent, was baptized.

The Re-evangelization of England

In 407 the Roman legions had withdrawn from England leaving a power vacuum. During the 5th and 6th centuries the native Celts and the Romano-British attempted to resist the Pictish invaders from the north and the incursions of Angles, Saxons and Jutes from the south and east, but were eventually driven into Wales and Cornwall in the far west. The worship of Christ was replaced by that of Wodin and Thor (from which we get 'Wednesday' and 'Thursday'). The Celtic Christians felt little inclined to undertake missionary work among those who had deprived them of their land.

Gregory I's concern for the evangelization of England stemmed from a touching incident in his pre-papal days.⁸ In the market place in Rome he saw one day some boys being offered for sale as slaves. They had a fair complexion and fair hair.

He asked where they came from and was told they were Angles. “Not Angles but angels!” he retorted. On hearing their country was pagan he was horrified and offered himself for missionary work there. The offer was not accepted but later when he was pope he took the matter in hand. In 596 he sent Augustine, prior of St. Andrew’s Monastery in Rome to lead a missionary party to England. When en route, hearing of the ferocity of the English, he turned back but, recommissioned by Gregory, arrived on the island of Thanet off the coast of Kent with forty monks in 597 and sent messengers to Ethelbert, king of Kent, to announce his arrival. The king, whose wife Bertha was a Christian, received them kindly enough allowing them to settle in Canterbury. At first he was unwilling to desert his ancestral religion but after a while, impressed by the message, manner of life, and miracles of the visitors, was baptized, and many followed his lead. That autumn Augustine travelled to Arles where he was consecrated bishop. He kept in close contact with Gregory, consulting him about the smallest problems. In 601 the pope sent another party of monks from Rome and conferred on Augustine metropolitan status.⁹

Augustine knew of the existence of Celtic bishops and in 603 summoned some to a council at ‘Augustine’s Oak’. To the Celts he appeared like a chaplain to the high king (*bretwalda*) of the hated Saxon invaders, and his own authoritative bearing was also offensive. But they were impressed when a blind man was cured through his prayers and suggested a larger conference. This was arranged and attended by seven British bishops and a number of learned men chiefly from the monastery at Bangor in North Wales. They were not impressed however by his evident arrogance in refusing to rise when they entered, and they would not recognize his authority nor agree to change their customs which differed from Roman ones.¹⁰ Before he died c.605 Augustine consecrated bishops for London and Rochester.

The North of England

C. 625 Edwin, king of Northumbria, asked for the hand of Ethelberga, daughter of Ethelbert and Bertha. Being told she, as a Christian, was not allowed to marry a pagan he promised her complete freedom to practice her faith and professed willingness to examine the religion of Christ. So she travelled north, accompanied by Paulinus who had been consecrated for the see of York. Although Edwin was willing to hear the Gospel he long resisted accepting it. Eventually he and his council accepted the faith and were baptized at York on Easter Day 627. From that time he actively promoted Christianity in his kingdom. In 633 he was killed in battle against the Welsh king Cadwallan and king Penda of Mercia. Ethelberga and Paulinus fled south leaving only James the deacon to tend the northern Christians. But from Iona that same year came Oswald, son of Edwin’s predecessor. He defeated Cadwallan and became king of Northumbria. He sent to Iona for a monk to re-evangelize his kingdom. He was sent **Aidan**, a man characterized by gentleness and outgoing love, who was consecrated bishop in 635 and established his see on the island of Lindisfarne. There was the greatest warmth between Aidan and Oswald, the latter sometimes acting as interpreter for the former. Oswald was killed in battle by Penda in 642 but Aidan developed a similar relationship with his successor Oswin. It is said Aidan died of grief at the murder of the latter by Oswy in 651.

Confrontation between the Roman and Celtic Missions

In 654 Oswy defeated Penda who had been ravaging his territory. In the peace that followed the divergences between the Roman and Celtic Christian practices became painfully obvious. Anticipating that, at the forthcoming Easter he, following the

Celtic pattern, would be celebrating Easter on April 14 while his wife, of Roman persuasion, would still be holding her Lenten fast (her Easter would be on April 21) Oswy summoned representatives of both sides to the Synod of Whitby in 664 to resolve the divergence. It was presided over by Hilda the Abbess of Whitby who was of the Northumbrian royal family. Colman of Lindisfarne spoke first and in support of the Celtic practice¹¹ claiming John the Apostle and Columba. In reply Wilfred, abbot of Ripon scorned the Celtic practice as a ridiculous divergence from universal practice:

The only people who are stupid enough to disagree with the whole world are these Scots and their obstinate adherents the Picts and Britons, who inhabit only a portion of these two islands in the remote ocean. (Bede, 3.25)

He showed that John the Apostle did not in fact follow the Celtic pattern but the Jewish one in calculating Passover, and asked how Columba could be compared with the Apostle Peter. In the end, hearing that both protagonists agreed that Peter held the keys to the kingdom of heaven, Oswy declared he would obey the Roman customs else when he came to the gates of heaven he might not be admitted! The Synod then decided in favor of the Roman practice for calculating Easter, in the conduct of baptism and the tonsure of monks (coronal instead of frontal tonsure). Although some Celts refused to accept the decision, the Roman customs prevailed from that time on.

Subsequent Consolidation of the Church

Shortly after Whitby pestilence swept the land leaving not only civil life but also the Church in chaos. Deusdedit of Canterbury died and his see was unoccupied until in 668 the pope consecrated **Theodore of Tarsus**, a 66-year-old Asiatic Greek monk residing in Rome, to fill the vacant see. To make sure he did not stray from Catholicism the pope sent with him a learned African monk Hadrian and an English monk Benedict Biscop. Soon after his arrival at Canterbury Theodore set off on a visitation throughout the country. Though seven sees had been established he found only three bishops in office including the Celt Chad at York and Wilfrid at Ripon. He reconsecrated Chad and sent him to Lichfield and placed Wilfrid in York. He then divided the large dioceses, eventually bringing the number to sixteen; he also did much to prepare for the parish system throughout the country.

In 672 or 673 Theodore summoned all his bishops to a synod at Hertford where he won their confidence and was able to propagate a series of canons on domestic matters including the observance of Easter and the non-interference of bishops with one another and with religious houses in their dioceses. Another major synod was held at Hatfield in 679 at which a declaration of orthodoxy was drawn up and sent to the pope. Theodore was the first archbishop that the whole of the English Church obeyed. He was deeply revered and consulted on a wide variety of matters. His judgements were collected in a work known as the *Penitentiale*, and some of his own writings survive. He died in 690.

Wilfrid (634-709)

We know the details of Wilfrid's life from a biography by his disciple Eddius Staphanus. Wilfred was a native of Northumbria and educated at the monastery at Lindisfarne but, dissatisfied with the Celtic religious life, went to study Roman ways first in Canterbury then in Rome. Then he returned to England, founding a monastery at Ripon where as abbot he introduced the Benedictine rule. Shortly after the Synod of Whitby he was invited to the see of York but shunned consecration by the Celtic

bishops, which he regarded as schismatics, and went to Gaul where he was consecrated by twelve Frankish bishops. Returning in 666 he found Chad had been consecrated for York and he had to retire to Ripon. In 669 Theodore placed him in York, which he appears to have ruled like a prince-bishop for eight years before he quarrelled with the king of Northumbria and was driven into exile. While he was absent Theodore divided his huge diocese into three: York, Lindisfarne and Lindsey, without his consent. Wilfrid travelled to Rome and secured papal backing granting him back his old see but, when he returned to it, the king of Northumbria imprisoned him and then exiled him again. He went as a missionary to Sussex in the south of England, a remaining pocket of paganism. In 686 he was reconciled to Theodore and returned to his old see at York where he worked for five years before again clashing with the king and departing to Lichfield. In 703 Berthwald of Canterbury summoned a synod which decreed he should resign from York. Again he went to Rome and secured papal backing but could not take up his post until the king died the next year. Then he voluntarily resigned, spending his last years as bishop of Hexham while residing at his monastery in Ripon. Wilfrid secured the Romanization of the English Church. Through Whitby Celtic practices were replaced by Roman ones. He introduced the Benedictine Rule to monasteries and Italian architecture into church buildings.

Bede (c.673-735)

The Venerable¹² Bede was the foremost scholar of Anglo-Saxon England and his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*¹³ (completed in 731) is the most important source for our understanding of early England. At the age of seven he was placed in a monastery at Wearmouth in NE England founded by Benedict Biscop. In 682 he was transferred to Biscop's new monastery at Jarrow. There he spent the rest of his life, apart from brief visits to Lindisfarne and York, as an ascetic and scholar. He was made a deacon at nineteen but not priested until he was thirty. He read widely in the library Biscop had built up and made a reputation for himself as a historian, theologian, scientist and poet. He wrote many Biblical commentaries, drawing heavily on the Western Fathers; he also wrote on the principals of calculating Easter according to the Roman practice, and introduced to England the BC/AD dating system. He was also concerned about pastoral matters and, in a letter written near the end of his life, emphasized the importance of episcopal visitation, confirmation and frequent communion. In 1899 Pope Leo XIII honoured him with the title 'Doctor of the Church'.

Notes

1. Modern St Albans.
2. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* 1.7.
3. See M. Deansley, *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church* (London: A & C Black, 1962), p.16.
4. Pictures in W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), p.553.
5. That human nature was not tainted by original sin and human beings can obey God fully using their own will-power without needing the grace of God.
6. Bede 1.20.
7. Bede 3.4.
8. Bede 2.1.
9. Made him archbishop.
10. Bede 2.2.
11. They used an 84 year cycle, observing the spring equinox on March 25 and Easter on the Sunday between the 14th and 21st days of the lunar month that followed the equinox. The Roman mission followed a 19 year cycle with the spring equinox on March 21st and Easter on the Sunday between the 15th and 21st days of the lunar month following the equinox
12. A title of respect conferred on him less than a century after his death.
13. Available in Penguin Classics, tr. by Leo Sherley-Price.

The Medieval Church

Ch.8 The Development of Monasticism

Benedictines

Benedict is known as the 'Father of Western Monasticism'. Born c.480 at Nursia in the Apennines (Italy) into an old Roman aristocratic family, he was educated in Rome. At 20, disgusted with the immorality of society around him, he retired to a cave near Subiaco in the hills east of Rome for the life of a hermit. Other monks gathered round him. Local jealousies led him to leave there with some of them for a remote spot at Monte Cassino halfway between Rome and Naples, where they destroyed a pagan altar and sacred grove and built a monastery. For the monks with him he served as abbot and, c.540, devised a rule of life, drawing on earlier ones by Basil, Augustine and especially the early 6th C *Rule of the Master*. His Rule¹ consists of 73 chapters and is relatively moderate and humane. The monks must promise to obey the abbot, have no private property, and agree to stay for life in the monastery. They are to live in silence, sleep in dormitories (chs.22, 55) and to take weekly turns at working in the kitchen and serving the other monks (ch.35). Offences led to a graduated scale of punishments (chs. 23-24). Central to the life of the community was worship, seven times a day and once in the night, justification being found in Ps.119:62, 164. Deansley² calculates that in mid-March the daily pattern would be:

2am monks rose and said Vigils or the night office, followed by an hour's meditation or reading.

4.30am Lauds (dawn). 6am Prime (sunrise) followed by reading until Terce at 9am. From 9.15am until 4pm there was work in the fields with a break for Sext (12 noon). 4pm None. 4.30pm Vespers. 5pm the daily meal³.

Collation (a reading) was at 5.45pm and the day ended with Compline at dusk (6pm). The service times varied with the length of the day. In winter the monks might get as much as 9½ hours of sleep, in summer much less though a two-hour siesta in the middle of the day. Mass was only on Sundays and holy days.

It is clear that Benedict did not intend to found an order but, in time, many other monasteries adopted his Rule. Later, abuses crept in and the Rule was relaxed. In some cases simony affected the post of abbot. A reform movement began in the early 10th C in Cluny.

Cluniacs

In 909 Duke William III of Aquitaine in France founded a small monastery, chose Berno, a monk known to be faithful to the Benedictine Rule, to be abbot and gave them his favourite hunting lodge in Burgundy as their base. Under a succession of good abbots it prospered. Great attention was given to the quality of the worship in the offices, which became longer and allowed less time for manual labour. There was also an emphasis on cultivating personal spiritual life, and sound economic organization. Other monasteries adopted their principles. Under Abbot Hugh (1049-1109) Cluny reached its greatest influence, with well over 1000 associated monasteries. In the 11th and 12th Cs the Cluniacs exercised decisive control on the life of the Church. Their leading figures came from noble families and the movement largely inspired the reforms of Pope Gregory VII. But its very success caused it

problems. Admirers gave it more land and, with increased profits, its monastery chapels came to be beautifully adorned with silver and gold. Its spiritual zeal was quenched and, in the later Middle Ages, its influence greatly declined.

Cistercians

The 12th C saw a great monastic revival. Robert, abbot of Molême in Burgundy and a few others who sought to keep Benedict's Rule in its strictness, but found the other monks preferred laxity, withdrew in 1098 and founded a new monastery at Cîteaux (Latin: Cistercium) near Dijon. They cleared the woods and the Duke of Burgundy helped them by having their cloister wall built and giving them sheep for their pasture. They were known as the order of the white monks because they made their monks' habits from cheap undyed wool from the sheep on their own estate. They believed in simplicity. No silver, gold or elaborate carving was allowed in their chapel. They were joined in 1112 by 22-year-old Bernard of Fontaines and thirty other young noblemen, including some of his brothers. With many others seeking to join them he soon established another monastery at Clairvaux where he became the abbot. Three other monasteries were established at the same time. A constitution was drawn up and presented to Pope Callistus II in 1119. Each house was autonomous but subject to an annual inspection. Each abbot also attended a General Chapter annually. Instructions were laid down for the election of abbots and for disciplinary procedures.

Cistercian monasteries were established on the edge of cultivated land. Cistercians cut down forests for pasture and so were the great agrarian developers of the 12th C. Their labour force consisted of *conversi*, lay-workers who themselves worked to a strict rule of life. The system proved very popular. By the time of Bernard's death (1153) there were 345 Cistercian houses, by the end of the 13th C 740 and, though then the system of *conversi* ceased, still some 700 of their monasteries remained to the eve of the Reformation.

Again their success proved their downfall. Surplus money they earned enabled them to extend their estates. Respectability blunted their spirituality and luxury crept in to replace austerity, e.g. at Les Dunes in Flanders.⁴

Austin (Augustinian) Canons

These were communities of clergy (clerks) serving cathedrals and parish churches who sought to live a common life of poverty, celibacy and obedience. Such groups sprang up all over Western Europe in the period 1075-1125. In the 12th C many adopted a simple rule derived from a letter of St. Augustine (*Epistle* 211) which stated they were:

- To have all things in common
- To pray together at appointed times
- To wear the same kind of dress, and
- To obey a superior

They were relatively small groups of clergy, bound by a discipline more informal and more flexible than in monasteries, who could take on parochial responsibilities or devote themselves to hospital or social work. Two of the great London hospitals, St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's, were formerly Augustinian houses. In 1339 those professing the rule of St. Austin were formally collected by Pope Benedict XII into an order.

Carthusians

This was a strictly contemplative order founded by St. Bruno in 1084 at the Grande Chartreuse in the Dauphine Alps, c.24 km north of Grenoble. The monks were vowed to silence and committed to mortification and renunciation of the world. They lived in individual cells and worked their own piece of garden. They devoted several hours every day to mental prayer. They met for the night office and Mass each day and for a meal on certain feast days. A rule was developed by the fifth abbot Guigo I and received the approval of Pope Innocent II in 1133. Gradually other 'charterhouses' were founded in all parts of Europe.

The Mendicant Orders (Friars)

'Mendicant' is from the Latin *mendico* 'I beg'. The two main orders were the Franciscans and Dominicans. As the Austin Canons and Cistercians best fitted the needs of Western society in the period 1050-1200, the Franciscans and Dominicans best fitted its needs in the 13th C. They belonged to the new environment of the towns and universities. They were known as 'friars' from the Latin *fratres* meaning 'brothers'.

Franciscans

St. Francis' proper name was Giovanni Bernardone. He was born in 1181/2. His father was a rich cloth merchant in Assisi in N. Italy, his mother was French. It was his love of French songs etc that led people to call him 'Francesco' ('little Frenchman') from which came 'Francis'. He assisted his father in business until he was 20. He was a high spirited and generous youth. Then, in a border dispute between Assisi and neighbouring Perugia, he was taken prisoner and held captive for a year. He returned home to his old carefree ways but then suffered a long illness. Setting off for war again in 1204 he had a vision directing him back to Assisi and began to become more serious. On a pilgrimage to Rome he was filled with pity for beggars outside St. Peter's Cathedral, exchanged clothes with one and spent a day begging. Returning home he broke with his former companions and just wanted to live a life of poverty, seeing it as an essential element in the imitation of Christ. When his father gave him money he just gave it away, so his father disinherited him. Francis, believing God would provide all his needs through alms, attached himself to an old priest living outside Assisi and took up a life of prayer and poverty. One morning c.1208 whilst attending Mass he heard in the Gospel reading Jesus' commission to the Twelve (Mt.10.7-10) and took it as a personal call to him to combine poverty with preaching. He would go to the towns and help the poor and sick there. Gradually he gathered a band of like-minded men around him. When they were twelve in number they went to Rome and secured the approval of Pope Innocent III, who specified they should be called *fratres minores* ('minor brothers'), wear dark grey habits and go barefoot. Returning home he sent his friars out two by two. He identified with the poverty of the towns showing it could be accepted with joy and lead to salvation. His movement spread fast. He allowed his friars no possessions.

In 1212 his ideas were accepted by Clare, a noble lady from Assisi, who formed a similar society centred on the church of St. Damiano. Her followers became known as the 'Clarisses' or 'Poor Clares' but, in keeping with those times, were a strictly enclosed order.

In 1217 he grouped his followers into provinces, each supervised by a 'minister'. Within each province there were custodies; within each custody the friaries each with a 'father guardian' in charge. Francis travelled through Europe preaching and collecting followers and, in 1219, visited Egypt. He saw his friars as having a worldwide mission. He returned home and in 1220 modified his Rule⁵ which, in 1223, received the approval of Pope Honorius III. Those wishing to become friars were to have a probationary year and then promise lifelong obedience to the order. He strictly commanded all brothers that they were to possess nothing and never to accept money directly or through an intermediary. They could labour so long as prayer and devotion did not suffer. Francis also drew up rules for a 'Third Order', who could keep their own property, act as 'spiritual friends' to the friars and receive money for them and spend it for their benefit. In 1220 he resigned leadership of the order. In 1224 he received the *stigmata*, and in 1226 he embraced 'Sister Death'. He was canonized in 1228.

Francis wished the distinguishing mark of the order to be complete poverty. Friars were to live by working and begging and the order could receive small legacies. But the rule that the order should own no property proved in time, with the need for settled houses, unworkable. The movement split over the issue: the 'Spirituals' sought to keep to the letter of Francis' Rule, the 'Conventuals' (moderate majority) wanted to change. In 1317/18 Pope John XXII permitted the order corporate ownership (i.e. it could own property but not the individual friars). Many 'Spirituals' went into schism under the name 'Fratricelli'.

In the 13th C the Franciscans were noted for their pastoral and preaching work. They tended lepers and other sick (which stimulated their study of medicine) and the dying. Preaching manuals were written for them, sometimes making use of humour, rhyme and stories. In 1300 a papal bull forbade them to preach at the time the local parish clergy were preaching. They were popular too for hearing confessions as afterwards they went away! They wrote manuals of devotion and paraphrase of the gospels in local languages.

In England there were schools for young friars in each friary and, in each custody, a school of liberal arts and theology. In 1236 Alexander of Hales, a professor at the University of Paris, joined the order and, before long, there were Franciscan teachers in all the major universities of W. Europe.

Dominicans

Dominic de Guzman was Spanish. He was born c.1172 in Caleruega, the son of a nobleman from the Castile. After ten years of study of arts and theology in Palencia he joined the Canons of the cathedral of Osma, which were then adopting the Rule of St. Augustine. By 1201 he was Subprior and, in 1203-5, accompanied Diego, the new Bishop of Osma on two journeys to N. Europe in the course of which he became interested in missionary work to pagans. On the way home he became involved in combating the Albigensian heretics (a sort of Medieval Gnostic movement). He adopted a disciplined lifestyle along with rigorous study and preaching, to get the better of the heretics. With the help of the local bishop he founded permanent community of preachers in Toulouse. Pope Innocent III suggested they adopt the Rule of St. Augustine and call themselves the 'Friars Preachers'. Dominic and Francis met and the former was sufficiently impressed to incorporate into his Rule the principal of absolute poverty. Dominic also emphasised study. In 1217 he began dispersing his order around the world, travelling through France, Spain and Italy

making foundations. Later they were despatched to many other countries. His movement was noted for its fine organization, and here it contrasted favourably with the less well organized Franciscans. He died in 1221 and was canonized in 1234.

The order was officially dedicated to preaching and the good of souls. From the outset study held a central place in its life. It started with individual and corporate poverty though, as with the Franciscans, the latter was unworkable and was ultimately abolished in 1475. The Dominicans' great emphasis on study quickly brought them into close association with the universities. By 1234 nine of the fifteen doctors of divinity in the university of Paris were, it seems, Dominicans. The order's General Chapter in 1228 stipulated that every Dominican community should have a friar in charge of theological studies, organising disputations and directing the reading of the students in the house. The order spread rapidly through Europe and into Asia. Dominicans followed the explorers of Portugal and Spain east and west. A Dominican was known as a *domini canis*, a 'dog of the Lord', running down heresy and ignorance. Popes used them extensively for preaching crusades, visitations, diplomatic missions and the Inquisition.

At Oxford University in the early 14th century there were 90 Dominicans and 84 Franciscans, which must have been well over 1/10th of the academic population of the university. Southern⁶ tells us they put excitement back into scholarship. Until they arrived the universities had mainly trained administrators. In contrast they studied theology and with some passion as they aimed to convert the world. The greatest names in medieval theology from 1250-1350 are names of friars, including, amongst the Dominicans, Thomas Aquinas and Meister Eckhard; among Franciscans, Duns Scotus and William of Ockham.

Notes

1. Conveniently printed in English in *Documents of the Christian Church* ed. by H. Bettenson, pp.161-179.
2. *A History of the Medieval Church 590-1500*, 4th ed., p.40
3. Or, in some cases, two, see *Rule*, chs 39-40, for further details.
4. Southern, *Western Society*, p.268.
5. See Bettenson, *Documenth*, pp.179-184.
6. *Western Society*, pp.298-9.

The Lombard invaders had long been a force in northern Italy and, after Stephen II had become pope, they besieged Rome. In 753 the pope, having sought in vain for help from the Byzantine emperor, crossed the Alps and formed an alliance with 'Pepin¹ the Short', Christian king of the Franks, conferring supreme political authority on him in exchange for his becoming protector of the Holy See. Pepin died in 768 leaving his kingdom divided between his sons Charles and Carloman. When Carloman died at the end of 771 Charles became sole emperor. When Hadrian was elected pope in 772 he sent to Charles for help against the Lombards. Charles obliged, defeating them and sending their king into exile in a Frankish monastery (!) and having himself crowned king of the Lombards. Then in 774 he spent a week in Rome over Easter at the tomb of St. Peter. On his departure Hadrian solemnly presented him with a collection of canons².

Charles had not been well educated but he desired to rectify that and c.775 appointed Peter of Pisa as his personal tutor in Latin. Also, in 782, he summoned the English scholar Alcuin from York to reside at his court and accompany him on his journeys. Other scholars too were drawn in. A high level of intellectual exchange developed between the court and the great monasteries of Charles' kingdom. Scholarly editions of Christian and some classical pagan writings were produced and accurate copies and translations made. Correct Latin grammar was insisted on. In place of the many dating systems then in use the one promoted by the Venerable Bede³, dividing history into BC and AD, was chosen. A new miniscule script was adopted – neat, carefully separating words, good for scholarship and administration.

Charles took a considerable interest in improving the standards of church life and promoting the Church's influence in his kingdom. Many of his early laws concerned the duties of bishops. They should stay in their dioceses, know canon law, stamp out pagan superstitious practices, examine the faith and learning of their clergy, and make sure the laity know the Lord's Prayer. Bishops and monasteries should establish schools for clergy and for boys in their local areas.

In 787 the Seventh Ecumenical Council that met at Nicea, presided over by Empress Irene, decided against iconoclasm (smashing of icons). The two papal legates who attended approved. Charles, regarded by the Greeks as illiterate, had not been invited and felt slighted. He denounced it as 'one filthy pond of hell'! Irene, who had proposed marriage between her son Constantine VI and Charles' daughter Rotrud, wishing to cement an alliance with Charles, changed her mind and allied herself to the Lombards of southern Italy instead. In 794 the Synod of Frankfurt (Germany), representing the churches of the Frankish territories, met and rejected this new Nicene Council, and denounced Pope Hadrian's support of it. Charles' theologians declared it was *not* an Ecumenical (i.e. worldwide) Council as it had not consulted the churches of the West, apart from Rome. Further, they said, icon veneration was not a sufficiently important subject for calling such a council. That the Council had been presided over by a woman assisted by Patriarch Terasios who had been so recently promoted from the laity just because he was an iconophile (icon lover), further discredited its proceedings. Moreover Terasios had declared the Holy Spirit proceeded 'from the Father through the Son', clearly lowering the status of the Spirit within the Trinity. Why should the Greeks object to the *filioque* clause (stating that the Holy Spirit 'proceeded from the Father *and from the Son*') added to the Nicene Creed in the West? As the Council of Constantinople (381) had added to the text of the Nicene Creed to clarify it, so the Western Church had the right to add the

phrase ‘and from the son’ to clarify the status of the Holy Spirit, said the Western theologians. Canons of the Synod also stressed the need for monks and nuns to adopt the Rule of St. Benedict, declared the importance of observing Sunday as the Lord’s Day, and attacked simony and various heresies. The Synod, though attended by two papal legates who supported its proceedings, nevertheless set the precedent of theologians putting forward views that differed from those of the papacy.

Charles’ kingdom included France, northern Spain, much of what is now Germany and the Lombards’ territory in northern Italy. In the 790s he conquered Saxons and Slavs, forcing baptism on the former who were pagans.⁴ C. 796 he chose the city of Aachen (today near where the western border of Germany joins the border between Holland and Belgium) to be a second Rome and Constantinople. He designed a great palace with a central octagonal chapel, built of coloured marble ornamented with precious metals and mosaics reminiscent of ancient Rome. In the vault of the chapel Christ and the elders were depicted in mosaic with the beasts of the Apocalypse (Rev. 4). In the palace he had constructed a throne resembling that of Solomon (1 Kings 10:18-20), containing cavities filled with holy relics. Thus he sought to empower himself with the supernatural power of the heavenly world. From the end of the 8th C Aachen was being referred to as a Second Rome. Later he made the link more explicit by placing in the palace three silver tables, one decorated with a map of the world, one with a map of Rome and one with a map of Constantinople. This was to be his center of government. Making alliances with the Caliph of Baghdad and other territories he received silk tents, carpets and exotic spices, all of which added to his prestige. Another gift from the Caliph caused special excitement: an elephant called Abulabaz, which reached Aachen in 802, adapted to the climate and accompanied Charles in his travels until it died in 810.

Meanwhile, in Rome in April 799 Pope Leo III had been kidnapped by a gang hired by nephews of his predecessor Hadrian who, with the accession of the new pope, had lost their positions of influence. They charged him with various crimes. Loyal servants of the pope rescued him and he fled across the Alps to Charles in Paderborn in central Saxony and stayed with him two months. In October Leo returned to Rome. In November 800 Charles himself came to Rome, cleared Leo of the charges against him and condemned Hadrian’s nephews. On Christmas Day in St. Peter’s Cathedral Leo placed a crown on Charles head and the Roman clergy and people acclaimed him Augustus (Emperor).

With the Caliph’s permission Charles established a community of Benedictines in Jerusalem. Eventually, in 812, the Byzantines recognised Charles as Emperor of the West and allowed him to include Croatia in his territories. The following year Charles passed the title of Emperor to his son Louis, simply instructing him to take the crown from the altar in the palace chapel and put it on his own head in front of the entire court. Neither Leo nor the local archbishop were permitted a role in the proceedings. Charles then retired from active government to devote himself to correcting biblical texts with the help of Greek and Syriac specialists ! He died in 814, aged about 72.

Charlemagne, as he is known (from Latin *Carolus magnus* = ‘Charles the Great’) had created strong central government in a kingdom inspired with Christian faith and learning. He was committed to the protection of the papacy yet showed independence of mind and readily appointed bishops in his domain. His son Louis ‘the Pious’ let the clergy and people elect their own bishops and he instituted other beneficial reforms. Upon his death the empire was split between his sons. Under his

grandson 'Charles the Fat' (881-7) most of the empire was reunited, but after his death split up again. The office of Western Emperor lacked institutional stability and, in time, became largely dependent on the popes for its legitimacy. Yet for the thousand years it continued Western kings, generals and aristocrats competed for papal coronation. It finally came to an end in 1806.

Notes

1. Or, more correctly, Pippin.
2. Canon law.
3. The greatest English scholar of the Anglo-Saxon period, who lived c.673-735, and is perhaps most famous for his *History of the Church* in England, available in Penguin Classics as *A History of the English Church and People*.
4. See Gonzales, *The Story of Christianity*, vol.1, pp.266-8.

The Early Church

The Church of Rome's pre-eminence was due to:

- Rome's being the capital of the Empire
- Rome's being the place of the martyrdom and burial of the apostles Peter and Paul

Increasingly her bishops claimed authority over other churches.

Stephen (254-7) in his dispute with Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, claimed to speak with St. Peter's authority. Cyprian accorded him primacy of honor but not authority. (cf. Canterbury in the Anglican Communion)

Damasus (366-84) and his successors viewed themselves as almost on a par with the emperors. They referred to the Roman church as 'the Apostolic See' and quoted the 'Petrine text' Mt.16:18 as theological justification for their attitude.

Innocent I (402-17) claimed that every dispute in Christendom should be submitted to the Apostolic See for its judgement.

Leo I (440-61) not only claimed supreme authority in the Church but, in the West, implemented it by appeal to secular power. Seeking recognition also in the East he sent his *Tome* (in Latin) to the Council of Ephesus (449) but it was not even read! It was applauded at the Council of Chalcedon (451) as being *in agreement with* the Statement of that council. On his own territory, however, Leo's powers as a statesman were impressive. In 452 he persuaded Attila and the Huns to withdraw north beyond the river Danube, and in 455 dissuaded the Vandals from setting fire to the city of Rome which they had sacked.

Gregory I (590-604) came from a wealthy Senatorial family in Rome. In 590, with great reluctance, he allowed himself to be consecrated pope and proved very able. The last Roman emperor in the West had been deposed in 476 and, when the Lombards cut communications between Rome and Ravenna in north-east Italy, where the Roman Exarch lived protected by marshes, papal officials took over collecting the land tax and distributing corn to the poor. He negotiated peace with the Lombards in 592-3. He fully maintained the Petrine claims of his predecessors, and vigorously promoted Benedictine monasticism. He made sure his candidates were elected as bishops and abbots. His *Pastoral Rule* sets out the pastoral duties of bishops, which he expected to be undertaken diligently. He was a great correspondent, keeping in close touch with kings and bishops. By his time the papacy was the largest land-owner in Italy, and perhaps also in Sicily and Africa. He appointed a rector (usually a priest) over each estate who was directly responsible to him for administering it. Thus he laid the basis of the Medieval papacy. He is the last of the original four Doctors of the Western Church.

The Early Medieval Period (c.700-1050)

The absence of a near and overshadowing secular power was indeed a factor in the development of papal power. From Gregory I on popes showed great skill in playing

off their enemies against one another. For nearly 200 years the Lombards were balanced against the Byzantines. Until Gregory III (731-41) the election of the pope had to be confirmed by Constantinople. Then the Byzantine fleet was destroyed and the Eastern empire's power over Italy waned. To meet the continuing threat of the Lombards popes turned to the Franks. Other factors contributing to the development of papal power were:

- The feudal structure of secular society (after AD 800) with the Holy Roman Emperor at the top facilitated people's understanding a similar spiritual structure with the Pope at the top.
- The medieval papacy's providing a useful appeal court for Europe.
- The growth of papal lands.

It was exceptional for a medieval pope to reign for more than five or six years. No 7th or 8th C pontificate compared in importance with that of Gregory I. In the 9th C there was another impressive pope in Nicholas (858-67). The papacy had been dominated by secular powers but he, realizing the weakness of the Franks by then, asserted papal power by:

- Summoning the Archbishop of Ravenna to Rome and, despite Frankish protection, when he refused to come excommunicating him and enforcing complete submission.
- Deposing bishops who had supported Lothair II, Prince of Lorraine, when he had repudiated his innocent wife Teutberga, despite the opposition of both Lothair and the Frankish king Louis II.
- Forcing Hincman, Archbishop of Reims, to submit to the coronation of Teutberga, whom he had opposed.
- Supporting Ignatius, deposed Patriarch of Constantinople, against the incumbent Patriarch Photius, and eventually being successful.

It was in Nicholas' pontificate that the False Decretals first made their appearance. There was no authorised collection of canon laws before the 12th C. Between 847 and 852, however, an anonymous writer with 'deep learning and skilled historical imagination' (Deansley) put together a collection of letters purporting to come from early bishops of the Church, the 'Donation of Constantine', and supposed canons from early councils which contained scraps of historical truths. They show a special concern for protecting diocesan bishops against metropolitans and laity and claim overriding papal authority to ensure this. Nicholas and indeed Catholic churchmen up to the 16th C accepted the Decretals as genuine. (Note: the 'Donation of Constantine' purports to be a letter from Constantine to Pope Silvester I in 315 declaring his see supreme over all other churches, and transferring to the pope the imperial power in Rome, Italy and all the Western provinces.) After Nicholas, pope followed pope often in disgraceful circumstances.

The Age of Growth (c.1050-1300)

A series of reforming popes from the mid-11th C on wished to restore the papacy to what they imagined it once was, as portrayed most conspicuously in the 'Donation of Constantine'.

Bruno of Toul went to Rome as a barefoot pilgrim and was elected Pope Leo IX (1048-54). At the Easter Synod of 1049 he enforced celibacy on the clergy from the rank of subdeacon upwards then, at councils in Italy, France and Germany, attacked

simony (the practice of buying and selling ecclesiastical posts) and other abuses. Less successful were his later ventures:

- Leading an army against the Normans who had settled in Sicily and Southern Italy, as a result of which he was captured and held prisoner till near his death.
- Sending as his legate to Constantinople Cardinal Humbert, whose tactless rigidity may have contributed to the 1054 schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Other reforming popes followed him. One of Leo's close circle of assistants, Hildebrand, was himself elected pope later as Gregory VII (1073-85). He claimed for himself the title 'Vicar of Christ'. He too issued decrees against clerical marriage and simony which proved to be of some success. He engaged in a long-running bruising conflict with the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV in which each declared the other mutually deposed. Henry had declared the pope 'a false monk', but eventually had to make public penance, before returning to Germany to quell a rebellion. Returning later he drove Gregory into exile. A similar turbulent relationship was fought out between his son Henry V and Pope Paschal II (1099-1118).

Eventually in 1122, at the Concordat of Worms, it was agreed that bishops should be freely elected by Church authorities though the emperor or his representative would be present. All confiscated Church property should be returned to the Church. Despite this, successive emperors still wished to control the election of popes and bishops and the conflict continued. With the death of Emperor Henry VI and Pope Celestine III in quick succession the new pope Innocent III was freely elected. His pontificate from 1198-1216 may be considered the climax of the Medieval papacy. Groomed in the papal service he was businesslike and legally minded. He established his authority in Italy, expelling German mercenaries from Sicily and elsewhere. He declared that, though the Imperial Electors had the right to choose an emperor the pope must have 'the right and authority of examining the person elected'. In France he compelled Philip Augustus to be reconciled with his Danish wife Ingeborg. In England he forced King John to recognise him as his feudal overlord and to accept Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. He made his authority felt from Scandinavia to Cyprus. He gave his patronage to the new orders of Franciscan and Dominican Friars. He had a hand in replacing the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople with the Latin Thomas Morosini, a Venetian, during the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

The 'Babylonian Captivity' and the Great Schism

Innocent III might achieve the overlordship of Western Europe he claimed in both spiritual and secular matters but, in the course of the 13th C, society had changed. A monetary economy had continued to develop giving power to the middle classes (bourgeoisie). They favoured strong central government to protect trade, suppress bandits, regulate coinage and end petty wars. They in turn could provide armies for a king. In France, England and the Scandinavian countries relatively strong monarchies developed. Nationalism undermined papal claims to universal authority.

Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303), an Italian, an expert in canon law who had come up through the ranks of the Curia (created Cardinal-deacon in 1281, Cardinal-priest in 1291), discovered this painfully. He had played his part in securing the resignation of his other-worldly Franciscan predecessor, Celestine V, incurring the hostility of the Fratricelli. At the beginning of his pontificate he also routed the

powerful Italian Cannona family, depriving them of their lands and castles and forcing them into exile, and he humbled Emperor Albert of Hapsburg, who had rebelled against his overlord and killed him. In 1296, in a professed attempt to get Edward I of England and Philip IV of France to end their dispute peacefully he issued the bull *Clericis Laicos*, forbidding them from taxing their clergy and thus depriving them of vital financial resources. He also declared Scotland a papal fiefdom and ordered Edward not to enter it. But these steps only provoked hostility and defiance. 1300 marked the high point of his pontificate. He proclaimed it a year of Jubilee and offered a plenary indulgence (total remission of sins) to all who visited the churches of the holy apostles Peter and Paul in Rome. In response the city was thronged with some 2 million pilgrims.

His relations with Philip IV deteriorated. Philip gave asylum to Sciarra Colonna, confiscated church lands and offered his sister to Emperor Albert as wife. Mutual abuse followed. In 1302 a papal bull was burnt in the king's presence. Boniface published the bull *Unam Sanctam* stating emphatically his spiritual and secular authority, and summoned the French bishops to Rome. Philip forbade them to leave France, threatening confiscation of their properties if they did. At a session of the French Estates General (the French Parliament) a close adviser of Philip, William Nogaret, accused Boniface of being a heretic, a sodomite and a false pope, and the assembly asked the king as 'guardian of the faith' to call a council to judge the 'false pope'. Boniface planned the king's excommunication but, before he could pronounce it he was kidnapped and his home sacked by a mob. He would not abdicate and so they humiliated him by making him sit backwards on a horse while being paraded through his home town of Anagni. Finally the pope was freed by supporters but, having returned to Rome, he no longer had respect and died within a short while.

His successor, elected by the cardinals, took the name Benedict XI. A Dominican, he was a far humbler man, and was concerned for reconciliation. Some thought he made too many concessions, but he would not allow Philip to have his desired council to try the dead pope. He himself died after a very short while; it was rumoured that he had been poisoned.

The 'Babylonian Captivity'

This name was coined by the Fratricelli who compared the popes' residence in Avignon from 1309-1377, under the domination of the French monarchy, to Israel's captivity in Babylon in the 6th C BC. The popes concerned were all Frenchmen.

Clement V (1309-1377) who, consecrated at Lyons, remained in France (from 1309 at Avignon), never visited Rome, and was very much under the influence of Philip IV. He created 24 cardinals (all but one French) including several of his relations – nepotism! He did not agree to Philip's demand for a posthumous trial of Boniface but did forgive Nogaret and, at Philip's request, suppressed the Knights Templar on the grounds of trumped up charges of heresy. In consequence the Grand Master of the order and 69 members were burnt. (They were later exonerated.) He did make some positive contributions in the field of education, encouraging the study of medicine and oriental languages and founding the universities of Orléans and Perugia.

John XXII (1316-34) reorganized the Curia and put papal finances on a sound basis though he introduced unpopular taxes to do so, and strove to make Avignon a cultural center, gathering artists, craftsmen and scholars. He also helped to prevent a major split in the Franciscan order.

Benedict XII (1334-42) was a considerable reformer, particularly of the Benedictines. He began building the most famous palace of the popes at Avignon. He had considered returning to Rome but was frustrated by the opposition of Louis VI and unrest in Italy.

Clement VI (1342-52) who, because of his French bias, proved unacceptable as a mediator in the 'Hundred Years War' between the English and French. He sought to make Avignon the intellectual and artistic center of Christendom. Despite his extravagant lifestyle he gave generously to the poor, especially during the Black Death of 1348-9.

Innocent VI (1352-62) had little claim to fame. When the Emperor Charles IV issued a Golden Bull laying down conditions for future elections of emperors Innocent protested that there was no reference to the papal right to veto or confirm the election. Charles threatened to confiscate church property if he took action against him and the pope backed down. Innocent planned to return to Rome but died before he could do so.

Urban V (1362-70) was a Benedictine and a reforming pope who actually returned to Rome and began restoration work, but the revolt of the papal state of Perugia and the outbreak of war between England and France made it desirable to return to Avignon.

Gregory XI (1370-78), after the way was prepared by the visionary Catherine of Siena, returned to Rome in 1377 to general rejoicing. He could not subdue the papal states and was considering returning to Avignon when he died. While in Rome he condemned the teachings of John Wycliffe, the 'Morning Star' of the Reformation.

Whilst in terms of administration having the center of the Western Church in Avignon was quite beneficial – it was more accessible for 4/5 inhabitants of Western Europe – the popes there were far too much under the domination of the French kings, their financial burden on the church increased, and many of them practised nepotism.

The Great Schism

When the cardinals were electing a successor to Gregory XI a Roman mob entered their building and demanded they choose an Italian. And so, in April 1378, they elected the Archbishop of Bari as Urban VI. He was of humble origin and austere life but proved tactless and overbearing and showed some signs of insanity. When he threatened to create an Italian majority in the College of Cardinals the existing cardinals withdrew, pronounced his election invalid due to the stress they had been subjected to, and in September elected Cardinal Robert of Geneva to be Clement VII. Urban would not back down and so there were two rival popes (or a 'pope' in Rome and an 'anti-pope' in Avignon). So started the 'Great Schism' which lasted from 1378-1417. Each leader attracted, on the whole, strongly nationalistic support. The rest of Europe was split between the two. The schism encouraged simony since each pope needed money to compete with the other. When Urban and later Clement died successors were elected.

Many church members were scandalised by the schism. In 1394 the theologians of the University of Paris proposed three ways to end the schism:

1. Both popes resign and one new one be elected.
2. Negotiation and arbitration between the two popes.

3. A General Council should be called to settle the dispute.

When the two popes failed to take courses 1 or 2 the cardinals called a General Council to meet at Pisa.

The Conciliar Movement

The Council of Pisa (1409)

The cardinals there declared both existing popes schismatics and heretics and therefore deposed. In their place they elected Cardinal Philargi, a Franciscan who took the name of Alexander V and promised to work for the reform of the Church. The two existing popes refused to accept the validity of the election and so the outcome was *three* rival popes! When, within a year, Alexander died John XXIII was elected in his place. He quickly took refuge with Emperor Sigismund of Germany.

The Council of Constance (1414-18)

This was called by John XXIII at the instigation of Sigismund who then presided. It included reformers and conservatives, both of whom wanted the schism to end. Huss, the Bohemian reformer, was tried as a heretic and, in 1415 burnt outside the walls of the city. John XXIII, seeing he was not viewed with sympathy fled, was captured and forced to resign. Gregory XII (Roman pope) resigned. Benedict XIII (Avignon anti-pope) was sidelined. In 1417 Cardinal Oddo Colonna was elected pope and took the name of Martin V. A number of reforming decrees were passed including one stating that there should be a succession of future General Councils. But Martin denied a General Council was superior to a pope and said reform must be left to him. The Chancellor of Paris University retorted that such a declaration would nullify all their proceedings including electing him! Martin dissolved the council in 1418.

The Council of Basel (1431-49)

The purposes of this council were to reform the Church and heal the schism with the Byzantine Church, as well as deal with the Hussite heresy continuing in Bohemia. Martin V summoned it and appointed Cardinal Cesarini to preside as his legate. He then died and his successor Eugenius IV decreed the council dissolved. It refused to adjourn. Emperor Sigismund persuaded him to withdraw his decree. There were successful negotiations with moderate Hussites. Various other reforms were put forward but the pope was not happy and, when a plea was received from Constantinople that it be held nearer there, he transferred it to Ferrara and later Florence. Those who remained at Basel deposed the pope as a heretic and elected one who took on the name of Felix V instead, but the renewal of the papal schism cost them their prestige. They moved in 1448 to Lausanne but the next year Felix resigned, and the council dissolved itself.

From that time on such councils would be subject to the pope and not vice versa.

‘Scholasticism’ is the name given to the body of teaching by a series of Christian thinkers who taught in the Medieval *schools* and universities from St. Anselm in the 11th C to St. Thomas Aquinas in the 13th C.

Anselm (c.1033-1109)

Anselm was the greatest theologian of the 11th C. Born at Aosta on the southern slopes of the Alps, he was the son of a Lombard landowner. He entered the monastery of Bec in Normandy (France) because of the fame of its abbot Lanfranc (another Italian) and, in 1078, became abbot when Lanfranc was called by William the Conqueror to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Later, in 1093, he himself reluctantly accepted the vacant see of Canterbury when called by William II. He was already in dispute with the king over the lands and tenants of the see and the conflict became even worse until it was settled in 1097. In 1098 Anselm visited Rome where he discovered the pope had condemned ‘lay-investiture’ (the practice of a lay ruler to give a nominated bishop his ring and crosier (staff) of office). In 1100 he was called back to England by the new king Henry II but stoutly maintained the pope’s ruling on lay-investiture and therefore was in conflict with the king until 1107. In his last two years Anselm was in dispute with the Archbishop of York over the primacy of Canterbury in the realm of England.

As a thinker and writer Anselm preferred to reason things out rather than just to quote Scripture and the teachings of the Fathers. He believed that what the Christian faith teaches is an essential part of a reasonable view of the world and life. He actually wrote many books (and letters) but is chiefly remembered for two writings:

The *Proslogion* in which he put forward the ‘Ontological Argument’ (argument from being or reality):

God is ‘the greatest conceivable being’.

If he exists only in the mind and not in reality he is clearly not the greatest conceivable being...

Therefore he exists in reality.

There was debate about the validity of this argument from the start!

Cur Deus Homo (Why (did) God (become a) Man?)

Jesus spoke of giving his life ‘a ransom for many’ (Mk.10:45). Earlier theologians had speculated as to whom had the ransom been paid? Origen and others had said the devil. Anselm focuses on the need for satisfaction, payment of what is due for man’s sin:

The importance of a crime is measured by the importance of the one against whom it is committed.

Therefore man’s sin against God is infinite in its effect.

Man must pay but no ordinary human is able to do so.

Only the God-man can make satisfaction for sins.

Abelard (1079-1142)

Born in Brittany (France), Abelard was the son of a knight. Having a lively and independent mind he scorned his teachers and refuted their arguments and thus early made enemies. His later autobiography *History of Calamities* tells the story. He went

on to become a very popular theological teacher in Paris, who used in his arguments the newly discovered works of Aristotle on logic. His best known book is *Yes and No*, which shocked people by posing 158 theological questions and quoting Scriptural and Patristic answers that did not agree with each other. His purpose was to challenge his readers to find a way of reconciling apparently contradictory answers.

He did not agree with Anselm about the atonement. He urged his readers not to see two principles in God: love wanting to forgive, and law demanding satisfaction, but only love. The death of Christ shows how far the love of God will go. This love moves us to repent.

Yet Abelard put forward some questionable views. He maintained that in the Trinity no person embraced the whole of the divine nature but only one aspect: the Father power, the Son wisdom, the Spirit goodness. This and other errors aroused the hostility of Bernard of Clairvaux, who had him condemned by the pope, but, before Abelard died, he was restored to favour and reconciled with Bernard.

Peter Lombard (c.1100-1160)

He was born at Novara in Lombardy (hence his name). He studied at Bologna (Italy) and Reims (France), then, from 1143/4 taught at the cathedral school in Paris. He is known as the 'Master of the of the Sentences' for his most famous writing: *Four Books of Sentences*. This was a systematic treatment of the main themes of Christian theology. The contents of the books were:

1. God, the Trinity, God's attributes, predestination.
2. Creation, man's sin, freewill, man's need.
3. Incarnation and redemption.
4. The seven sacraments: Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination, Marriage.

It did not win acceptance at one, for it expressed some dubious opinions, e.g. identifying the Holy Spirit with the virtue of Christian love. But its lucid style and comprehensiveness led to its becoming the basic textbook for teaching theology in the Middle Ages. In 1159 Lombard was appointed Bishop of Paris but died the next year.

Albert the Great (1193-1280)

Born in Germany, Albert was the son of a knight. He studied in Italy, then France. He became a Dominican. He lectured at the University of Paris from 1240-48 and then was put in charge of the new Dominican House at Cologne. From 1246-51 Thomas Aquinas was his student. He was always interested in the world of nature and felt very much in sympathy with Aristotle, whose works had been newly discovered. Albert, like many others, wrote a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, but spent most of his life interpreting Aristotle's works to the Latin speaking world. In 1260 the pope made him Bishop of Ratisbon, and he improved the state of the diocese but resigned next year. In 1263 the pope sent him to Germany to preach the crusade.

In 1277 Albert intervened to prevent the condemnation of Thomas Aquinas in Paris. He recognized that philosophy and theology are both important but operate differently. Philosophy seeks to discover truth by reason alone, but theology starts from revealed truths. Let them work within their own spheres.

Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)

This 'Doctor Angelicus' was born in central Italy, the youngest son of the Count of Aquino. He was sent to the nearby Benedictine monastery school at Monte Cassino where he was known to his fellows as 'the dumb ox' – presumably because of his deep, silent thought! In 1244 he decided he wanted to become a Dominican. His family were horrified and had him imprisoned in the family castle for nearly 2 years. Escaping he went to study under Albert at Paris and then at Cologne before returning to Paris as a lecturer in theology, first on the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah then on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Then began a stream of his own publications. The *Summa contra Gentiles* was designed for Dominican missionaries dealing with non-Christians.

In 1257 he returned to Italy to lecture at Dominican houses. He composed a liturgy for the new Feast of Corpus Christi. In Rome from 1265 he began his *Summa Theologicae* which was originally intended as a handbook for the friars. It took 9 years to write and later became a university textbook. Its contents are:

1. God – his existence, nature, attributes; the Trinity.
 2. Man – fallen yet able to be redeemed; vices and virtues; law and grace.
 3. Christ as God-man – redeemer, way back to God. (Shortest section, unfinished)
- Believing that reason can supplement faith, in the first part he included arguments for the existence of God – that he is the Prime Cause, the Prime Mover etc. He combined Anselm's view of the atonement with Abelard's: Christ made satisfaction for the sins of man out of his love and obedience to God. He believed Christ continues his work of redemption the sacraments, which are an extension of his humanity and mediate his fullness of grace to his members. He used the Aristotelian philosophy of 'substance' (underlying reality) and 'accidents' (properties) to develop the doctrine of 'transubstantiation' – that in the Eucharist the inner reality of the bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Christ, but not their outward appearance which would be repulsive to the participant.

In 1268-72 he was back in Paris as a Dominican Professor of Theology at the university. In 1272 he retired to Italy. Whilst saying Mass in December 1273 he had, it seems, a profound spiritual experience. He stopped teaching and writing. He said of it: 'Everything I have written seems like straw by comparison with what I have seen and what has been revealed to me.'

Questions for Group Discussion:

1. Do you think Anselm's 'Ontological Argument' valid? If not where is the fallacy?
2. Which do you find more helpful Anselm's or Abelard's interpretation of the atonement? Why?
3. Do you find Aquinas' teaching about 'transubstantiation' of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist convincing? If not, how do you interpret Christ's words: 'This is my body', 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood'? (Look at 1 Cor. 11:23-26)

Islam

‘Islam’ means ‘submission’. ‘Arab’ means ‘desert’. Arabia was sparsely populated with Bedouin tribes. For a time before the birth of Muhammad three of the largest Arab tribes were Christian, but all were under foreign domination and they were all on the edges of the peninsula. The center was untouched and the Scriptures had not been translated into Arabic.

Muhammad

Born about AD 570 into a poor family in Mecca, Muhammad came to birth after the death of his father, which meant he could not even inherit his father’s property. He was brought up by an uncle. He knew Christians from quite early in his life, but his family had a vested interest in paganism: his great grandfather had won for his Quraysh tribe the right to provide food and water for pilgrims to the Ka’ba, the Holy House of Mecca, which was full of idols, the holiest of all being the black stone from paradise.

When Muhammad was 25 his fortune changed with his marriage to Khadija, a wealthy widow of 40 whose caravan business he had managed most successfully. He could then afford a more leisurely life. But he was not satisfied and increasingly withdrew to be on his own in the desert. C. 610 he felt a call to be ‘the messenger of God’. He then began to preach that there is only one good, all-powerful God and to denounce idolatry. He declared too that wealth must be shared with the poor. Wealthy members of his own tribe denounced him as a troublemaker and he fled with 70 followers c.350 km north to Medina. All Muslim history is dated from that flight (the *hijrah*, AD 622). It was in Medina that the main ordinances of Islam took shape. The Five Pillars of the Muslim faith are:

1. Creed: ‘There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet’.
2. Prayer: Said five times a day in Arabic facing Mecca.
3. Fasting: During the month of Ramadan.
4. Almsgiving: 2% of one’s wealth is to be given to the poor.
5. Pilgrimage (*hajj*): All Muslims should make a pilgrimage to Mecca once in their lifetime.

There were three Jewish tribes in Medina and at first Muhammad attempted to form a monotheistic covenant with them but, it seems, they mocked his teaching and refused to accept him as a prophet. He then expelled two of them and had all the men of the third executed. In 630 he led an army back to Mecca and easily captured the city, treating his enemies generously and gaining their support. He rode straight to the Ka’ba and declared idolatry was over and now all should believe in only one God, whom he named Allah after the supreme deity of Mecca.

The Qur’an (Koran)

‘Qur’an’ means ‘recitation’. It is what Muhammad claims Allah recited to him through the angel Gabriel. It consists of an introduction followed by 114 *surahs* (chapters) arranged in order of length with the longest first. The accepted version was made during the third caliphate, that of ‘Uthman (644-656). Scholars disagree over which *surahs* date from Muhammad’s earlier Mecca phase and which from his

later Medina phase. There is a greater influence of the Old Testament than the New in the Qur'an. Stories of the treatment of the prophets are seen as prefiguring the way Muhammad would be treated. On the whole the Qur'an is surprisingly tolerant and yet badly misinformed about Christian teaching. Jesus is always referred to with the greatest respect. He is acknowledged as born of a virgin, as one who healed the sick and raised the dead, and he is said to have been taken alive into heaven. He was not crucified, his place on the cross being taken by another (a view of some of the Gnostics). His main mission appears to have been to confirm the Jewish law and to bring the good news of the Apostle (Muhammad) who would follow him. Bible stories are often given a strange twist, consistent with Muhammad's receiving them only orally since the Bible had not then been translated into Arabic. Christians are said to have corrupted their Scriptures, inventing Jesus' divinity. In the Qur'an Christians are referred to more positively than Jews though both are rejected.

Why did Muhammad not become a Christian ?

After the Death of Muhammad

It took less than thirty years for Muhammad's family to transform what he left behind into a political and military empire that shook the world. By the end of this period the rule of Arabic Islam stretched west through the richest provinces of north Africa halfway to the Atlantic Sea, north to the eastern shores of the Black Sea, and east into Asia to within striking distance of India and China. Only that part of Asia Minor that had been Christian Roman Asia was not under Islamic rule.

The first four Caliphs (leaders) were all from Muhammad's family, the first being Abu Bakr a father-in-law (Muhammad had 16 wives). The next three Caliphs were all murdered. For Islam this was a time of external power and internal division. The Sunni majority stems from the third Caliph 'Uthman, and their leader is elected as a political and religious Caliph by the Islamic community. The fourth Caliph Ali, who married Muhammad's daughter Fatima, gave rise to the Shi'ites. Their leaders (Imams) are purely religious and must be descendents of Fatima. Both branches of Islam accept the ultimate authority of the Qur'an and the *Hadith*, the collected oral traditions about Muhammad.

The Arrival of the Turks

At the beginning of the second millennium warlike Turkish tribes moved into central Asia from the direction of China. The most important were the Seljuk Turks. By 1055 they were the new Muslim masters of the Middle East. In 1070 they captured Jerusalem and carried on west conquering Armenia and routing the Byzantine army in 1071. Then they swept into Asia Minor, making their headquarters at Nicea.

The Crusades

For centuries Christians had revered the Holy Land; pilgrimages to its holy places had become one of the highest acts of devotion. But, unlike the Arabs, the Seljuk Turks showed no veneration for Christian relics and were not prepared to allow Christians free access to them. When, in addition to this, the Byzantine Emperor Alexius pleaded for help to liberate his former territories, at the Council of Clermont (France) in 1095, Pope Urban II proclaimed the First Crusade. Anyone who might die in this noble cause was promised a plenary indulgence (complete remission of sins). With shouts of *Deus vult* ('God wills!') people surged forward to take the crusader's oath

and bind on their shoulders the white linen crosses distributed by the pope. The word 'crusade' comes from *crux*, the Latin for cross, though it was not used at first, rather people thought of the crusades as special pilgrimages.

First Crusade

The leaders were Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, as the pope's representative, Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy, Bohemond and Tancred. They converged on Constantinople by different routes but were well received by the Byzantine Emperor Alexius. They captured Nicea (1097), with some difficulty Antioch (1098), and on 15th July 1099 Jerusalem itself. Godfrey of Bouillon accepted the title only of 'Prince and Protector of the Holy Sepulchre', but, following his death, his brother Baldwin in 1100 accepted the title 'King of Jerusalem'. The next twenty years saw the development of the Latin states of Antioch, Tripoli, Jerusalem and later Edessa, and the extension of the territory held to include the whole coastline of Syria and Palestine.

Second Crusade

The cause of the Second Crusade was the capture of Edessa in 1144 by the Sultan of Aleppo with the death, it seems, of the archbishop and clergy of the city. Pope Eugenius and Bernard of Clairvaux stirred up King Louis VI of France and Emperor Conrad III of Germany to lead an army of 200,000. It started in 1147, was attended by disasters and, when it failed to take Damascus, melted away.

Third Crusade

The occasion of this was the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, in 1187. A large army set out under the leadership of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Richard I of England and Philip II of France. In the course of it the emperor drowned, Jerusalem was not recaptured but, after a long siege, Acre and the coastal strip were recovered.

Fourth Crusade

This was called by Innocent III to attack Saladin in Egypt. Instead it attacked and sacked Constantinople (1204), establishing Baldwin of Flanders as emperor, and appointing a Latin Patriarch. The pope was at first angry, then saw it as God's way of reuniting the Church. The Latin Empire continued until 1261 when it was recaptured by the Byzantines. But it left a legacy of bitterness.

There were further Crusades but the only one of significance was the Sixth, which was led in 1228 by Emperor Frederick II (who had been excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX). He negotiated with the Sultan and was granted Jerusalem, Nazareth and Bethlehem and roads linking them to Acre. This greatly benefited the Christian pilgrims. Jerusalem remained in Latin hands until 1244. The last Latin territory in the Middle East was overrun in 1291.

Consequences of the Crusades

1. Increased enmity between Christians and Muslims, and between Eastern and Western Christianity.
2. A great increase in the trade in relics – pieces of the 'true Cross', bones of patriarchs etc being added to the already sizeable collections in the West.

Doctrine and Schisms

At the Council of Ephesus in 431 Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, was condemned for separating the human and divine natures of Christ. This condemnation was repeated at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, though the Council's Definition of Faith was surprisingly close to what Nestorius had taught. Because it spoke of 'two natures' in Christ's incarnate Person the Alexandrians rejected it wanting 'one Nature *out of two*'. This led in effect to a permanent cleavage in Orthodoxy between the Chalcedonians and the 'Monophysite' ('single nature') Oriental Orthodox Churches: the Coptic Church of Egypt, the Syrian 'Jacobite' Church, the St. Thomas Christians of the Malabar coast, South India, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Church of Armenia. Attempts to heal the breach failed.

Nestorius denied that he was really dividing the two natures. He was only echoing his teacher, the Antiochene Theodore of Mopsuestia, who sought to give due emphasis to the reality of Christ's humanity, as against the Alexandrians who so emphasised Christ's divinity that his humanity was underplayed. The 'Church of the East' (Persian Church) regarded Theodore as the supreme theologian, but is generally known as 'Nestorian'. In 540 their patriarch Mar Aba forged a new link with Constantinople and, in consequence, his church's council in 544 adopted the creed and decrees of Chalcedon and Nicea, as interpreted by Theodore. Unfortunately a council in Constantinople in 553 condemned Theodore as a heretic and the cleavage between the two churches became permanent. Repeated persecution of the Church of the East, first by Persians then by successive Muslim regimes, brought it by the early 16th C to virtual extinction, but not before its missionaries had reached India, China and, more superficially it seems, other Asian countries. One of its great weaknesses was the retention of Syriac as its liturgical language, which always made it seem a foreign religion.

Church Architecture

The beauty of the city of Constantinople impressed all visitors. Perhaps the most perfect piece of Byzantine architecture was Hagia Sophia, the church dedicated to Holy Wisdom (i.e. Christ), which was magnificently rebuilt by Justinian I and consecrated in 538. Subsequent Orthodox Christian architecture has taken it as a model.

Iconoclasm

The controversy known as 'Iconoclasm' ('breaking of the icons') dominated much of the 8th and 9th Cs. A succession of emperors, beginning with Leo III in 726, was against icons, believing them to be idolatrous. Leo came from Syria and was perhaps influenced by the attitude of Jews and Muslims. Initially the debate centred around the second of the Ten Commandments (Ex.20.4-5). The leading iconophile (icon lover) was the monk and theologian John of Damascus. He said that since God had appeared in flesh among men it was quite possible to depict him in human form. The first phase of iconoclasm was brought to a close in 787 at the Seventh Ecumenical Council when the Empress Irene sought to win the favour of Charlemagne by this change (and failed). Yet opposition to icons remained strong especially in the army and, in 814, Emperor Leo V, formerly a general, began removing them again from churches and public buildings. Iconophiles declared that iconoclasts were denying not only the incarnation but also the essential goodness of the material world. When

Emperor Theophilus died in 842 he was succeeded by his widow Theodora reigning as regent for her young son Michael III. The next year, with the help of her newly appointed Patriarch Methodius, she restored the legality of icons.

Monasticism and Spirituality

Hermits were always more common in Eastern Christendom than in the West. They might live in a cave, a hut, or even in a tree or on top of a pillar, occupied in adoration and intercession. There were also very many monasteries, each self-governing under the direction of an abbot. There were no centralized orders as in the West but St. Basil of Caesarea's *Rules* were widely used. There were as many communities of women as men. Whilst parish priests in Orthodoxy were usually married men, living with their families and supporting themselves by farming or a craft and were often poorly educated, bishops from the 6th to the 7th C required to be celibate and, from c.14th C, were chosen from the ranks of the monks.

Monks often engaged in social and charitable work, hospitality being viewed as part of a monk's vocation. Some were revered as a *geron* or charismatic elder and resorted to for counsel. But the primary task of a monk was an ordered life of prayer. This was believed to provide essential support for the social and spiritual fabric of Byzantine society. Mount Athos, a Macedonian peninsular in the Aegean sea (NE Greece), was a monastic settlement from the 10th C and has remained an entirely male preserve. Meteora ('mid air'), an awesome set of natural sandstone pillars in central Greece, was the resort of hermits from the 11th C. Remarkably, communities were established upon the pillars in the 13th and 14th Cs by monks wishing to escape the turmoil of warring tribes below. Among the important Orthodox theologians were Simeon the New Theologian (11thC), who marvelled at the personal relationship a Christian can have with the transcendent God through the Holy Spirit, and Gregory Palamas (14th C), the leading theologian of the 'hesychast' controversy, who was a monk on Mt. Athos. A hesychast is one who pursues *hesychia* or inner stillness through the Jesus Prayer and certain physical postures. In response to Barlaam, who declared that God is unknowable, Gregory differentiated between the *essence* of God which is unknowable and the *energies* of God which permeate all things and can be experienced by humans. His teaching was approved by councils in Constantinople in 1341-1351

The Break with the West

In 858 Photius, a learned layman, had been appointed Patriarch of Constantinople. His predecessor, Ignatius, would not accept being deposed. They consulted Pope Nicholas I. Nicholas sent papal legates to Constantinople who found in favour of Photius. Back in Rome Nicholas felt they had exceeded their powers, cancelled the result, and found in favour of Ignatius. Photius refused to accept his authority to do this. The emperor wrote a letter of protest to the pope. The case was about to be opened when there was a sharp dispute over whether Bulgaria was the legitimate mission field of Greek or Latin missionaries. Then Photius attacked the West's inclusion of the *filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed. He declared Nicholas excommunicated as 'a heretic who ravages the vineyard of the Lord.' There were further complications including Photius' removal from office by a new emperor, but eventually he was re-instated and, after a new pope was appointed, outward harmony was restored.

A second conflict arose in the mid-11th C. Greeks in southern Italy were being made to conform to Roman customs. In response, Patriarch Cerularius demanded the Latin churches in Constantinople adopt certain Greek practices. There were other issues under dispute, including the *filioque* clause. Pope Leo IX sent three legates to Constantinople to debate the issues. Unfortunately they were led by the abrasive and uncompromising Cardinal Humbert. His rough manner so antagonised the patriarch that he would not enter into debate with him. So Humbert departed, leaving a bull of excommunication of Cerularius on the altar of Hagia Sophia. The patriarch with his synod then excommunicated Humbert. Such proceedings in 1054 appeared to constitute a complete breach between Eastern and Western Christendom. Really it was little more than a clash of personalities and not irreparable. The Fourth Crusade, however, made matters much worse. The Crusaders were persuaded to support Alexius, a deposed emperor, to regain his throne. The outcome was their sack of Constantinople in 1204, which included three days of pillage, followed by the setting up of the Latin kingdom (1204-61). The Greeks have never forgotten or forgiven this. Subsequent attempts at restoration of communion have failed.

Slavic Missions

In 863 Patriarch Photius sent out the brothers Cyril and Methodius to preach Christianity in Moravia. They took Slavonic versions of the Bible and service books. Whilst they failed because Catholic German missionaries were winning the area for the pope, their Slavic translations were adopted in Bulgaria, Serbia and Russia. Boris, ruler of Bulgaria, was baptized by Greeks in 864. In 926-7 an independent Bulgarian Patriarchate was created. Serbia was converted through Byzantine missionaries in 867-74. In 1346 the Serbian Patriarchate was set up.

Photius' mission to Russia in the 860s was not successful, but in 988 Vladimir, ruler of Kiev, was baptized. There was a noted contrast between his savagery before he became a Christian and his gentleness afterwards. In the spread of the church monasteries were important. The chief center Pecherskii Lavra, the Monastery of the Caves at Kiev, was founded by St. Antony in 1051. In the 14th C political and religious life in Russia moved to Moscow. In 1340 St. Sergius of Radonezh (patron saint of Russia) founded the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, 70 km from Moscow, which was the chief monastic center for the city and for mission work in the north. The Russian Church gained independence from Constantinople in 1448 and its patriarchate was established in 1589.

Byzantium (Constantinople)

Constantinople, fatally weakened by being sacked by the Crusaders in 1204, dwindled in the 14th C and, in 1453, was captured by the Ottoman Turks. The new patriarch Gennadius was installed and granted protection, but Christians were placed on an inferior footing. They paid heavy taxes and were forced to wear distinctive dress. Their children could be seized for the Sultan's court or guard. No new churches could be built and existing ones could be confiscated. No religious processions in the open air were permitted nor ringing of bells. Christians were forbidden to convert Muslims on pain of death but were themselves encouraged to become Muslims. Defections did occur on a massive scale in Asia Minor, Bosnia and Albania; yet, remarkably, the bulk of the population in Greece remained true to the Christian faith. The chief intellectual challenge confronting Greek Orthodoxy came not from Islam but from the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation.

The Church in the Modern Age

Ch.14 The Reformation - I Continental Europe

The Need for Reform

The need for reform had been in the air for two centuries. The corruption of the papacy had become scandalous. The 'Babylonian Captivity', with the popes residing at Avignon, had been succeeded by the Great Schism with two rival popes and, after the Council of Pisa (1409), three! Papal lifestyle was characterised variously by affluence, simony, nepotism, conceiving children out of wedlock, and militarism – and positively by its encouragement of the arts.

Monastic discipline had relaxed and monasteries were too often places of leisure. 'Secular' (parish) clergy too often were associated with absenteeism, pluralism and simony. Clerical celibacy may have been the law but there were many who openly broke it.

The Mass was seen as a way to salvation. Chantry chapels were built in honor of the wealthy dead as places where the Mass could be celebrated regularly to ensure their place in heaven. The living gave money to ecclesiastical institutions, fraternities, and the poor, for the same purpose. Yet, in the late Middle Ages, poverty was clearly a growing social problem and mendicant monks added to it.

From the Renaissance it was hoped that scholarship would bring the much needed reform. Certain of the Church's ancient documents (e.g. the 'Donation of Constantine') were shown to be false and others corrupted by copyists. The Dutch scholar Erasmus' New Testament allowed access to the original Greek. The invention of printing with movable type opened the possibility of mass circulation of information – first used in this way by Luther.

Luther

Martin Luther was born in 1483 in Eisleben in eastern Germany. His father was at first a peasant, then a miner, and later the owner of several foundries. Martin was the first in the family to get a formal education. In his early years he was harshly disciplined at home and at school. His father wanted him to become a lawyer but, in 1505, he entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfert. He was ordained priest in 1507. His early years in the monastery were dominated by an overpowering sense of his sinfulness before the demands of a just and wrathful God. He repeatedly undertook hard penances and went frequently to confession. Staupitz, his spiritual director, recommended he read the writings of the mystics, but they told him simply to love God, the last thing he felt able to do. In 1508 he was sent by Staupitz to be Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Arts Faculty of the university at Wittenberg, newly founded by Frederick the Elector of Saxony. His anxieties persisted. He visited Rome in 1510 and, soon after his return the next year, with Staupitz' support, achieved his doctor of theology and was made Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the Faculty of Theology of the university, a position he retained until his death. He lectured first on the Psalms, then on Romans, then Galatians. He confessed later that he puzzled long and hard over Rom.1:17 with its declaration that the justice of God

could be received by faith. The same Greek word means ‘justice’ and ‘justification’. Then light dawned as he came to realize that justification is not what the sinner earns but what he can receive by faith. And ‘faith is ...a heartfelt confidence in God through Christ that Christ’s suffering and death pertain (relate) to you and should belong to you.’ (LW 22.369) Luther’s discovery took away his fears. He also convinced most of his colleagues at the university¹.

In 1517 Pope Leo X wanted a lot of money quickly for the rebuilding of St. Peter’s basilica in Rome. In this cause the Dominican Tetzl came near Wittenberg selling indulgences promising remission of the penalty for sin, even for those in purgatory. He cried:

“As often as a coin in the coffer rings,
a soul from purgatory springs.”

People from Wittenberg came back delighted they too had purchased tickets to heaven. Luther was incensed and speedily composed 95 theses against this false system, nailing them to the door of the castle church for public debate. He also sent a copy to Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, who promptly forwarded it to Rome. Luther received a reply from the pope’s theologian Prierias which said, in effect, that the pope has the power to do what he likes and anyone who denies this with regard to indulgences is a heretic. Luther was summoned to Rome within 60 days. As he did not go he was tried in his absence and instead ordered to appear before Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg to recant. He duly appeared but would not recant.

In 1519 Luther met in public debate John Eck, who would not debate on biblical matters but managed to get from him statements that he supported the condemned heretic John Huss, and believed a pope and a General Council of the Church may err. Eck then went to Rome to assist in the preparation of the bull *Exsurge Domine*, issued in June 1520, which threatened Luther with excommunication if he did not recant within 60 days. On the 60th day Luther, with the faculty and students of Wittenberg university in attendance, publicly burnt a copy of the bull and a set of canon law. On 3rd January 1521 the final bull of excommunication *Decet Romanum Pontifice* appeared. But Frederick, Elector of Saxony, supported his professor and would not surrender him, insisting there be a fair trial.

Luther’s Theology

Luther’s watchwords were *sola fide* (by faith alone) and *sola scriptura* (by Scripture alone). All doctrine needed to be justified by the Word of God – ‘Word’ here referring first to Christ, then to that which reveals him, the Bible.

In 1520 Luther wrote three influential treatises:

An Appeal to the German Nobility

Luther declared *all* Christians are priests by baptism (1 Pet.2:9; Rev.5:10). The temporal power (state) has been appointed by God to punish the bad and protect the good. This should apply to abuses in the Church as well. They should abolish tributes to Rome, the celibacy of the clergy, masses for the dead etc. He also appealed for universal education of boys and girls (a theme he developed over the years), and urged that every place should take care of its poor and all begging be forbidden. (Later, in Wittenberg a common chest was established for poor relief, low

interest loans were provided for artisans and workers, and the education and training of the children of the poor subsidised.)

The Babylonish Captivity of the Church

In this document Luther attacked the sacramental theology of the Church. He denied there were 7 sacraments. He lamented baptism's assurance of salvation had been obscured by the penitential system. He declared that Communion should be given 'in both kinds' (bread *and wine*), and repudiated transubstantiation² as Aristotelian and foreign to the Bible and put forward what was later called 'consubstantiation' – that, after consecration, the Body and Blood of Christ are present together with the bread and the wine. He denied that this sacrament was ever intended to be a good work (to earn 'merit points') or to repeat Christ's sacrifice. Neither concept is Scriptural.

The Freedom of the Christian

Here at some length he put forward 'justification by faith', declaring it brought freedom to the human soul, which must then issue forth in service to others.

The Subsequent Course of Events

At the Diet of Worms (1521), attended by Emperor Charles V, Luther refused to recant and was placed under an imperial ban. His writings were condemned as heretical and ordered to be burnt. On Luther's way home his protector Frederick, Elector of Saxony, arranged for him to be kidnapped for his own safety and to be taken to the Wartburg Castle, where he remained in disguise for the best part of a year. There he began translating the New Testament from Erasmus' Greek edition into German.

Meanwhile, back in Wittenberg, Carlstadt, Dean of the Faculty, began translating Lutheran teaching into practice. On Christmas Day 1521 he celebrated Eucharist without vestments, pronouncing the consecration in German (not Latin) and distributing Communion in both kinds. Also he was filled with destructive zeal against images, which once he had been taught to honor and worship. Then in January he married at a public ceremony, seeing it as a model for other priests. (Not until 1525 did Luther marry the former nun Katherine von Bora. They had in time six children.) The Elector and Luther's trusted assistant Melanchthon were unhappy at the speed of the changes being introduced so, in March 1522, Luther discharged himself from the Wartburg and returned to Wittenberg where he preached a series of sermons on the need to temper faith with love and patience for those who could not change so fast. A coolness entered the relationship between Luther and Carlstadt, who before long resigned from his university post and went from the town to parish work.

1524-6 saw the German Peasants' War. Their tract *The Twelve Articles* revealed a Christian commitment besides declaring they only wanted their legitimate rights. Luther urged peaceful negotiation, but the momentum for war was already too strong. Later he wrote a tract *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of the Peasants* urging the rulers to slay the rebels as one might kill a mad dog to avoid worse trouble. C. 100,000 peasants were killed and Luther's name was tarnished.

Two Diets at Speyer (1526, 1529), through which the Emperor intended the Reform movement to be crushed and reunited with the Church, were inconclusive. At the second those supporting the reforms were outnumbered but presented an official *protestatio* – from which came the term 'Protestant'.

In 1529 Luther published his *Small Catechism* (for home use) and his *Large Catechism* (for use by clergy in church). They contained the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the creed, brief expositions of baptism and the Lord's Supper, instruction for confession, morning and evening prayers, and grace for meals. They employed a question and answer style.

At the Diet of Augsburg, in Luther's absence, the reform case was put by Melancthon (and was later known as the 'Augsburg Confession'), but Charles was only interested in its defeat. The Protestants were given until 15th April 1531 to unite with the old faith. They refused, but the Turkish invasion of eastern Europe meant Charles needed their support. Not until 1546 did he attack their Schmalkaldic League, temporarily defeating it. Luther died shortly before the war began, but his cause continued to grow.

Zwingli

Ulrich Zwingli was born in 1484, into a well-to-do peasant family at Wildhaus, a village in the Swiss Alps. Both his father and his grandfather had been local magistrates. He was an intelligent boy and learnt Latin at the age of ten. From school he went to the University of Vienna, where he encountered humanist teaching, and the University of Basle, where he also trained in theology and philosophy. He was ordained priest in 1506. From 1506-16 he was priest of the village of Glarus. While there he pursued his interest in classics and the Church Fathers, taught himself Greek, and was introduced to Erasmus. With Erasmus' Greek New Testament he could study the original without traditional interpretations. Erasmus taught him to seek the simple meaning of the biblical text, putting forward Jesus as the model for Christian life.

In 1513 and 1515 he went as chaplain with contingents of Swiss mercenaries from Glarus to fight in Italy. Mercenaries were Switzerland's chief export at the time, it seems; Swiss pikemen being renowned for their skill and ferocity. He witnessed bloodshed at first hand including the death of 1000s of Swiss at the hands of the French in 1515. He learnt the pain of ministering to the families of the dead on his return home. He publicly denounced the mercenary system, and wrote against it, seeing it as eroding Switzerland morally and socially. This led to tensions with the magistrates of Glarus, who were not sad when, in 1516, he moved on to Einsiedeln to be chaplain to the many pilgrims who flocked to the shrine of the Black Virgin. What he experienced there strengthened his desire for reform. His fine preaching led to his election in 1518 to be People's Preacher at the Old Minster in Zurich, a post he retained for the rest of his life.

At the Mass on 1st January 1519 he began a new approach. Instead of following the Church lectionary he began a series of sermons that would go in sequence right through St. Matthew's Gospel expounding it. He later did the same with other N.T. books. It proved popular. He was putting forward the principle that all things must be judged by Scripture. It led him to challenge many aspects of church life. In 1522 the Great Council of Zurich endorsed his preaching from the Bible rather than from Scholastic philosophy. His bishop, the Bishop of Constance, was not happy and so, in 1523, the magistrates arranged a 'disputation' in the town hall between Zwingli and Johann Faber, Vicar General of the bishop. Zwingli won the day and afterwards prepared Sixty-Seven Articles, the charter of the Zurich Reformation. The Old

Minster was made independent of episcopal control. Images and pictures were removed from the church. Problems with Anabaptists were to follow.

In 1524 Zwingli publicly married Anne Meyer, a widow he had been living with for some time. By 1524 too he had come to believe in the symbolic interpretation of the Eucharist. The Mass was finally abolished by the civic authorities in Zurich in 1525. That year Zwingli began to write a series of articles against Lutheran eucharistic doctrine. Preachers moved out from Zurich leading to a rapid spread of the reform movement throughout Switzerland and southern Germany. Philip of Hesse wanted a common front between the Protestants so, in 1529, arranged a meeting of Luther and Zwingli (and others) at Marburg castle, but each vigorously defended his own doctrine. Zwingli thought Luther's view still very close to Rome's. He claimed Jn.6:63 in support of his own symbolic view (the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper *symbolize* the body and blood of Christ crucified).

'The Lutherans continued to hold that Christ is really present in the eucharist for all recipients, whereas the Zwinglians maintained Christ's presence is only in the hearts of believers...for Zwingli the Lord's Supper was an act of thanksgiving for the gospel; for Luther it was a concrete offer of the gospel.'

(Lindberg)

Yet they parted on reasonably friendly terms noting they held many common beliefs about the errors of Rome regarding this sacrament.

The Protestant cantons (states) of Switzerland started an economic blockade of Catholic cantons that refused to admit Protestant preachers. This aroused the hostility of the five Forest Cantons. In 1531 they mounted a surprise attack on the unprepared forces of Zurich. At the second battle at Cappel, where as chaplain of the Zurich forces Zwingli held the banner, they were overwhelmed and he was killed. But his cause did not perish. It was agreed that where the Swiss Reformation was established it would be allowed to continue.

The Anabaptists

The Reformers' putting forward the Bible as the basis for Christian life had further ramifications, particularly for those with no knowledge of the Church Fathers. There were those who noticed that baptism in the New Testament was given to those who had faith in Christ, and that there was no indisputable evidence of infant baptism. They therefore declared that no infant should be baptized and that adults baptized as infants should now as believers be rebaptized. Hence their name 'Anabaptists' (= 'rebaptizers'). Because Anabaptists failed to convince whole communities that this was right they turned to local congregations of voluntary members, who regarded themselves as set apart from the state. The one true Church consisted only of true believers whose identity was revealed by tests of conduct and belief. Those failing these tests were banned.

Whilst Anabaptists were found elsewhere, the major center of the movement was Zurich. Their reputed founder was Conrad Grebel (1498-1526), who had studied at the University of Paris under the humanist Le Fèvre d'Étaples. As a student he engaged in riotous parties so his father withdrew his allowance and, in 1520, he returned to Zurich where, through the influence of Zwingli and the woman Grebel was to marry, he was converted. It was not long before he came to think Zwingli was more concerned about the government than the Gospel, and that the magistrates were

very slow in implementing changes. He challenged Zwingli about this in a dispute in 1523. At another dispute in 1524, which dealt with the issue of baptism, Zwingli dominated and insisted all unbaptized babies be baptized. But afterwards Grebel and a small group of others who dissented met and in all fifteen were rebaptized. They went on to make various protests and one even called Zwingli 'Antichrist'. Zwingli and the Zurich magistrates saw them as disruptive, ignorant and a civic liability since they rejected obligations to the state (paying tithes, undertaking military service etc) and laws were enacted to punish them severely. Grebel in fact died of the plague in 1526. George Blaurock was whipped out of town. Felix Mantz was the first to suffer from a new law against them: death by drowning (1527).

The Wittenberg reformers too had had some problems. Thomas Münster (c.1489-1525) had once attended lectures at Wittenberg and, in 1520, became a preacher at Zwickau, an industrial town in south Saxony. He addressed the socially discontented and encouraged the leaders of the 'Zwickau prophets', Anabaptists who claimed guidance from dreams and visions, said that people should be taught by God's Spirit alone and that the end of the world was imminent. (Their three leaders visited Wittenberg in 1521 while Luther was in the Wartburg, and caused a stir.) Münster and they were soon excluded from Zwickau. He went on to support the Peasants' War, convinced that the struggle of the saints in the Last Days had begun. After the rebels' final defeat in 1525 he was tortured and executed.

Other Anabaptists followed Melchior Hoffmann (c. 1500-43), a furrier and lay preacher influenced by Carlstadt, who preached that all should accept baptism into the pure Church of Christ in preparation for Christ's return and the end of the world in 1533. He proclaimed himself to be the prophet Elijah (Malachi 4:5) and went to Strasbourg, which was to be the 'New Jerusalem'. The local authorities were not impressed and imprisoned him until his death in 1543.

Some others transposed his prophecy to Münster where, in 1533-35, they attempted to establish a kingdom of saints, ejecting all who would not be rebaptized. Amongst the measures they introduced was polygamy, justified by the Old Testament. Their last leader Jan of Leiden called himself 'king of righteousness' and 'the ruler of the new Zion'. The city was besieged by troops supporting the ejected bishop. When, in 1535, the city was captured nearly all the inhabitants were slaughtered.

No other Anabaptists attempted to restore the world to primitive Christianity. Future Anabaptist movements were marked by withdrawal from the world - Mennonites (after Menno Simons) and Hutterites (after John Hutter) formed communities sharing their possessions. They continued to experience persecution throughout Europe and eventually found their main permanent home in the North American continent.

Calvin

John Calvin was born in 1509 in the cathedral town of Noyon, c.100km north-east of Paris. His father was secretary to the bishop; his mother died when he was young. He studied theology at the University of Paris, where he became acquainted with humanism, gaining his MA in 1528, and then, at his father's insistence, studied law at Orleans then Bourges. His father died in 1531 and Calvin returned to Paris to develop further his interest in humanism.

A private person he recorded little of his personal life, but appears to have been converted to the Reformation cause in 1533, soon having to flee from Paris. The next year he returned to Noyon to surrender the ecclesiastical benefices he had held from the age of 12, which had given him some financial support. It is not clear whether he was ever ordained. In 1535 he arrived in Basel where he produced the first edition of his systematic theology *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536). It was over 500 pages long and, based on Luther's *Short Catechism*, had just six chapters dealing with: the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments, Roman Abuses of the Sacraments, and Christian freedom. It was in Latin and proved very popular, selling out in nine months. Subsequent enlarged editions produced over the years were in pairs – Latin and then a French translation. The last edition in his lifetime (1559 Latin, 1560 French) had become four volumes consisting of 80 chapters:

Bk. 1 – God, Creator and World Ruler

Bk. 2 – God, Redeemer in Jesus

Bk. 3 – The Work of the Holy Spirit

Bk. 4 – Church and Sacraments

His great theological and classical knowledge, and his clear, pithy style made him the most influential writer among the reformers. This work rapidly became the *Summa Theologicae* of Protestantism.

In 1536 he was travelling to Strasbourg to live the life of a theologian and teacher when imperial troop movements made him detour through Geneva. There the Reformation had been planted in 1533 by William Farel from Protestant Bern to the north. The Mass was suppressed in 1535 and, in May 1536, a general assembly of citizens had declared their desire “to live according to the gospel and the Word of God”. But no structure for this had yet been created. Farel saw Calvin, though only 27, as the ideal person to do this – but the latter required a lot of persuasion! When Calvin finally agreed, the reforming path was far from easy. The General Council of the city would not enforce the confession of faith drawn up by Calvin for all residents and denied Farel and Calvin the right to excommunicate unrepentant sinners. On Easter Day 1538 they refused to obey the City Council's instructions to conform to the Zwinglian religious practices of Bern, and were immediately dismissed.

Calvin went to Strasbourg at the invitation of reformer Martin Bucer to pastor its French congregation. There he spent three happy years learning from Bucer about church organisation, producing a French liturgy, French psalms and hymns, revising the *Institutes*, and publishing an exposition of the Epistle to the Romans and a treatise on the Lord's Supper. In 1540, he married Idelette de Bure, widow of an Anabaptist he had won over. Meanwhile, while Calvin and Farel were away from Geneva, the church there was in disarray and, seeing his opportunity, Cardinal Sadoleto wrote to the Little Council (the executive of the General Council) appealing to the people of Geneva to return to the Catholic Church. The Little Council invited Calvin to reply, which he did so effectively that it was not long before they invited him back to Geneva. Again he was most reluctant to go but, after persuasion by Farel and Bucer, returned in 1541 on condition that he be allowed to draw up rules for church life. He issued his Ecclesiastical Orders within six weeks of returning and they were accepted with only minor amendments. They specified there should be four categories of minister:

doctors – to study and teach Scripture

pastors – to preach, administer sacraments, instruct and caution

deacons – to supervise charitable works

(lay) elders – to maintain discipline in the community.

The elders and pastors together formed the Consistory whose job was systematic supervision of the moral behaviour of the population of the city. They instilled respect for Calvin's authority even if at times their zeal felt like a moral reign of terror! They could excommunicate those who had committed serious offences. Though this was a Puritanical regime it was also one that cared for people's social needs. Occasionally people were executed, most notoriously Michael Servetus, a Spanish doctor with blatantly heretical views, who was burnt at the stake in 1553 – an act which won Calvin widespread applause.

Calvin's great joy was establishing the Geneva Academy in 1559, which trained youth from Geneva and students from many parts of Europe, supplying leaders for Reformed churches in many countries. He died in 1564 and received great tributes. Reformed (Calvinistic) Protestantism reached its peak in England in the 16th and 17th Cs, but in Scotland (chiefly through John Knox) and in the Netherlands has been the form of the established church to the present day.

Some of Calvin's theological views:

1. The Scriptures are the supreme authority for Church life and doctrine.
2. In the important doctrine of 'justification by faith' it is *Christ's* righteousness that is imputed to the believer.
3. Predestination should be accepted because it is taught in Scripture and a comfort to the believer. (He expounds it in the *Institutes* but apart from that mentions it little. It was a later generation of Calvinists that made it central to Calvinism.)
4. On the Lord's Supper, closer to Luther than Zwingli, he taught 'Jesus Christ is truly given to us under the signs of the bread and the wine' to nourish our souls.

Notes

1. From Philipp Melanchthon, Professor of Greek at Wittenberg, he learnt that the word for 'to be justified' in Greek meant 'to be counted as righteous' or 'to be declared righteous'. (It is a legal term.)
2. The Roman Catholic teaching that, at their consecration, the underlying substance of the bread and wine, though not their appearance is changed into the body and blood of Christ.

Henry VIII (1491-1547, King from 1509)

At the beginning of the 16th C Scotland was allied with France, England with Spain. To cement the latter tie Henry VII arranged the marriage of his first son Arthur to Catherine of Aragon, a daughter of Ferdinand of Spain. Arthur died within five months. To continue the link it was decided Catherine should marry Henry's second son, the future Henry VIII, still a minor. Because such a marriage was prohibited by Canon Law a special dispensation was obtained from the pope and, when Henry was old enough, the marriage took place. It was not a happy one. Mary Tudor was born but there was no male heir. By 1526 Henry was tired of Catherine, wanted a male heir, and was in love with one of the ladies of his court, Anne Boleyn. He wanted an annulment of his marriage to Catherine on the grounds that it was illegitimate. But Pope Clement VII was virtually the prisoner of Emperor Charles V, nephew of Catherine, and would not comply. Henry tried many ploys to get his way. In the end he followed the advice of Thomas Cranmer, a Cambridge academic, and consulted the theologians of Oxford, Cambridge and a number of Continental universities on the legality of his first marriage. They agreed it had not been valid. In 1532 Henry secured Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury and, next year, married Anne Boleyn. The pope annulled the marriage and excommunicated Henry. Henry had another daughter!

In 1534 Acts of Parliament terminated the payment of annates and other contributions to Rome and declared Henry and his successors 'Supreme Head of the Church of England'. It was accompanied by a Treasons Act forbidding denial of this supremacy. Sir Thomas More, Henry's former Chancellor, refused to accept that a layman could be head of the church, and was executed. In 1536-8, anxious for more money, Henry allowed his minister Thomas Cromwell to suppress the monasteries to gain their land and revenues. In 1536 Anne was executed, allegedly for adultery. Henry's next wife was Jayne Seymour who bore him a son, the future Edward VI, but died in childbirth. (Henry's later wives were Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr.)

Though Henry vacillated and, when feeling threatened by Catholic powers on the Continent, explored joining the Protestant Schmalkaldic League, he remained at heart a Catholic. In 1538 through the influence of Cromwell and Cranmer an Injunction ordered an English Bible to be placed in every parish church, but Henry would go no further and, in 1539, issued the Six Articles ordering acceptance of transubstantiation, communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, monastic vows, private confession and private masses. Nevertheless Reformation ideas, which had much support in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford and among London merchants and others, continued to spread throughout his reign. Henry died in 1547.

Edward VI (1537-53, King from 1547)

Edward came to the throne at the age of nine, a sickly child who lived only six years but, due to the positive attitude of his Protectors the Duke of Somerset and then the Duke of Northumberland, the Reformation cause proceeded rapidly during that time. In 1547 Acts of Parliament repealed the Six Articles and restored the cup to the laity. In 1549 clerical marriages were recognized. In 1549 Cranmer published the first English Prayer Book embodying more conservative changes. In 1552 his second

English Prayer Book reflected more the views of the Swiss reformers. In 1553 The Forty-Two Articles defined the doctrinal position of the Church of England and were a compromise between Lutheran and Calvinist theologies.

Mary Tudor (1516-58, Queen from 1553)

Mary was a militant Catholic, embittered by what had happened to her mother and the virtual declaration that she was an illegitimate child. She had the support of her cousin Emperor Charles V and, in 1554, married Philip II of Spain. This did not enhance her popularity in England – and the marriage did not prove a success. Late in 1554 England officially returned to allegiance to the pope, heresy laws were restored and trials began. Nearly 300 Protestants in all were condemned to death by burning, almost all for ‘false’ eucharistic doctrine, most notably Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Latimer and Ridley. Many other Protestants were imprisoned or fled into exile. The latter resorted to Protestant centers on the Continent and returned later more zealous! She has gone down in history as ‘Bloody Mary’; the outcome of her five-year reign was a strengthening of the Protestant cause.

Elizabeth I (1533-1603, Queen from 1558)

Elizabeth came to the throne at 25 and could only have been a Protestant, but she was a moderate one. The pro-Catholic laws enacted by Mary were repealed. She changed her title to ‘Supreme Governor of the Church of England’ to cause less offence. In 1559 a slightly revised version of the 1552 Prayer Book was introduced. One of its changes was to combine the Holy Communion’s words of institution found in the 1549 and 1552 books. Disgruntled Protestants called it a ‘mingle mangle’! The Scottish Calvinist reformer John Knox declared she was ‘neither good Protestant nor yet resolute papist’. Her great desire was to hold the realm together. Her long reign allowed time for consolidation of the Reformation cause in England, but there were many Catholic plots to unseat her, often centered around Mary, Queen of Scots, whom reluctantly she had executed in 1587. The Puritan movement also grew strong towards the end of her reign. Important writers of her period were John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, whose *Apology for the Anglican Church* (1562) was chiefly against Roman Catholics; Richard Hooker, whose *Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593-1662) is the classic apology for Anglicanism as the *via media*; and John Foxe, whose *Book of Martyrs* (Eng. 1563) was soon ranked next to the Bible. The papal bull *Regnans in excelsis* (1570) excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth.

Scotland and beyond

The Reformation established a Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1560, in large part due to the influence of John Knox who had spent some time with Calvin in Geneva. During the periods 1612-37 and 1660-90, under the influence of the Stuart kings, episcopacy was reintroduced. After the revolution of 1690 the majority Church of Scotland returned to Presbyterianism, but a minority formed the Episcopal Church of Scotland, a fairly ‘catholic’ form of Anglicanism. After the American War of Independence legal difficulties prevented the Church of England from consecrating S. Seabury bishop of the newly established Protestant Episcopal Church in that country so, in 1784, he received episcopacy from the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

This was a piecemeal development, experienced differently in different countries. It consisted of a desire to develop the spiritual lives of individuals. There was in Italy some attempt to draw on the insights of the Protestant Reformation. Besides this, and more in keeping with traditional Catholic spirituality, a considerable number of new religious orders were founded in the early decades of the 16th C. The Jesuit Order, intended originally to convert the Muslim Turks, was instead directed primarily against the Protestants in Europe. The Inquisition and the Index were similarly employed. At last, long after Luther and the emperor called for one, a general (?) council of the church convened at Trent which redefined Catholic doctrine in opposition to the Protestants and also went on to attack the glaring abuses in its own church life.

Italian Evangelicalism

There were those in the first half of the 16th C who sought to assimilate the insights of Luther and other reformers within the Catholic Church. By the 1520s they were called *spirituali*. They emphasised biblical teaching and the doctrine of justification by faith. This led to the anonymous publication *Beneficio di Cristo* (1543). Some people formed Lutheran communities, others like Bernardino Ochino, the Vicar General of the Capuchins (see below) and his friend Peter Martyr Vermigli, an Augustinian prior, joined Calvin in Geneva.

Cardinal Contarini (1483-1542) had had, in 1511, a spiritual experience somewhat similar to Luther's. He attended the Diet of Worms as Venetian ambassador at the court of Charles V and was later ambassador to the papal court. He became famous as a theologian and c.1530 wrote against Luther. In 1535, when only a layman was made a cardinal and, in 1541, reached agreement with Melanchthon on justification and other theological issues at the Regensburg colloquy, but neither Luther nor the pope would accept it, feeling truth had been distorted. His death the next year was a serious blow to liberal Catholicism which anyway appears not to have drawn the conclusion that theological reform should lead to institutional reform of the church – or did it simply lose its nerve in the face of the Inquisition and overwhelming opposition ?

The New Orders

The **Theatines**, (named after Theate, the see of one of their founders Bishop Carafa, later Pope Paul IV) were founded in 1524 to raise the standard of the life of secular clergy by getting them to take the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.

The **Capuchins** (named after their square cowl or *capuche*), founded in 1526, were reformed Franciscans emphasising poverty, asceticism and contemplative prayer. They won popularity through their enthusiastic preaching and missionary work, but were nearly suppressed after the defection of their Vicar General Ochino to the Calvinists.

The **Barnabites**, founded c.1530 in Milan, were named after their church of St. Barnabas. Besides the usual monastic vows their rule provided for the study of St. Paul's epistles and for education and mission work.

The **Ursulines**, founded in 1535 by Angela Merici to care for ‘fallen’ girls, afterwards undertook the education of girls and are the oldest and largest teaching order of women in the Catholic Church.

The **Jesuits** (Society of Jesus) were founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) of a noble Spanish Basque family, who abandoned his quest to be a knight after a cannon ball smashed his right leg during the siege of Pamplona in 1521. During a long convalescence at his family castle he read Ludolf of Saxony’s *Life of Christ* and *Flowers of the Saints* and concluded God wanted him to become a spiritual knight defending the church. He made a confession of sins and hung up his sword at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Montserrat, then changed clothes with a beggar and, unable to go to Jerusalem because of an outbreak of the plague, spent a year’s retreat locally, during which he developed his *Spiritual Exercises*, a four-week course designed to bring about the spiritual mastery of a person’s will and make him submissive to the will of God. It consists of:

- Pt. 1 – a systematic consideration of sin and its consequences
- 2 – meditation on the life and kingdom of Christ
- 3 – focuses on the story of Christ’s passion (suffering and death)
- 4 – meditation on the risen and glorified Christ

He visited the Holy Land where he met with opposition from the Franciscans and returned home feeling the need to gain a thorough education. It took eleven years: first among young students at Barcelona, then at the Universities of Alcalá, Salamanca and Paris. In 1534 he with six companions (including Francis Xavier) took lifelong vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, offering themselves to the pope for service in the Holy Land or wherever he would send them. They were sent to combat Protestantism and, gaining access to many of the courts of Europe, induced the rulers to suppress the work of the Reformers. They were also engaged in much mission work abroad, and set up many colleges throughout the world.

The ‘**Discalced**’ (sandaled) **Carmelites**, founded by St. Teresa of Avila (1515-82) in 1562. Teresa came from an old Spanish family, was educated by Augustinian nuns and, at 19, entered the Carmelite convent of the Incarnation. She was unhappy at its leisurely atmosphere. In 1555 she was converted to a life of perfection while praying before a statue of the scourged Christ. She was given ecstasies and visions and, with the help of counsellors, concluded they were genuine. She left her convent and founded the convent of St. Joseph in Avila under stricter discipline. She was a woman who retained her humanity and humor and did not find her way of spiritual progress easy. She wrote an autobiography, and spiritual classics *The Way of Perfection*, *Foundations* and *The Interior Castle*, giving a ‘scientific’ description of the entire life of prayer from meditation to ‘mystic marriage’, a state she is said to have reached in 1572. Before the end of her life she founded 16 other houses for women and, with the help of St. John of the Cross (a very small man) 14 for friars. He too wrote spiritual classics of which the best known are *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* and *The Dark Night of the Soul*.

The Inquisition and the Index of Prohibited Books

In 1469 the devout Catholic sovereign Isabella of Castile in Spain married Ferdinand of Aragon. As well as other reforms (Isabella’s special concern) they were intent on religious unity in their kingdoms. In 1478 Pope Sixtus IV granted them the right to

set up the Inquisition in their territories. There it was used to secure the conformity or exile of the large Jewish community and, after the fall of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, to enforce conversion of the Muslims to Christianity. By the 1530s it was directed in Spain against 'Erasmians' and Lutherans. It was much feared and hated for its public shaming of those it punished, its secret trials, and its tortures, though the extent of the latter has been exaggerated. In 1542 Pope Paul III sanctioned its introduction to Italy to curb the growth of Protestantism. Pope Paul IV (1555-9) used it so relentlessly that, after his death, a Roman mob sacked its premises, burnt its records and liberated its prisoners.

The Index of Prohibited Books was published in 1557 by the Congregation of the Inquisition. In 1571 a special 'Congregation of the Index' was established to be in charge of the list and revise it as needed. Protestant writings were included on it as well as some humanist classics, the *Beneficio di Cristo*, and the great majority of editions of the Bible and Church Fathers.

Papal Reform

In 1536 Pope Paul III appointed a commission of bishops and cardinals to report on the need and means of reforming the church. The report was outspoken mentioning nepotism, simony, pluralism and clerical immorality. It saw the fundamental issue as the mismanagement of church property. It laid blame on exaggerated papal power. The report was not published but somehow a copy reached Luther, who made a German translation, adding a sarcastic preface and marginal notes! The pope, who derived income from practices the report called corrupt, let it drop. Yet he did convene the Council of Trent in 1545.

The Council of Trent

Trent was chosen as the site of this 'general' council to please the emperor, as it lay in his territories in northern Italy. Disputes between popes and emperors led to intermittent sessions. There were in all three assemblies: 1545-7, 1551-2 and 1561-3. Initially there were only 31 prelates and 3 papal legates though the number of delegates increased to over 200 later. Most were Italians but some were Spanish. In the first two assemblies traditional standpoints were taken on matters in contention with the Reformers:

- Against 'Scripture alone' Scripture and Church tradition were asserted as authoritative, and only Scripture as interpreted by the Church. The Vulgate was reaffirmed as the norm for dogmatic truth.
- Against 'grace alone' (*sola gratia*), another Protestant watchword, it was asserted that human co-operation with grace is necessary for salvation.
- It was re-asserted that there are seven sacraments (not two), that communion should be in one kind, and that transubstantiation is correct.

In the third assembly, after bitter debates, it was declared that bishops must reside in their sees and there should be no pluralism; clergy obligations were listed and defined; the use of relics and indulgences was regulated; St. Thomas Aquinas was to be studied as the dominant theology of the Catholic Church. No liturgical reform was attempted.

The Council of Trent marked the birth of the modern Catholic Church.

In Medieval Europe the Church was the recognized custodian of the truth. What God had revealed could be elucidated by human reason, but ultimately it must be accepted in faith. Human beings were expected to be like children accepting what they were told. But that was all to change. The process was slow at first. It came partly through the observation of the natural world. **Nicholas Copernicus** (1473-1543) was a Polish astronomer and mathematician. Studying the mysterious pathways of the planets against the background of the fixed stars led him to believe that they rotated around the sun rather than the earth, and that the earth also moved around the sun and was not the center of the universe. The German astronomer **Johannes Kepler** (1571-1630) showed the planets moved in elliptical pathways around the sun, and the Italian physicist **Galileo** (1564-1642) gave further evidence for the truth of the Copernican view by observations through his telescope and brashly publicised it. But, pointed out the Church authorities, the Bible declares the world stands firm and will never be moved (Ps.93:1). Galileo was summoned before the Inquisition and forced to recant, and spent the rest of his life under house arrest. But he did not in fact change his view. Observations could not just be dismissed by a Scriptural text.

In view of what had happened to Galileo, the French philosopher **René Descartes** (1596-1650) withheld a book of his own with Copernican convictions. Instead he pioneered a new philosophical method which contributed markedly to the new worldview. He loved mathematics, admiring the entirely clear and logical principles by which it proceeded, and wanted to find similarly clear principles governing human thought in general. In this quest he decided to employ the principle of doubt. He resolved –

To accept nothing as true which I did not clearly recognize to be so: that is to say, carefully to avoid precipitation and prejudice in judgements, and to accept in them nothing more than what was presented to my mind so clearly and distinctly that I could have no occasion to doubt it. (*Discourse on Method* ii)

He found he could doubt everything that came to his senses and mind, except one thing – that he was in the process of thinking. He laid down therefore as the first principle of his philosophy the statement: ‘I think therefore I am’.

From there he moved on to the existence of God. He found in his mind an innate idea (one there from the start) of a Perfect Being whose perfection must include his existence. He believed this as self-evident as that the three internal angles of a triangle add up to two right angles. Since this Being is perfectly good he would not permit people to be deceived by what they perceived through their senses. So the world we detect around us must be real. He concluded that a human being consists of two parts: a ‘thinking thing’ (the soul), enclosed by an ‘extended thing’ (a body). But his great legacy to humanity was the **principle of doubt** as a means of reaching the truth.

Another thinker of great influence was **John Locke** (1632-1704), an Oxford academic. In his *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690) he attacked the concept of ‘innate ideas’. He viewed the human mind as a *tabula rasa* (Lat. ‘cleared tablet’) on which all ideas are written by experience. Knowledge comes from experience and reflection. There are three levels of knowledge:

- Intuitive – what we instinctively know, e.g. our own existence
- Demonstrative – what we can deduce, e.g. the existence of God, necessary to explain our existence
- Sensitive – what we know simply through our senses, i.e. the world around

There is another level of knowledge – **probability**. To assess this we employ judgement. Though not absolutely certain it is necessary, for on its basis we conduct most of our lives. Faith is assent to knowledge derived not from reason but revelation. Its knowledge, though highly probable, is not certain. *In religious matters one should therefore be tolerant of other people's views, not confusing the probable judgements of faith with the certainty of reasoning from experience.*

In 1695 he published *The Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures*. The essence of Christianity is acknowledgement of Jesus as Messiah sent into the world chiefly to spread the true knowledge of God and of our duties. Miracles are proofs of Christianity's divine origin.

Deism

Locke was clearly a Christian believer, but there other thinkers who, while accepting the existence of God, were not interested in Christian revelation. They are known as 'Deists' (from *deus*, Lat. 'God'). Their earliest representative was the Englishman Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1582-1648). He believed true religion must be universal, its origin lying not in revelation but in the natural instincts of every human being. In his work *De veritate* ('Concerning the Truth'), published in 1624, he laid down what he considered to be its five basic doctrines:

- the existence of God
- the obligation to worship God
- the practice of virtue
- the duty of repentance
- another life for rewards and punishments

Key later writers were the Irishman John Toland (1670-1722) whose book *Christianity not Mystrious* (1696) argues against revelation and the supernatural, and the Oxford scholar Matthew Tindal (1655-1733), whose *Christianity as Old as the World or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature* (1730), became the Bible of Deism. Whatever is of value in Christianity, he declared, coincides with 'natural religion'. Whilst never widely accepted in Britain Deism influenced various important writers in France and Germany, including Voltaire an influential writer at the time of the French Revolution.

It was the English barrister, Parliamentarian and philosopher **Francis Bacon** (1561-1626) who laid down the fundamental procedure for the development of science. It is called 'inductive logic'. This involves observing, recording the observations and then interpreting them. One must not, he said, rush rashly into drawing general conclusions but proceed in a patient and careful manner "from experiments to axioms which also design their own new experiments". He also pressed King James I to set up a society for the advancement of science which ultimately led to the foundation of the Royal Society in 1662.

Amongst the outstanding scientists to follow Bacon's procedure were Sir Robert Boyle (1627-91) and Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727). Boyle is known as the 'father of

chemistry' for his pioneering work in that field. Newton was arguably the greatest scientist of all time. An epitaph for him written by Alexander Pope aptly declared:

Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night;
God said, Let Newton be! and all was light.

In physics he formulated the laws of motion and the law of gravity, broke white light into the colors of the rainbow and invented the reflecting telescope; in mathematics he was one of the inventors of differential calculus. He hoped, it seems, that all of nature might be explicable in terms of mathematically expressed laws.

Like Boyle, Newton was a deeply religious man but he did not accept the doctrine of the Trinity, feeling it unreasonable. Questioning the Trinity ultimately led to Unitarianism which embraced scientists such as Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), the discoverer of oxygen, and many clergy. Others, feeling that through scientific knowledge man has become the master of the world, put aside belief in God altogether and interpreted life in purely material terms. Hence ultimately the secular society of much of modern-day Europe.

But what ethical guidance do people then have for this life? What hope of any better life beyond?

The Colonial Settlements

The Spanish were there first and in 1565 established St. Augustine settlement on the **Florida** peninsula. In the SW they also extended north their settlements in Mexico.

In 1607 105 settlers came from England with the Virgin Company and established Jamestown, **Virginia**. They had a Church of England chaplain and built a church. They brought to America the traditions of the Old Country. At first it was a strongly Puritan settlement then, from 1624, under direct rule from England. Economic success had come from growing tobacco and for this, from 1619, slave labor was imported from Africa. The plantation owners were Anglican, some being the younger sons of the landed gentry of southern England, and strict penalties were imposed on other whites who were not Anglicans, but little was done to instruct the slaves.

In 1632, under a grant from the English King Charles I, Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic nobleman, founded **Maryland** on part of the land of Virginia as a settlement for Catholics. The first settlers arrived two years later. About one tenth of them were Catholic aristocrats and the rest mostly their Protestant servants, so a measure of religious freedom was allowed and dissidents moved there or further south to the newly established Carolinas. After the overthrow of James II in England (1688) the Protestants took control of Maryland and the rights of Catholics were restricted. By then, however, there was a significant number of Catholics also in Pennsylvania, due to its tolerant policies, and minorities in each of the 13 colonies.

In the **North** and **South Carolinas** the higher classes were Anglicans, the lower classes tended to be Baptists or Quakers, but many had little contact with the church. Finally a military hero James Oglethorpe founded **Georgia** in 1732 as an alternative to debtors' prison in England as well as to prevent the Spanish from moving further north. Slavery and alcoholic drinks were outlawed.

A major problem for all Anglican and Roman Catholic communities was the lack of any resident bishop. The Anglicans were under the Bishop of London. Parish vestries elected the clergy; quickly they took on the job of hiring and firing them too.

Of all the North American religious traditions the English (Calvinist) Puritan settlements in **New England** had the most far reaching effects. Their members bound themselves by a covenant and sought a disciplined community governed by the rule of Scripture, building up the faithful. In 1620 the 'Pilgrim Fathers' ('Independents' who had settled in Holland to escape the established Church of England) sailed from Plymouth in SW England in the *Mayflower* to Massachusetts and named their settlement Plymouth. A far larger settlement was established at Massachusetts Bay in 1630. These colonists came from England and considered themselves members of the purified Church of England. Between 1630 and 1643 over 20,000 flocked there to be part of what they viewed as a 'holy experiment', calling themselves 'God's new Israel'. The problem for the Calvinist was: 'how can I be sure I am one of the elect?' By the 17th C their answer was: by a conversion experience that had transformed heart and life. It provided both a personal assurance of salvation and a criterion for full church membership. In all the New England settlements the church congregation formed the nucleus of the community and wielded the civil power. The magistrates

were the ‘nursing fathers’ of the community. They arbitrated on disputes, ruled on the fitness of ministers and supervised the moral behaviour of citizens seeing this as their divine duty. The ministers in turn advised the magistrates from God’s Word, and applied the insights of Scripture to the daily life of their congregations. God’s will was to be applied to the whole community.

Roger Williams (c.1603-83), one of the ministers, was the first to break ranks. He declared the magistrates had no right to enforce matters of personal conscience as well as those things concerned with the ordering of society. He then, with others, bought some land from the Indians and founded the colony of Providence, establishing a Baptist church there in 1638. In 1643 he travelled to England and secured from the Long Parliament a charter for his new colony of **Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations** to be governed as a democracy, allowing freedom of religion. This freedom he extended to Quakers who arrived there in 1656, though he disagreed with their doctrine. Later he became more and more radical in his beliefs, declaring the Indians’ religion as acceptable to God as Christianity, all churches false, and Scripture to be understood in purely spiritual terms. There was soon division too among the Baptists of Rhode Island. Some had gone from England to the Netherlands before travelling to America and there had been influenced by Arminianism. They became known as the ‘General’ Baptists, while those who had come straight from England and remained Calvinist were known as the ‘Particular’ Baptists.

Meanwhile, in New England a new generation arose that could not point to a conversion experience in their lives. Numbers presenting themselves for church membership dwindled alarmingly. In 1662 the Massachusetts clergy therefore accepted a ‘Half-Way Covenant’ allowing those without conversions (the children of church members etc) a half-way church membership. They could not receive Communion nor vote in church elections but could have their children baptized. In 1691 a new charter for Massachusetts made not church membership but property ownership the basis of voting rights. The Puritans had founded Harvard University and Yale College to provide an educated ministry, and instituted an excellent system of grammar schools. Late in the 17th C, however, European rationalism began to find favor in Yale and Harvard, and the term ‘Arminianism’¹ was applied to those who elevated reason, conscience and human freedom in the religious life.

In the southern states the population grew but, with no bishop, ordinations and confirmations were impossible. Eventually Bishops of London appointed commissaries – clergy authorized to perform certain episcopal duties. James Blair was sent to Virginia, Thomas Bray to Maryland. In 1698 Bray had founded the SPCK (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) which established schools and published Bibles and other Christian literature in England and abroad, and, in 1701, helped establish the SPG (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts) to provide missionaries to minister to British people overseas and to evangelize non-Christian races subject to the British crown. Between 1702 and 1783 the SPG provided 309 ordained missionaries for the thirteen colonies of America’s eastern seaboard.

Between New England and the southern colonies there was a religious pluralism as Dutch, Swedes, Germans and Scottish Irish (Protestants) co-existed with English Puritans and Anglicans. In 1681 the Quaker William Penn established **Pennsylvania**, where a policy of religious toleration was underpinned by non-violence and recognition of the inner light in each soul. From the beginning its population

consisted of people from various confessions, as indeed in **Delaware**, which was part of Pennsylvania until 1701. **New Jersey**: East New Jersey at first followed strict New England Puritan lines; West New Jersey was led by the Quakers. Eventually these became a slave-holding aristocracy which led to tension with other Quakers. **New York**: The Dutch East India Company established its HQ in Manhattan bringing with it the Reformed Church. It was conquered by the British in 1664. The former New Netherland then became New York. The British Governor and his adherents were Anglican, but immigration led to a mixture of denominations.

The Great Awakening

The greatest religious event of the first half of the 18th C became known as the 'Great Awakening'. Pietism from Europe was a contributory factor. Component parts were:-

- New England – the Calvinist theologian Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) was convinced of the need for personal conversion. He did not preach particularly emotionally but stressed the need for conviction of sin and divine forgiveness. In 1734 people began to respond with emotional outbursts and then, for many, remarkably changed lives and deeper spiritual devotion. Edwards kept a record in his *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*. The revival subsided within three years but caused great excitement.

- The preaching of itinerant English evangelist George Whitfield during his many visits to America, and especially 1737-41, caused a great stir wherever he went. His dramatic, forceful preaching on the new birth drew huge crowds, culminating in 30,000 on Boston Common. In his journal he lamented the 'darkness' in Harvard and Yale universities and the lack of vital piety among many colonial clergy.

- Some local clergy took up Whitfield's message denouncing the 'unconverted ministry' of colonial clergy, and urging their people to find others more godly.

Divisions were created in the northern colonies: Anglicans and many Congregationalists cautioning against the unleashing of 'enthusiasm', others seeing it as a revitalizing of religion. In the south Presbyterians, by the 1770s also Methodists and, above all, Baptists preached the new message. The stress on personal conversion caused doubts about infant baptism. Many Congregationalists and Presbyterians became Baptists, including whole congregations. The preachers also preached democracy against the hierarchical social order of colonial Anglicanism. In the long term the Awakening became religious cement binding together the different parts of the colonies. It led to an interest in missions and a concern to evangelize the social outcasts of the old order, including the African slave community. There arose the popular belief that the golden age of the Kingdom of God would occur *before* the return of Jesus ('Post-Millennialism'). This proved an incentive to liberation of the slaves.

The Consequences of the War of Independence

The American War of Independence (1776-83) changed the balance of the churches quite drastically. Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists, who supported the war, gained some advantages. Anglicans, who were as a church loyal to the British crown, were devastated by the defection of clergy, destruction of property and general ill will. In Virginia the Anglicans' privileged status was progressively removed and clergy numbers slumped from 90 to 13. Methodists, advised by Wesley against rebellion, also experienced hostility. Quakers suffered for their pacifism. The need for American bishops became acute with the cutting of the national tie with Britain.

In 1784 Samuel Seabury was elected to be bishop by the clergy of Connecticut. He could not be consecrated in England as that would have entailed an oath of allegiance to the Crown. Instead he was consecrated in Aberdeen by the Primus and two other bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. By 1786 the British Parliament had passed an enabling act for three American bishops to be consecrated without taking the oath, and so William White and Samuel Provoost were consecrated in 1787, and James Madison in 1790, at Lambeth Palace in London.

In 1790 John Carroll was consecrated as the first Roman Catholic bishop in the country. The Catholics benefited from the removal of the legal restraints that had bound them during the colonial period. In 1791 a 'Bill of Rights' guaranteed religious liberty. During this time too independent African-American churches began to spring up.

In the new democracy of the United States all religious tests for public office were rejected. The First Amendment of the Constitution declared that no religion (or denomination) would be established, i.e. favored above the rest, and none prohibited. All were in open competition. In 1800 there were altogether c.5 million citizens, almost all Protestants, only c.50,000 Roman Catholics. There was a feeling that America was a 'nation under God', 'God's country' and its people were white, Protestant and democratic. This 'one-ness' was much valued and overrode the different denominations.

The Denominations

In 1780 there were 750 Congregational churches, the Presbyterians had nearly 500 churches and the Anglicans over 400. These 'colonial big three' were soon, however, overtaken.

Congregationalism was chiefly a church of the northern US. It made significant gains only in areas colonized from New England. It grew only slowly. The majority of its members were Trinitarian. A minority separated as the Unitarians in 1815, making less of the supernatural and miraculous, focusing rather on the benevolence of God and the moral conscience of humans; as time went on they tended to become also universalists². Their intellectual center was Harvard College. Among the Trinitarian leaders were **Lyman Beecher** (1776-1863) who had fallen under the influence of Timothy Dwight, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, and was first Principal of Yale College where he worked tirelessly to draw his students from the scepticism of the French Enlightenment³ to a conversion-oriented piety. Beecher, who was minister at different times of Congregational and Presbyterian churches, himself evangelised and became a supporter of the spectacular and controversial evangelist Charles G. Finney. Dwight and Beecher are representatives of the more intellectual and restrained side of the Second Great Awakening (c.1800-35). Beecher also championed various aspects of social reform – temperance, women's right to vote, the anti-slavery cause, and campaigns to abolish duelling. He staunchly opposed both Unitarianism and Roman Catholicism. Another Influential graduate of Yale (and for a while a member of staff there) was **Horace Bushnell** (1802-76). He was considerably more liberal. In 1861 he published *Christian Nurture*, putting forward the view that a child is brought into the Christian community by nurture not conversion. 'The child is to grow up a Christian,' he said, 'and never know himself as being otherwise.'⁴ This in effect applied evolution to the Christian life and recognized the importance of the family, especially the role of the mother, and proved popular.

Presbyterianism was the heir of the Scottish and Irish Protestant immigrations of the 18th C. It promoted an educated ministry. Its theological base was Princeton Seminary, whose first president was Jonathan Edwards. It proved more ready than its colonial rivals to embrace revival and therefore continued to grow. It was concerned to spread the Bible and moral reform.

Anglicanism had suffered greatly for remaining loyal to Britain in the War of Independence. It lost its hold on Virginia and the south, many of its members emigrating to Canada or England. In 1783 those who remained became the Protestant Episcopal Church. Under their new bishops they rallied. In 1789 a Constitutional Conference established their constitution, set of canons and Prayer Book. They tended to be a church of the educated elite, attracting and producing wealthy people. Thus they had an influence beyond their numbers. Yet they were concerned about mission. In 1820 their General Convention set up a Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society which, in 1835, was superseded by the Convention's Board of Missions. The division between 'high' and 'low' churchmen was exacerbated by the dissemination across the Atlantic of the doctrines and practices of the Oxford Movement and, in the latter part of the 19th century the 'high' church took control.

As settlers pushed west throughout the century they were accompanied principally by the 'frontier big three' churches: the Baptists, the Methodists and the Disciples of Christ.

These **Baptists** did not come from the 16th C Anabaptists but were an offshoot of New England Congregationalism which started in Rhode Island. They were Calvinists who set high standards for their members and were very active in their evangelism. They spread south and west, entering Virginia and from there penetrating Tennessee and Kentucky. By 1800 they were the largest denomination in the Union. As they moved west with the settlers they were involved in the more emotional, and later anti-intellectual, side of the Second Great Awakening. A notable episode was the week-long Cane Ridge Revival in Kentucky in 1801 attended by about 25,000 people. There seems to have been considerable carousing but also much preaching and many conversions but with bizarre behaviour as people laughed, cried, ran about, trembled and even barked! Both Baptists and Methodists took to using such 'camp meetings', employing preachers with little education, and the revival rapidly spread.

Methodism started at a disadvantage having followed Wesley's instruction that they should remain loyal to the British throughout the War. This made them unpopular and afterwards all their preachers returned to England except Bishop Asbury, who remained and worked tirelessly. New preachers were recruited and, in 1784, the American Methodist Church was constituted as a separate body and, involved in the Awakening, grew from an initial membership of c.14,000 to, 60 years later, over 1 million, overtaking and then rivalling the Baptists. By then the two churches made up two-thirds of the Protestant population of America. But their success was accompanied by division and competition.

The **Disciples of Christ** never intended to form a new denomination. Their founders the Scots Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander, who quickly became leader, intended to unite the existing divided Protestant community by restoring New Testament Christianity. They offered the principle: 'Where the Scriptures speak, we

speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent.’ But their distinctive approach, evangelical yet rational, did not appeal to all and they became a separate body in 1832.

Yet, beneath the divisions lay a deeper unity amongst the evangelical Protestants and they co-operated in forming societies to distribute the Bible, advance education, mission, social reform and the cause of temperance.

If there were only about 50,000 **Roman Catholics** in America in 1800, in the following century there was a huge influx particularly from Ireland, due to the prolonged potato famine there, and from southern Germany. By 1860 there were 3.5 million of them, making them the largest denomination. They were poor, crowded into slums, hard-drinking, unruly and thought to be undemocratic because of the hierarchical nature of their church. They were viewed as urban and working class. French Catholic priests were often in conflict with their Irish congregations. The Catholic population of the Union was further increased by taking considerable territory in the south-west from Mexico. In 1848 a brief war ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and, for \$15 million, they acquired New Mexico, Arizona, California, Utah, Nevada and part of Colorado (more than 3 mill. sq. km.). Many Mexicans stayed, assured of their rights though these were violated. The northern Catholics sought to ‘Americanize’ them, and they resented this.

There was a backlash from the Protestant community to such an influx of Catholics. Some felt it was a papal plot to take over America. ‘Nativists’ perpetrated occasional acts of violence, such as burning an Ursuline convent near Boston in 1834 and attacking Irish crowds in Philadelphia in 1844 which left some Catholics dead. In 1849 a secret society called the Star Spangled Banner (or ‘Know Nothings’) was formed to prevent the election of Catholics to public office and, for a decade, had considerable success. Nevertheless, between 1813 and 1893 perhaps as many as 700,000 Americans voluntarily became Roman Catholics.

A substantial number of **Lutherans** came from Germany and later from the Scandinavian countries. They were welcomed as fellow Protestants but their foreign languages somewhat isolated them. They pursued a long quest for unity.

There were also many smaller bodies including the Shakers, Seventh Day Adventists, Moravians, Mennonites, Russian and Greek Orthodox and many Jews. Through the century America gave birth to a number of its own new sects, most notably the Mormons (‘The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints’) founded by Joseph Smith in 1830, the Jehovah’s Witnesses founded by Charles T. Russell in the 1870s, and the Christian Scientists founded by Mary Baker Eddy in 1879. Each in time spread well beyond the borders of the country.

Slavery and the Civil War

Slavery had existed in English-speaking America since 1619. Gradually a consensus had grown against it as inhuman. In 1776 the Quakers expelled all slave owners from their membership. Methodists and Baptists were at first opposed to slavery then, to win slave-owning whites, moderated their opposition. By 1843 over 1,000 Methodist ministers and preachers owned slaves. Presbyterians too were ambiguous. The economic and social system in the south was based on slave labor. Christians came to justify slavery as good because through it the blacks now heard the Gospel and the master/slave relationship was based on mutual trust and dependence. It was pointed out that nowhere in the Bible is slavery actually condemned. But in the north the

conviction hardened that it was an evil in itself. It had been outlawed throughout the British dominions in 1833. The conflicting views led to the splitting of the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian denominations into separate northern and southern bodies. Indeed the Episcopal Church was the only mainline church not to do so. Then there was Civil War (1861-5) won by the Federal armies of the north.

Post Civil War

After the war hostility from the defeated whites of the south was turned on the blacks and there was racial segregation. The blacks now openly formed independent Baptist and Methodist churches of their own. As entering the ministry of these churches was the only route to prestigious positions in their community, for a century most black leaders were pastors. Some blacks moved north to better their living conditions and black ghettos were formed in northern cities. Segregation became a feature of life there too. Gradually a middle class of educated blacks began to develop.

The post-war period saw further rapid growth of the white Protestant churches. In the 1870s the former shoe salesman, itinerant evangelist **Dwight L. Moody** (1837-99) accompanied by the musician **David Sankey**, conducted tremendously successful missions first in Britain, then America. Moody preached the 'three Rs': Ruin by Sin, Redemption by Christ, Regeneration by the Holy Spirit. He effectively unified the American evangelical Protestants. He had started his evangelism through Sunday Schools and the Y.M.C.A. and these (together with the Y.W.C.A.) were avenues used widely by the Protestant community to reach the urban masses out of touch with the Church. A great concern developed too for overseas mission. Some missionary societies had been founded earlier in the century but, in 1886, the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions was added and, in 1893, the Foreign Mission Conference of North America. By early in the next century over one-third of the world's Protestant missionaries and 40% of mission funding came from the American Protestants. The Federal Council of Churches was founded in 1908 to provide a unified Protestant voice on many of the day's social issues.

The challenges of Darwinism and Biblical Criticism reached America late in the century. Henry Ward Beecher (1817-87), son of Lyman, was able to reconcile biological evolution with the divine plan and purpose, but Biblical Criticism was much more difficult. Had not the Westminster Confession declared the Bible is 'authentic' because it was 'immediately inspired by God' and 'kept pure in all ages'? The Evangelical Alliance had been formed in 1846 to join together all who saw liberalism as a denial of the faith, and at a meeting at Niagara Falls, New York, in 1895, the movement listed five 'fundamentals' that could not be denied without falling into liberalism: The inerrancy of Scripture, the divinity of Jesus, the Virgin Birth, Jesus' death on the cross as a substitute for our sins, his physical resurrection and impending return. From this point on for at least several decades the majority of Protestants, especially in the south, were 'Fundamentalists'.

Some Liberals gave priority to the needs of the poor urban masses. The most notable theologian of their 'Social Gospel' was the Baptist Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918), who declared the fruit of the Kingdom of God included social redemption as well as spiritual. He showed that economic liberalism, which said that the law of supply and demand is sufficient to regulate the market place, leads to great inequality and social injustice. Christians should limit unbridled capitalism and make laws to aid the poor and promote justice. The P.E.C. played a considerable part in this movement. In 1887 several of its New York clergy set up the Association for the

Advancement of the Interests of Labor'. In 1911 two Boston priests set up the fairly short-lived Church Socialist League. Of more lasting impact was the Church League for Industrial Democracy set up by priests in New York in 1919.

Towards the end of the century there was a debate in the Roman Catholic Church as to how far it should adopt the American democratic culture. This came to an end when the papal bull *Testem Benevolentiae* (1899) condemned 'Americanism'.

The census of 1906 revealed that there were by then in America: over 10½ million Roman Catholic adults, over 5 million each of Methodists and Baptists, about 2 million each of Lutherans and Presbyterians; then Disciples of Christ, Episcopalians, Congregationalists and smaller bodies.

World War 1 and its Aftermath

The Americans kept out of World War I (1914-18) for a long time and then entered it vehemently to "save civilization". President Woodrow Wilson declared it was "the war to end wars". The victorious allies were in no mood for mercy towards the Germans afterwards.

In the post-war years white Protestants in America, were belligerent. Liberals and conservatives combined in the cause of temperance and saw the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages banned in some states and, from 1919 – 1933, by invoking the 18th Amendment, banned nationally. The prohibition campaigns had often pitted the native Protestants against new immigrants. A series of immigration laws, culminating in the National Origins Act (1924) set annual quotas of immigrants based on the 1890 profile of the American population which reduced the intake considerably and ensured the bulk of newcomers were from the more Protestant Northern Europe. The Ku Klux Klan also staged a revival in the North as well as the South, and added Catholics and Jews to blacks as enemies of American religion and democracy. The post-war period was also one of a 'red scare', with witch hunts for Communists, radicals and subversives. The Southern Fundamentalists were particularly concerned about the theory of evolution, which they saw as undermining the inerrancy of the Bible and its declaration underpinning democracy – that mankind is made in the image of God (Gen.1:26-27). In the 1920s a number of states banned the teaching of evolution in public schools, culminating in the infamous trial of the Tennessee teacher John T. Scopes in 1925. This discredited the Fundamentalists and, as they failed to win control of the leadership and seminaries of the older denominations, many left to form new churches and Bible Schools.

From the Depression to World War 2

In 1929 North America, like the rest of the world, entered the Great Depression, though for some time many refused to admit it. One quarter of the workforce became unemployed. As there was no social security the unemployed had to rely on family, friends and the churches for support. Soup kitchens and bread queues became a common sight. In 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President. In his administration Catholic politicians and ideas, such as the medieval idea of the 'just wage', came to prominence. The Methodist Church too and the Federal Council of Churches (founded in 1908) urged government participation in economic planning and safeguarding the well-being of the poor. Roosevelt's New Deal implemented many of these moderate socialist policies, though the country did not really pull out of the depression until 1939.

In such times Neo-Orthodox theologians were influential. The teachings of Karl Barth were read sympathetically. The two brothers Reinhold (1892-1971) and Richard (1894-1962) Niebuhr, both influenced by Barth, made an impact of their own. The German academic Paul Tillich (1886-1965), who had in 1933 been dismissed by the Nazis from his professorship at Frankfurt because of his socialist views, was taken back by Reinhold Niebuhr to join him on the staff of Union Theological Seminary in New York. Tillich was a liberal, a theologian of culture. In his *Systematic Theology*, 3 vol. (1951-64) he declared that the only non-symbolic statement about God, he believed, was the statement that God is 'being itself', 'the ground of our being'. The story of Adam, he said, was a myth about human nature. A person is first in a state of dreaming innocence; then he becomes aware of his finite freedom - and uses it. Creation is only complete when Adam has fallen. Jesus is the New Being who came to bring a new state of things. The symbol of the cross is that of the divine taking upon himself the estrangement between man and God, and satisfying both his love and justice. The resurrection symbolises the certainty of the disciples that Jesus of Nazareth was the New Being. Those who turn to the New Being join the spiritual community, which is the expression of the New Being in the world, the community of faith and love.⁵

The American nation was very divided as to how to react to the Second War, which began in 1939. Some approved of Fascism's anti-Communist stance; others were pacifists or isolationists. Reinhold Niebuhr, however, declared injustice must be met with force. In the end the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour (1941) left little choice. The churches sent chaplains with the forces but spoke of the war in more moderate terms than during the First War, being careful not to confuse Christianity with national pride.

The Many Currents of the Post-War Era

The period that followed the war was one of unprecedented economic growth. Whilst Europe and the Far East had experienced so much devastation America had very largely escaped it. This period also witnessed what appeared to be a great religious revival – 69% Americans were closely connected with a church or synagogue. There were spiritual factors in this: the evangelist Billy Graham (b.1918) drew great crowds to his crusades in the 1950s and 1960s and there were many conversions; the Pentecostal churches were growing and the Charismatic Movement was beginning. But there were also sociological factors at work: the Cold War had begun and the Church was viewed as a bulwark against atheistic Communism; suburbanization was proceeding at great speed and in the new suburbs the churches and synagogues were social as well as religious centers. There were also those who viewed faith as of therapeutic value, e.g. Norman Vincent Peale's *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952). So perhaps some of this religious devotion was 'faith in faith' rather than genuine trust in God.

The 1960s brought radical changes in American society:

- Protestant dominance somewhat waned. In 1960 John F. Kennedy was elected as the first Catholic President.
- There was a radicalization of the separation of church and state. In the 19th C the First Amendment served to prevent an *established* church in the new republic (though, in fact, some states had had one). Now a series of Supreme

Court decisions used it to ban all formal prayer and devotional Bible reading from the public schools.

- The idea that America as a beacon of true Christianity was seriously shaken by the civil rights campaign of the black Southern Baptist minister Martin Luther King (1929-68) and others in the 1950s and 1960s, and from the media pictures of the napalm destruction of people and the environment in the Vietnam war.
- There were also challenges to traditional American cultural and ethical assumptions through feminism, same sex relationships, the contraceptive pill etc.
- Eastern religious movements and practices won supporters : Zen Buddhism, Transcendental Meditation, Yoga etc

Responding to feminism the older English-speaking Protestant communities introduced the ordination of women by the late 1970s. Their use of inclusive language and the questioning of the 'fatherhood of God' were more controversial. They were involved less in evangelism than before. In the three decades after 1965 all the older denominations lost one sixth to one third of their members. Roman Catholicism too experienced decline. Many Catholics were glad of the new liberties granted them by Vatican II but liturgical changes and the decline of the Friday fast removed some of their cultural identity. Many were frustrated that other changes did not go far enough. Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae* which rejected modern birth control methods, was widely disregarded. In the two decades after Vatican II the number of Roman Catholic seminarians in the US dropped by 75% and many seminaries had to close. Conversely, since the 1960s there has been a remarkable growth in conservative evangelicalism with its belief in biblical inerrancy and conversion oriented piety. Pentecostal churches such as the Assemblies of God have grown particularly fast. By the end of the 1980s Evangelical Protestant Churches equalled in membership the older mainline churches. They have generally rejected America's ethical revolution and have played a significant part in politics via the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition. Presidents Carter and Bush came from their fold and President Clinton felt the need to make abject public penance to remain in office after the Lewinski affair. The Episcopal Church in contrast has followed a very liberal ethical path and, with the consecration of Gene Robinson, a divorcee and practising homosexual as assistant bishop of the Diocese of New Hampshire in 2004, has not only split itself but also seriously threatened the unity of the entire Anglican Communion.

At the end of the 20th C the conservative/liberal split within the Church in America has widened and has largely replaced the old Protestant/Catholic divide, but over 40% of Americans still attend church weekly.

Notes

1. The belief of Jacob Arminius (1560-1609) that *anyone*, not just the elect, could respond to the Gospel message and find salvation.
2. The belief that *all* people will be saved.
3. The movement in 18th C France that believed that truth was to be found through human reason and scientific experiment not divine revelation.
4. 1967 edition, p.4.
5. Although this approach has some appeal it fails to take seriously enough the historical nature of the Christian revelation, and its symbolic interpretation is arbitrary.

The parish system of the Church of England failed to cater for the new towns that sprang up in the 18th C, or the expansion of the older towns, as industrialization gathered pace. The leisurely country parson with his ‘hunting, shooting and fishing’, and other clergy touched by rationalism and Unitarianism, were scarcely adequate for the challenges of reaching a society increasingly characterized by poverty and brutalization. Here the Methodists shone.

John (1703-91) and **Charles** (1707-88) were children of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth in the English Midlands, and his wife Susanna. Susanna was a remarkable woman who gave time each week to fostering the spiritual lives of each of her children individually. John was educated at Charterhouse School and Charles at Westminster School, both in London, and then both went to Christ Church (College) in Oxford. John was later elected a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Charles drew together a group of students, which included his brother and **George Whitfield** (1714-70), who met regularly for prayer, Bible Study and fellowship, attended church services and pledged themselves to care for the poor and needy. Fellow students ridiculed them and called them the ‘Holy Club’! After ordination (1728), in response to an invitation from Governor James Oglethorpe, the Wesley brothers went out in 1735 to minister in the new settlement of Georgia. Charles served for a while as the Governor’s Secretary but returned to England in 1736. John returned in 1737 having antagonized the Georgians with his rigoristic discipline and the consequences of a failed romance.

Both on the way to Georgia and in London after his return John was challenged by the Moravians about his personal relationship with God. In London in May 24th 1738 he went unwillingly to one of their meetings in Aldersgate Street where Luther’s Preface to the Epistle to the Romans was being read out. At about 8.45pm, he reports in his *Journal*, he felt his heart ‘strangely warmed’ and that he ‘did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation: And an assurance was given me, that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine* and saved *me* from the law of sin and death¹’. Charles had had a similar experience a few days earlier. They both then dedicated themselves to the life of evangelists. John found church doors were progressively closed to him by Church of England clergy so, from 1739, he followed Whitfield’s example of open-air preaching. His *Journal* records the thousands who stopped to listen to him and the responses he received – often hostile, sometimes violent, but also there were many conversions. He possessed a great gift for organization – the origin perhaps of the name ‘Methodist’. Wherever he went he left groups of men and women bound together in a common life. In Bristol in SW England, in 1742, his followers agreed to divide themselves into classes of about 12 each of which one was appointed leader and collected the ‘class money’ (a penny a week). They met weekly for Bible reading, prayer and reporting on the victories and defeats they were experiencing as Christians. Wesley gave them a code of rules. They were expected to receive the sacraments in their local (Church of England) parish churches, but many clergy were suspicious of their independent activities and inevitably a gulf developed. Wesley instituted a system of lay preachers which, from 1744, were called together for an annual conference. Only in 1784 did he lay down a constitution for this body. In 1746 a system of circuits (groups of local congregations) was instituted. Increased responsibility within the movement meant increased discipline for the person concerned. Breaches of discipline could lead to expulsion.

Wesley's followers, now sober and hard-working, became prosperous, but he warned them about the effects of riches. He was always concerned for the poor and needy and often raised money to help them. He opened a dispensary, started a loan society, founded a home for widows, a school for poor children etc. Though in politics he was a Conservative (Tory) much later the British Labour Party had its roots in Methodism – a viable alternative to Communism.

In theology Wesley clearly believed in justification by faith, but he was also an Arminian², believing the Gospel was for all. In sacramental doctrine he was similar to Luther and continued to value liturgical as well as extempore (free) prayer. Singing was a marked feature of Methodism. Whilst both brothers wrote hymns hymn-writing was Charles' supreme talent. In all he composed over 5,000 hymns, some of which are still sung far beyond the bounds of Methodism.

John Wesley extended his ministry over the whole British Isles, riding over 30,000 km during his lifetime, preaching over 40,000 sermons and writing, besides his *Journal*, thousands of letters. His *Notes on the New Testament* (1754) and the four volumes of his sermons are the doctrinal standard of Methodism. From the 1760s the movement grew in America. Along with the Baptists it went with the frontier settlers as they constantly pushed westwards. From his studies of the New Testament Wesley believed that bishops and presbyters were the same office and therefore that presbyters could ordain other presbyters. In consequence, in 1784, he ordained Thomas Coke as Superintendent of the American Methodists, instructing him to ordain Francis Asbury to assist him. Soon they were calling themselves 'bishop' (a step of which Wesley disapproved), and so the American Methodists are episcopal. This step of ordaining clergy made a complete break with the Church of England inevitable; though Wesley himself declared he lived and would die a member of the Church of England. When he died in 1791 there were:

- In Britain 71,668 Methodist members and 294 preachers
- In America 43,265 Methodist members and 198 preachers

Later the numbers in America far outstripped those in the 'old' country. Sad to say Wesley's marriage to Mary Vazeille proved very unhappy – but who could enjoy being married to a man who declared 'the world is my parish' and was constantly absent from home?

After Wesley's death British Methodism split into various smaller bodies: the New Connexion, Primitive Methodists, Wesleyans and Bible Christians, but subsequently these have reunited. Today Methodism, a worldwide movement, is strongly ecumenical, being a constituent body of the Church of South India (1947), the Church of North India (1970) and numerous other united churches. After several failed attempts last century conversations about eventual reunion with the Church of England are again in progress.

Notes

1. Rom.8.2.
2. From Jacob Arminius (1560-1609) who taught that God foreknew who would respond to the Gospel, rather than predestining some for salvation, others for damnation. Whitfield, however, was a Calvinist and, on this issue, they parted company yet with great respect for each other.

Ch.20 The Church of England in the Nineteenth Century

The activities and controversies within the Church of England in the 19th century explain to quite a degree the present make-up of the Anglican Communion.

The Evangelicals

‘Evangelical’ is from the Greek *euangelion* = ‘Gospel’, ‘good news’. Evangelicals are those who make their fundamental aim to spread the Gospel, calling for a response. They stress conversion or commitment to Christ and salvation by faith in his atoning death. As with the Reformers, the Bible is their primary authority and Bible study, both individually and in groups, of great importance.

In the 18th century John and Charles Wesley and George Whitfield were all Anglican priests. From the Wesleys we have seen came the Methodist Church, but it was particularly through Whitfield that some Anglican clergy experienced conversion yet decided to continue to serve within the Church of England. By 1800 they were an influential group. They tended to be distrusted, however, by the upper and middle classes and regarded as ‘Methodists’ trying to corrupt the church from within with their ‘wretched enthusiasm’! In turn they claimed many in the church were merely nominal Christians. It was for these that, in 1797 William Wilberforce published his eloquent appeal: *Practical View of the Prevailing Religious Conceptions of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country Contrasted with Real Christianity*.

Until the second half of the 19th century, when Lord Shaftesbury was put in charge of ecclesiastical patronage, it was almost impossible for Evangelicals to gain appointment to higher positions within the church.

In the early part of the century their recognised leader was **Charles Simeon** (1759-1836). Educated at Eton School and King’s College, Cambridge, of which he was a scholar, he was converted as a student through preparing for a compulsory service of Holy Communion at Easter! In 1782 he was elected Fellow of King’s College and entered holy orders. Priested in 1783, he was made Vicar of Holy Trinity Cambridge. He had to overcome initial hostility but then stayed there for the rest of his life, his remarkable preaching ministry influencing generations of students, many of whom served as clergy at home and overseas. Each of his sermons was carefully constructed and took usually 12 hours preparation! He developed a slight work on sermon composition into his massive 12 volume *Horae Homileticae* (‘Homiletical Hours’), published before his death and containing about 2,000 skeleton sermons. He also bought up the rights of patronage of a number of parishes, mostly in towns, which were then held by the Simeon Trust and used for the appointment of Evangelical clergy.

Of great influence within the country were a group of eminent Evangelical laymen dubbed the ‘**Clapham Sect**’ because of their association with Clapham, a town three miles across fields from the center of London, where the Evangelical clergyman John Venn ministered from 1792-1813. Its members were Henry Thornton, banker and M.P (Member of Parliament); William Wilberforce, brilliant oratorical MP; Charles Grant, a director of the East India Company; James Stephen, an eminent lawyer; Zachary Macaulay, once Governor of Sierra Leone; and Lord Teignmouth, who had been Governor General of India. These great men spent hours

daily in prayer and shared intimate fellowship, treating each other as members of one large family; and they became in many respects the conscience of the nation. They are best known for their determined fight against the slave trade perpetrated by British merchants between Africa and the West Indies. Their struggle to get a bill through Parliament took 20 years (1787-1807). Slavery itself was abolished throughout the British Empire in 1833. They also supported the establishment of a number of schools for poor children, such as those of Hannah More in the Cheddar Valley in Somerset in south-west England, and various hospitals, clinics and dispensaries. To attack the anti-Christian political and religious ideas of such men as Paine, Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire and Rousseau, then influencing the intellectual public, they published from 1802 the first quarterly periodical in Britain: *The Christian Observer*, and encouraged Hannah More in the publication of her *Cheap Repository Tracts*, popular stories and ballads with a moral, for circulation among the working classes.

There were a few Evangelicals who became diocesan bishops in the 19th C including John Bird Sumner (1780-1862), Archbishop of Canterbury, 1848-62, and John Charles Ryle (1816-1900), long-serving bishop of the new diocese of Liverpool, 1880-1900. They sought to maintain a high standard of episcopal care in their dioceses, especially in the administration of ordination and confirmation.

Outstanding for his social concern was ‘the poor man’s earl’ – Anthony Ashley Cooper, **Lord Shaftesbury** (1801-85). After education at Harrow School and Christ Church, Oxford he entered Parliament in 1826 and was responsible for a huge number of initiatives to improve the state of the poor including:

- The 1828 Lunatics Act that ensured the regular inspection of the conditions under which the mentally ill were held by a commission which included doctors.
- The 1842 Mines Act which forbade the employment of women and girls, and boys under 13.
- The Ten Hours Act (1847), finally implemented by the Factory Act (1874), ensuring employees were not made to work more than ten hours a day.
- The Chimney Sweep Acts (1864, 1875) restricting the conditions under which boys could be sent up chimneys to clean them.

He was also Chairman of the Ragged Schools Union which developed education for children from poor homes. His church activities included advising Prime Minister Lord Palmeston from 1855 on ecclesiastical appointments; being long-serving President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, set up interdenominationally in 1804 to publish Bibles at home and abroad; being first President of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society, founded in 1836 to assist the home mission of the Church of England by making grants money for stipends of curates and lay-workers in Evangelical parishes; and supporting the work of the Church Missionary Society, set up in 1799 to send missionaries to the native peoples of Africa and the East, and the Young Men’s Christian Association, founded in 1844 to encourage prayer and Bible reading with young people (known today internationally for its hostels which provide cheap accommodation for young people and sporting and other facilities).

In 1850 Pope Pius IX restored the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England (it had of course been abolished at the Reformation), creating thirteen bishoprics and making Nicholas Wiseman Archbishop of Westminster and a cardinal. Wiseman exulted in the move and congratulated the English people but, by and large they felt affronted and the step boosted the Evangelical party in the Church of England.

These Evangelicals were Conservative in politics, lovers of the BCP and long sermons! They were diligent shepherds within their parishes and instituted more frequent communion. They rejected reading novels, playing cards, dancing and going to the theatre as worldly. They were not teetotalers but condemned drunkenness. They strictly observed Sundays, and opposed using it for sport. They brought up their children with strict discipline. They composed about a quarter of the clergy of the Church of England at this time, but their puritanical lifestyle did not make them generally popular.

Anglican Evangelicalism towards the end of the century was influenced by the American revivalist movements, particularly of the Americans Moody and Sankey in the 1870s and 1880s. The Keswick Convention, set up in 1875 in the beautiful surroundings of the northern English Lake District, provided a rallying point for fellowship and inspiration. Its aim was to promote practical holiness and it provided facilities for prayer, worship, and Bible exposition by outstanding preachers. By then personal devotion and world mission were stressed but social and political reform were disappearing from the Evangelical agenda. Whilst there were differences between more conservative and more liberal Evangelicals, in general biblical inspiration was so upheld that the challenges of science and biblical criticism were not seriously grappled with.

The Oxford Movement

What became known as the 'Oxford Movement' was led by a group of academics at Oriel College, Oxford: **John Keble** (1792-1866), a gentle, conservative and unambitious man, Professor of Poetry of the University from 1831, but also a parish priest; **Richard Hurrell Froude** (1803-36), impatient and aggressive, whose premature death was caused by tuberculosis; **John Henry Newman** (1801-90), a keen thinker from an Evangelical background whose sermons when he was Vicar of St. Mary's Oxford exercised immense influence among the university population; and **Edward Bouverie Pusey** (1800-82), a humble and stable man, who became Regius Professor of Hebrew of the University in 1828.

The Church of England had long been under fire for its corruption and inequalities. Bishops were hooted through the streets. In 1830 after a long period in opposition the Whigs (Liberal Party) came back into power. The Prime Minister Lord Grey showed their feeling when he told the bishops to 'set their house in order'. Reform was in the air. In 1832 the Reform Bill was passed revising constituencies to give fairer Parliamentary representation and extending the franchise (those eligible to vote). In 1833 the Irish Church Temporalities Act suppressed two archbishoprics and eight bishoprics out of the 22 sees of the Church of Ireland. Panic was at the throat of the Church of England. The alarm was sounded in Oxford by Keble in his Assize Sermon of July 14th 1833. He compared attitude of the British people to that of the Jews when they demanded a king from Samuel (1 Sam.8). It was nothing less than national apostasy. Those loyal to the Church must fervently resist by prayer and protest. The sermon was published under the title 'National Apostasy'. The immediate outcome was a meeting at which an Association in defence of the Church was proposed, but lack of agreement soon rendered it worthless. More significant was an *Address of the Clergy* (with 7,000 signatures) and a *Lay Address* (signed by 230,000 heads of families) presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1834 pledging support for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

Newman wished not merely to arouse sentiment but to instil sound doctrine. He therefore intended to give them ‘a dose of volatile salts, pungent but restorative’! And so, from September 1833, there began to appear *Tracts for the Times*. *Tract 1* pointed out that the authority of the clergy came not from the ownership of property, nor from popularity, but through their ordination by a bishop who traced his authority through a succession of church leaders back to the apostles. Throughout the autumn and winter more tracts flowed from the pens of Newman and, to a lesser extent, others on many aspects of Church doctrine and practice: the Visible Church, the *Via media*, the sacraments, the value of fasting, etc. They were relatively short documents and their sequence followed no systematic design. Under the influence of Pusey’s sombre learning their nature changed. In 1835 he contributed *Tracts 67-9* amounting to over 300 pages of closely printed discussion on baptism. The authors of the *Tracts* and their supporters soon became known as ‘**Tractarians**’.

The Tractarian leaders saw themselves as introducing a ‘New Reformation’ based not on the 16th C Reformers but on the ancient and undivided Church. In 1836 they began to prepare the *Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the Division of the East and West*. This was the first systematic publication in English of Patristic works. Newman used the term ‘Anglo-Catholic’ to describe the new movement but, to rebut the charge of popery, he sought to give shape and form to the doctrine of *Via media* evident in the writings of the 17th century Caroline divines and, in 1837, published *The Prophetic Office of the Church viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism*. Any doubts allayed by this work were soon resurrected by the publication by Newman and Keble, in 1838-9, of Froude’s *Remains*, extracts from the latter’s *Journal* and private correspondence. Froude’s ultra asceticism, his pro-Roman sentiments and hostility to the Reformers shocked many. Meanwhile criticism for the movement came from many quarters. J.B. Sumner of Chester was the first bishop to denounce it. In his 1838 charge he wrote that it was the “undermining of the foundations of our Protestant Church by men who dwell within her walls.”

In 1839 Newman began to have doubts about the legitimacy of the Church of England. A debate raged within him. Many of his younger supporters were veering towards Rome. Though they accepted the Anglican liturgy they found in the Thirty-Nine Articles the breath of Protestantism. Newman wished to show that the Articles did not oppose Catholic teaching generally, only some Roman dogma. This was his contention in *Tract 90* (1841). By fastidiously picking on details he found loopholes. For instance, he pointed out that Article 31 opposed not ‘the sacrifice of the Mass’ but ‘the sacrifice of Masses’ - certain prevalent practices of the Roman church of those days, he presumed. His approach provoked a universal storm of indignation – his treatment was avoiding the plain meaning of the text! The Heads of the Oxford Colleges met and declared the *Tracts* were in no way sanctioned by the University. The popular press¹ quipped, “According to the authors of the *Tracts* we are all good papists without knowing it.” In 1842 Newman retired to his small monastic complex in the nearby village of Littlemore. In February 1843 he formally retracted all his public criticisms of Rome. In September he resigned his living of St. Mary’s Oxford with St. Mary’s Littlemore. In 1845 he published his *Essay on Doctrinal Development*, and seceded to Rome, in company with a number of others.

The leadership of the movement now fell to Pusey. His solidity enabled the majority of the Tractarians to stay within the Church of England. They were prepared to accept that it was part of the catholic Church because it had maintained the apostolic succession. They emphasised the ‘real presence’ of Christ in the eucharist,

and regeneration at baptism in contrast to the Evangelical emphasis on new birth through conversion. These sacraments they saw as the divinely appointed channels through which the life and holiness of Christ are transfused into individual souls. They also revived private confession and monastic orders within the church. (Bishop Charles Brent had contacts with the American branch of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, the 'Cowley Fathers', founded at Cowley, Oxford in 1865.)

Parallel to the doctrinal crusade of the Tractarians and a little later ran another stream. In 1839 hymn writer J..M. Neale and other high churchmen founded the Cambridge Camden Society. Their concern was church architecture, decoration and internal design. They nurtured the ritual that had survived the Reformation, preserved especially in the cathedrals. They put robed choirs back into cleared chancels. The said services of parish churches, under their influence, began to adopt the sung responses of the cathedrals.

The rubrics (instructions, originally in red) of the BCP declared a clergyman should wear a surplice when preaching in the pulpit and bishops began to insist on this. An 'ornaments rubric' had been inserted in the 1559 (Elizabethan) revision of the Prayer Book stating that the ornaments of the church and minister that were in use in 1549 should be retained. This clearly referred to more elaborate vestments than the surplice but, though the rubric had been retained in the 1662 BCP, it had not been observed for 200 years. Now, in the late 19th century, some wishing more ceremonial and colour in worship began to introduce chasubles and other vestments appealing to this rubric. Its continuing validity was strongly rejected by their opponents and there were violent protests against what was seen as popery. Court cases lead to some clergy being put in gaol for wearing vestments. Eventually, in 1908, a committee of bishops declared the use of vestments was permissible because of the ornaments rubric. More recently it has been officially declared that, within the Church of England, such vestments have no doctrinal significance.²

The legacy of the Oxford Movement to Anglicanism has been seen as one primarily of enriched prayer and worship, only secondarily of belief.³ In some sense it formed a continuity with the earlier Evangelical movement with its emphasis on religious feelings, only its appeal was through art and beauty (combined with asceticism and liturgy). Samuel Wilberforce, third son of William and future Bishop of Oxford, was among those who did not find the transition from one movement to the other difficult to make.

Christian Socialism

As a result of the industrial revolution England saw a vast emigration of people from the country to the cities. The 1851 census reveals that, for London for instance, more than half the population aged 20 or above had not been born there. The old parish churches could not cope with the influx, nor could the cities' infrastructure generally. The outcome was the development of the slums – unsanitary, impoverished and hotbeds of crime. Every effort was made to build new churches to serve the increased population, but then only about one in ten attended. Apathy and hostility were the chief causes. The literature influencing the working people was violently anti-clerical and anti-church. The Chartists who, in their six-point Charter (1838), demanded the vote for every man over 21 and the right of working (class) men to serve as MPs, were heirs of the Deist Tom Paine and the other English friends of the French

Revolution. The Christian Socialists sought to present a Christian alternative to atheism and Deism and to provide positive ways forward.

John Malcolm Ludlow (1821-1911), rightly viewed as the founder of Christian Socialism, was brought up a Protestant in Paris and was always concerned that England should avoid the excesses that had afflicted France since the revolution of 1789. In 1838 he came to London, qualified as a barrister at Lincoln's Inn in 1843, and wished to undertake social and missionary work in the surrounding slums. The chaplain of Lincoln's Inn was **Frederick Denison Maurice** (1805-72), who was also Professor of Theology at King's College. In 1848 Ludlow returned to Paris following the social revolution of that year and wrote to Maurice that the new Socialism must be Christianized or it would rock Christianity to its foundations.

In consequence Ludlow, Maurice and **Charles Kingsley** (1819-75, one of Maurice's former students, a novelist and priest) attended the huge Chartist rally in London in 1848. Then they began to publish the penny journal *Politics for the People*. Although it was prepared to treat such matters as the extension of the vote, the relation of capitalist to laborer and how far a government can find work or pay for the poor, it was against universal suffrage (vote), monster meetings and violence. Its standpoint was explicitly Christian and most of its contributors believed in a class-structured society. It seemed moreover too academic and few workers read it, but it was noticed enough to be attacked by the Chartist *Commonwealth* for being too clerical and by the *Oxford Herald* for being too democratic! Kingsley was attacked for saying the Bible was the poor man's book. It only lasted from early May to the end of July 1848.

In addition Tavern meetings were arranged between Ludlow, Maurice, Kingsley and others sympathetic to their cause (including the gentleman-boxer Tom Hughes) with anti-Christian Chartists. Maurice presided but allowed the workmen to talk freely and afterwards summarized what they had said. He wanted to learn from them. They had never met any cleric like him and were impressed. He found they were more interested in social than political reform.

Ludlow returned from a holiday in France with a program for Christian co-operatives or associations based on the *Associations Ouvrières* in Paris, where the workers would own the business and receive the profits. A similar idea had in fact already been adopted in the north of England. In December 1849 Maurice, Ludlow and others decided to establish a working tailors' association under the management of Chartist tailor Walter Hooper. Before long, twelve workshops were scattered over London - for tailors, builders, shoemakers, piano makers, printers, bakers and smiths. The movement was greatly assisted by grants from wealthy philanthropist Vansittart Neale. Lord Shaftesbury helped found an association of needlewomen. It was in 1850 that Maurice first accepted publicly the name 'Christian Socialist'.

In November 1850 the new penny journal, *Christian Socialist*, appeared, edited by Ludlow. This embodied the first coherent attempt to state a Christian view of a socialist society. The Church, he said, must assert the rule of God over every act of common life, embodying its Gospel in forms of social organization. It must attack sweated labor and commercial fraud. No godless system of socialism is adequate because socialism rests on moral grounds of righteousness and self-sacrifice and common brotherhood which are in fact inseparable from religious faith. Ludlow wanted a society where every citizen was well educated and employed. To achieve this the economy of the State must be controlled. He attributed the slums to political

economists who thought economic life should be left to follow its own laws unfettered. He declared that Christianity was not compatible with an economy and trade based wholly on profit. He wanted co-operatives to spread throughout the country until wages and prices could be fixed for the good of all. But he did not believe everyone should have the same wage or an equal position in society, though he wanted a more democratic society, a more 'Americanised' one, he called it.

Late in the summer of 1850 Kingsley published the novel *Alton Locke* founded on the life of the Chartist tailor-poet Thomas Cooper. He denounced the privileged in society and everything that allowed the squalor and brutality of the slum. In June 1851 he was invited to preach on 'The Message of the Church to the Labouring Man' as part of a series of sermons at St. John's Church, Charlotte Street, London, by the Vicar, G.S. Drew. In his sermon he seemed to identify as the enemy the English clergy and to say that the Gospel was 'liberty, equality and fraternity' (the slogan of the French Revolution). He declared that all systems of society that favored the accumulation of capital in a few hands, or ousted the masses from the soil, are against the kingdom of God. The Gospel proclaims freedom to the poor; all are equal by their baptism and the Lord's Supper proclaims their brotherhood. He qualified this by saying freedom is to do what is *right*, and equality is not absolute but is of opportunity for developing unequal talents. But at the end of the service the Vicar stood up and declared that much of what he had said was unwise, much he believed untrue, and the subject to be addressed had been forgotten. People left the church in vigorous debate, and the drama was reported in the national press. Whilst this left Kingsley and the other Christian Socialists who supported him under something of a cloud, the Chartists now looked much more sympathetically upon them, admitting they were the leaders of the co-operatives, and were prepared to ask their advice.

Maurice came under fire from the journals for his support for the sermon and a supposed link between Christian Socialism and French socialist revolutionaries. A committee was appointed to investigate his writings, but its report cleared him declaring his 'Christian Socialism' was an effective antidote to socialism itself. He continued in his post until, in his *Theological Reviews* (1853), he attacked the generally accepted view that eternal punishment for the wicked would be endless. 'Eternity' in the New Testament, he said, had nothing to do with time. But his view caused a storm of protest and this time he was dismissed.

Maurice and Ludlow turned to the education of working (class) men and, in 1854, founded the Working Men's College in London, which was soon followed by similar institutions in the provinces. In 1866 Maurice was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge. Ludlow continued to teach for many years at the London Working Men's College. Kingsley's interest cooled off and, by 1855, he confessed he had come to believe one should not tinker with the economy.

But the Co-operative Movement continued to prosper. Neale and Hughes remained leaders within it. In 1883 even Queen Victoria expressed her support for it. Though Christian Socialism did not continue as a specific movement it contributed to the improvement of the position of the working man, and did much to prevent in England the antagonism between the Church and socialism that existed in many other countries.

Challenges from Science and Biblical Criticism

Science

The Church was too preoccupied with internal problems to be prepared for the series of thunderbolts from the realm of science in the mid-19th century. The first blows came from the field of geology. In 1830 Sir Charles Lyell published his *Principles of Geology*. He declared that the present condition of the earth's surface is best explained as the result of a gradual, uniform process, e.g. chalk cliffs are the remains of marine creatures deposited on the sea bed at the rate of 1-2 inches (2-5cm) a century and then upheaved from the floor of the sea by pressures beneath the surface. Such a process required that the earth be far older than the traditional date for the Garden of Eden – 4004 BC. Fossils found in cliffs in the West of England were so old that they defied dating.

Various attempts were made at reconciliation with traditional belief. Already in 1820 the eccentric clergyman William Buckland, Professor of Geology at Oxford, had declared that Gen.1:1 'In the beginning' described an immense period of time and the 'six days' of creation (Gen.1) were eras of unspecified length not twenty-four hours. By 1836 he, who had previously thought that vestiges of the last ice age were striking proofs of the biblical flood⁴, had come to accept that Noah's flood had, in reality, been a local affair in the Euphrates valley killing just those who lived there. From the conservative side, in 1857 P.H. Gosse published *Omphalos*⁵: *An Attempt to Untie the Geological Knot*. He pointed out that, in the nature of things, anything created instantaneously by God would appear to be older than it was, e.g. a tree would contain the rings of a mature tree. So also with rocks and men.

In 1844 *The Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* was published anonymously. Four editions sold out in six months! God had created living things, it said, using an evolutionary process regulated by fixed natural laws. The writer of the book – the Scottish journalist and publisher Robert Chambers, whose name was not discovered until well after his death – was only an amateur. He often misinterpreted his evidence. His work was easily discredited by professional scientists.

Such was not the case with Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859). Darwin (1809-82) had noticed that horticulturalists and pigeon breeders produced different varieties of a species by selective breeding. Could not all the varieties of species of plants and animals in the world have arisen in the same way – by a process of *natural* selection over millions of years? In the competitive struggle for life only those best adapted to their environment survived. He had gathered much evidence for this on his voyage on the *Beagle* (1836-9) to the Galapagos Islands. The last chapter of the book contained a significant sentence: 'In the distant future I see open fields for far more important researches...Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history.' He would not say more on this subject for fear of prejudicing the reception of his book.

The book in fact caused a storm of protest. Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford spearheaded the church's attack. In 1860 he wrote in an article in the *Quarterly Review*, 'The principle of natural selection is absolutely incompatible with the word of God,' and he said that Darwin displayed 'a tendency to limit God's glory in creation.' The same year he clashed with Darwin's 'bulldog' T. H. Huxley at a meeting of the British Association in Oxford... The debate raged far and wide. In 1871 Darwin published his two-volume *The Descent of Man*. Frequent trips to zoos

to examine the habits and mental powers of monkeys had led the author to the conviction that the difference between man's mind and that of a monkey is one of degree not kind. Our primitive ancestors he considered were covered with hair, lived chiefly in trees, and possessed the formidable weapon of great canine teeth! It was language and the use of tools that made man dominant. Then his brain developed greatly. Morality sprang from the social instinct. He declared that there is no evidence that, from the start, man believed in an omnipotent God, though this is quite different from asserting there is no Creator and Ruler of the universe.

Critics of Darwin picked on his broad generalisations from relatively little evidence. Beside them there were three main grievances against his position:

- The apparent insult to the dignity of man
 - The undermining of the literal inerrancy of Scripture
 - The apparent rendering obsolete of the whole plan of salvation (in Scripture).
- Evolution ruled out the idea of restoration to a state of original perfection, from which man had fallen for, it said, there had never been such a state.

Particularly the third of these points led a number of intellectuals to declare that one cannot be a thinking person and remain a Christian. Darwin did gradually lose his faith though he was never hostile to the Church. Neither Huxley, who coined for himself the term 'agnostic', nor Herbert Spencer, who extended the evolutionary concept to all fields of human experience, including sociology and ethics, ruled out belief in God entirely. But physicist John Tyndall displaced religion from the realm of objective knowledge to those of poetry and emotion, and atheists, such as C. J. Holyoake, proclaimed materialism the only possible philosophy of the age of science. As one of the early workers for cooperatives, he profoundly influenced the working masses in England, telling them that science had exploded religion.

Not all churchmen were antagonistic to evolution. Leading theologians F. J. A. Hort, R. W. Church (Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London) and F. W. Temple (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1897-1902) were prepared to see God's creative hand operating in this new way. Hort applied the term 'parable' to the early chapters of Genesis. But in most quarters of the Church in England the theory of evolution met with outright rejection. Some found solace by ridiculing it.

Biblical Criticism

The Bible had been studied critically in Germany for fifty years, but conservatism prevented it from gaining a foothold in British theology. H. B. Wilson suggested to Benjamin Jowett, tutor of Balliol College, Oxford, the publication of a volume of essays advocating free enquiry in the field of religion as everywhere else. The outcome was the appearance, in February 1860, of the symposium *Essays and Reviews*. It caused a great furore, particularly as its contributors were all priests of the Established Church:

- Frederick Temple, then headmaster of Rugby School, contributed the opening essay, 'The Education of the World' speaking of the need of the present age to make a careful study of the Bible.
- R. Williams, Professor of Hebrew at St. David's College, Lampeter, Wales, under the title 'Bunsen's Biblical Researches', commended the critical approach to the Bible of the German theologian Baron Bunsen.
- Baden Powell, Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford, contributed the third essay, 'On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity'. He considered the

- ‘proof value’ of miracles and concluded that the real verification of Christianity comes rather from moral and spiritual experience.
- H. B. Wilson wrote on ‘The National Church’, seeking to embrace all elements of the spiritual life of the nation, and disclosing his belief in universalism.
 - C. W. Goodwin in ‘The Mosaic Cosmogony’ supported the progressive beliefs of William Buckland against the conservative Archdeacon Pratt, and accepted the creation story as simple Hebrew myth.
 - M. Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, produced a masterly survey in his ‘Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750’ and was particularly concerned with the dominance of rationalism.
 - The final essay by Benjamin Jowett, then Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, was entitled ‘On the Interpretation of Scripture’. His major concern was to distinguish between the exegesis (finding the original meaning) and application of the text of Scripture. He thought it incredible that people should be content to let it mean one thing to one person, another to another (e.g. ‘You are Peter and on this rock will I build my Church’) or to treat it as a mine of proof texts. Scripture has in reality only one meaning, he said, *that conveyed by the original writers to their readers*. We must seek to get back to this by immersing ourselves in the Scriptures, i.e. Scripture must be allowed to speak for itself and not just be viewed through later interpretations. Further, ‘inspiration’ is not a notion of infallibility we take to Scripture. It is rather, ‘that idea of Scripture which we gather from the knowledge of it.’⁶ This welcomes the findings of history and science rather than ignoring them for, ‘Doubt comes in at the window, when Inquiry is denied at the door.’⁷ Scripture must be examined as any other book, then its differences from any other book will be seen. In Scripture we see God’s progressive revelation of himself in the world.

Complaints about the opinions of these writers rained upon the bishops and they held an urgent private consultation from which their condemnation of the book emerged in the form of an encyclical issued by Archbishop Sumner in 1861 to reassure the faithful. The two parish clergy, Williams and Wilson, were prosecuted and the Court of Arches suspended them for one year. They appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which, after a long drawn-out case, reversed the judgement and acquitted them. The episcopal bench could then do no more than solemnly, synodically condemn the writers. Pusey and Shaftesbury united to sponsor a declaration of belief in the infallibility of Scripture, gaining the signatures of 11,000 clergy and 137,000 laymen. Gradually the uproar abated, only to break out afresh when Temple was appointed Bishop of Exeter.

The stoutest answer to biblical liberalism, especially from the Baur School at Tübingen in Germany came from the trio of Cambridge scholars B. F. Westcott, J. B. Lightfoot and F. J. A. Hort. The classic commentaries of the first two, the Greek New Testament of Westcott and Hort, and the Patristic work of Lightfoot restored faith in the genuineness of biblical and other early Christian writings.⁸ But there was no scholarly Old Testament counterpart of these three Cambridge theologians. In fact uncertainty as to the Old Testament’s authenticity was redoubled through the labours of J. W. Colenso, Bishop of Natal in South Africa. His work, *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined* (published in parts, 1862-79) challenged traditional authorship and historical accuracy. Following his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (1861), which denied eternal punishment for the wicked etc, he had been deposed by Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, but had appealed to the Judicial

Committee of the Privy Council and been acquitted. He remained in his see until his death in 1883.

Further protests were caused by the publication in 1889 of *Lux Mundi*, a volume of essays by Tractarians, edited by Charles Gore, Principal of Pusey House. Gore's own essay 'The Holy Spirit and Inspiration' gave greatest offence. He declared that inspiration was compatible even with narrative that was not history, and he used the word 'myth' of parts of Scripture. For some years after this publication there was a gap between the approach to the Bible in people's homes and in scholarly circles. A useful compromise was to say that the Bible *contains* the word of God rather than that it *is* the word of God. The Church of Rome was the slowest of all to adapt to the new knowledge.

Notes

1. The Morning Chronicle.
2. See Owen Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement*, pp.11-12.
3. Cf. Canon B8.1 of the current Canons of the Church of England.
4. *Reliquiae deluvianae* (1826).
5. Gk. for 'navel', 'belly button'. He asked: if Adam had not been born but was just put by God in the Garden of Eden, did he have a navel?
6. *Essays and Reviews*, p.347.
7. *Ibid.*, p.373.
8. In a dissertation on 'St. Paul and the Three' in his Commentary on Galatians Lightfoot examined and dismissed the supposed deep-seated antagonism between Peter and Paul.

The First Wave of Colonial Expansion: Spain and Portugal

It was in the 1480s that Portuguese and Spanish expeditions set out to explore the world. To avoid conflict between them Pope Alexander VI issued in 1493 a papal bull, subsequently confirmed and modified by the Treaty of Tordesillas, defining their spheres of influence. A line was drawn in the Atlantic Ocean east of which was the Portuguese sphere, west of which was the Spanish. (Subsequently it was moved further west to allow Brazil to remain Portuguese and the Philippines to be a Spanish possession.) The Pope commissioned the kings of Spain and Portugal to bring the peoples of the conquered territories to the Christian faith and to send to them upright and virtuous men to instruct them in good morals and the Catholic faith. The Pope gave the kings the right to appoint bishops and other clergy, to send missionaries and oversee the organization of the church in their areas. Such evangelism and subsequent church building and maintenance would be at the kings' expense. So they were patrons of the church. The system was called *patroado* (from the Portuguese word for patronage). Thus the spread of Christianity was intertwined with imperialism. Portugal, being a smaller nation, established trading bases on the coasts of countries, e.g. Goa in India. Spain, being considerably larger, set about conquest and settlement of whole countries.

Spain and the New World

In 1492 Christopher Columbus set foot in the New World. In fighting the Moors the Spaniards had drawn on the ideals and principles of the Crusades. Now they applied the same principles to the conquest of the Indian 'infidels'.

On his second voyage Columbus took seven missionaries to the island Hispaniola, next to Cuba, to convert the Indians. But riots and mismanagement led to his being taken back to Spain in chains. Under his successors the Indians were taxed and, if they could not pay, enslaved. The missionaries appear to have done little except take sons of Indian chiefs into their homes to educate them as Christians. In 1503 orders came from Spain that the Indians should live in their own villages, each with a representative of the Spanish government and a chaplain. In some cases this was obeyed, but then those able to work were marched off to mine for gold. Forced labor, the spread of diseases from Spain, and mass suicides destroyed most of the native population. It was a similar story in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Jamaica and several lesser islands. The loss of Indian labor led, in the 16th century, to the importation of tens of thousands of black slaves from Africa.

One of the few to complain about the treatment of the Indians was Bartolomé de Las Casas in Santo Domingo. He had originally held some Indians in *incomienda* (virtual slavery)¹ but, conscience-struck through the preaching of Dominican Antonio Montesinos, released them and turned against the system. He went to Spain several times to get the system outlawed and, in 1542, was pleased to get new laws enacted by Charles V. Sadly, these were largely ignored in the New World. In the next century Las Casas' books were placed on the Inquisition's list of forbidden books. Other theologians who protested were complaining not about the treatment of the Indians but about how profits from their labours were distributed.

In **Mexico** Cortez generally destroyed the idols of the tribes he visited. Despite his greed and violence, as a sincere Catholic, he asked Charles V for friars who would live in poverty (not luxury like the secular priests). Twelve Franciscans were sent, but had to overcome great resentment against the Spanish. Many nevertheless rushed for baptism, recognizing the Christian God must be greater than their own. Little by little the friars won respect, even love. Baptismal preparation was superficial and the secular priests did little to rectify this. In consequence much of the old paganism persisted under an outward profession of Christianity. The first bishop of Mexico (later archbishop), the Franciscan Juan de Zumárraga, however, wanted an educated priesthood and instruction of the laity and had a printing press taken to Mexico, which was used to print many books. He also took steps towards founding the University of Mexico. He was also an ardent defender of the Indians. But he was not tolerant of heresy. During 1536-43 he put 131 people on trial. There was a considerable debate as to whether Indians should be allowed education – it might make them dangerous! The Dominicans declared they should not be educated or ordained at all. A gathering of church leaders under Zumárraga in 1539 decided Indians could be admitted into the four lowest levels of orders but not have sacramental functions. The Franciscans let them live in monastic communities and wear a brown cassock but not take permanent vows or become even lay brothers.

From Mexico the Spanish sailed west across the Pacific to the **Philippines**. Magellan had visited the islands in 1521 but been killed by natives. In 1565 Miguel Lopez de Legazpi undertook the conquest. The Muslims found there were called ‘moros’ after the Moors who had ruled Spain for centuries. The Spanish acted in the Philippines much as they had done in the Americas.

The conquest of what is now is now **Colombia** failed in 1508 but was more successful in 1525. Santa Marta was founded by Rodrigo de Bastides. He was concerned to treat the Indians humanely but was rejected by the other settlers who sent him back to Hispaniola. Then started a wave of terror against the Indians. The Spanish moved west and founded Cartagena and south, where they defeated chief Bogotá and founded Santa Fe de Bogotá. Very soon a series of bishoprics was set up and the Inquisition introduced. The oppressed Indians and enslaved blacks (imported early) learnt, if their masters were about to punish them to cry, “I deny God”, which placed them at the mercy of the more benevolent Inquisition! Eventually only extreme cases were referred to the Inquisition.

The huge Inca empire covered **Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile and Argentina** – some 750,000 sq. miles. Even after the Inca leader Atahualpa was captured the Indians fought valiantly. The Spanish settlers proved rebellious and hard to govern. The priest who had betrayed Atahualpa was rewarded by being made Bishop of Cuzco, the capital of the empire. Separate churches were established for whites and Indians. Some Indian chiefs killed those who had been baptized, viewing baptism as a symbol of subjection.

Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay were the last countries to be occupied by the Spanish. After a number of failures, in 1537 they built a fort in what is now Asuncion, Paraguay. It was isolated so they needed to be on good terms with the Indians and they treated them moderately. Many were gathered into a number of small towns founded by Franciscans who taught them European methods of agriculture as well as rudiments of the Christian faith - the policy of *reduccion* practised also in the Philippines.

The Portuguese Enterprise

The Portuguese hoped by sailing round Africa they could circumvent the Muslims who controlled the most direct routes between Europe and the Far East. In 1487 Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape (southern tip of Africa) and showed this was indeed possible. A few years before, in 1483, an expedition had landed at the mouth of the Congo river and met the ruler of that vast land, the Manicongo. The Manicongo was favourably impressed by them, especially when four of his subjects were received as guests at the Portuguese court in Lisbon and returned telling of its wonders. After a month of teaching he was baptized. His successor was even more pro-Portuguese and, in 1520, the pope consecrated his brother Henrique as Bishop of the Congo, but he found the European priests would not submit to him. After his brother died resentment against the Portuguese presence led to war. In 1572 the Manicongo Alvaro declared himself a vassal of the Portuguese, but the relationship remained uneasy. The Portuguese established themselves on the coast of Angola south of the Congo and made that country a source of slaves. The church in Angola received the 'dregs' of Portuguese clergy.

Relations on the east coast of Africa proved even more violent. Vasco da Gama, arriving at Mozambique and finding many of its inhabitants Muslim, bombarded the city. He did the same at Mombasa. In five years the entire coast was subject to the Portuguese. The first priests in 1506 were really just chaplains to the Portuguese garrisons. Later other priests were deployed along the coasts under the protection of Portuguese canons. Some Jesuits and Dominicans ventured inland. The most famous was the Jesuit Gonzalo de Silveira, who reached Zimbabwe and through him the king was converted and baptized. African traders, though, convinced the king that he was a spy and he had him strangled in his sleep. Many other missionaries gave their lives in the next 50 year but most clergy, like the rest of the Portuguese, showed little interest in Africa. Their eyes were on the Far East.

After da Gama's return home the Portuguese decided on a policy of trading posts. Silk and spices were the products they wanted. Their African bases would be for the refitting of their ships. They next closed the Red Sea by taking the island of Socotra and neighbouring areas. In India they took and fortified Goa on the west coast. They established a base in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) to control shipping round the tip of India. Their presence in Malacca (Malaya) closed the way to China. In China itself they established a trading base at Macau. King Joao III of Portugal, having heard of the zeal of the recently formed Jesuits asked the pope for six to be sent to his colonies in the Orient. In the end just one was provided, **Francis Xavier** (1506-52). Son of an aristocratic Spanish Basque family he met St. Ignatius Loyola while studying at the University of Paris, and became one of the founder members of the Jesuits. He was ordained priest in 1537. At just two days notice he left Rome and sailed from Lisbon in April 1541, arriving at Goa in May the next year. From there as a base he went south to the Paravan fisherfolk and spent some time among them. His method of evangelism was to gather the children together, teach them the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, Ten Commandments and Ave Maria. When they had learnt them word perfect he sent them to teach their parents. When the whole family knew these statements by heart he baptized them. He went back to Goa and from there travelled to Travancore (India), Malacca, the Molucca islands (Indonesia) and Ceylon. In 1549 he reached Japan, where again he made many contacts. He died in 1552 on his way to China. Jesuits have attributed to him more than 700,000 conversions. Everywhere he went he left behind organized Christian communities. Whilst he did

not attempt 'inculturization', his methods were not violent and were less superficial than many.

When the pope partitioned the world between the Spanish and the Portuguese he did not know that the eastern tip of South America reached across his demarcation line. In 1500 the Portuguese naval squadron sailing for the Orient and giving Africa a wide berth to avoid contrary winds, struck **Brazil**. At first they thought its only value was to provide brazilwood for dyes; later they turned to sugar cane. The Indians were enslaved to grow and process the sugar. Then African slaves were used. Reports of the cruelty and loose living of the settlers reached Lisbon and the king of Portugal bought their land and pronounced Brazil a royal colony. The Jesuits went out with the first governor. They did not have a high view of the Indians. The first bishop, appointed in 1551, quarrelled with the colonizers and paid no attention to the plight of the Indians and Africans. Trying to return to Portugal he was shipwrecked and he and his entire crew were eaten by Indians. The Jesuits planted their mission stations conveniently for the Indians to serve on the plantations. So they provided virtual slave labour.² The Indians reacted by starting a Messiah cult combining Christian elements with elements of their own religion. They looked forward to the day when their saviour, Santo, would free them from the Portuguese yoke. They called their religion *santidade*. The black slaves too developed syncretistic cults.

The Second Wave of Colonial Expansion : The British, Dutch and others

The 19th century was for the Protestants what the 16th century had been for Roman Catholics: a century of great geographical extension. As a result the Church became truly universal. Missionaries often worked within the context of trade and colonialism, which could open up new territories and grant them a measure of protection, *but their motives generally were to give not to get, to enrich not to deprive the native peoples*. They felt passionately they must share the Good News of eternal life through Jesus Christ, and the other benefits of Western civilization. Most Western governments had no connection with missionary efforts. For a long time the British East India Company tried to ban missionaries from the lands under its control, fearing they would arouse opposition and be bad for trade!

One marked feature of the missionary enterprise was the formation of missionary societies. Some were denominational, others interdenominational, but all were voluntary, for churches as a whole seldom supported missions. In **England** the first were:

- The Baptist Missionary Society founded in 1792
- The London Missionary Society established by Congregationalists, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Wesleyan Methodists in 1795
- From the Evangelical wing of the Church of England came the Church Missionary Society in 1799

In **America**:

- The American Board of Commissions for Foreign Affairs, an interdenominational body, was founded in 1810
- The American Baptist Missionary Board came into being in 1814

In **Switzerland** the Basel Mission began in 1815.

In **Germany** the Berlin Missionary Society was founded in 1824.

Women played an important role in missions. Catholics went out as nuns, Protestants went in nursing, teaching or organizational roles they did not have at

home. This appears to have been one of the roots of later feminist agitation at home. Ecumenical cooperation was a considerable feature of mission work.

Africa

This huge continent was generally seen by European traders more as an obstacle to reaching the Far East. The north had long been held by the Muslims. Various coastal enclaves were in time established on the west coast, some of which facilitated the slave trade as others on the east coast similarly served the Arabs in this heinous commerce. The Dutch had held the Cape with its equable climate from 1652. White explorers were long held back from penetrating the interior, chiefly by the mosquito.

In 1787 associates of the 'Clapham Sect' bought **Sierra Leone** as a homeland for freed black slaves. Its capital was called 'Freetown'. In 1804 CMS sent in some German missionaries; in 1811 Methodists arrived. There was horrible loss of life among the whites – in the first 20 years more than 50 lost their lives. In 1827 Fourah Bay College was established to provide higher education. By 1846 50,000 slaves had been brought in, but they really were a motley collection speaking more than 100 languages.

Nigeria: The Portuguese had established coastal settlements in the late 15th century, and in the 16th century the Capuchins had been responsible for missions there. During 1843-5 a CMS party including the freed slave **Samuel Crowther** (c.1809-91), who had been educated at Fourah Bay College and then at the CMS college in London and had recently been ordained, visited the Yoruba area of south-west Nigeria. There Crowther recognized his own mother and sisters, who were soon among the first converts. He translated the BCP baptism service into Yoruba for his mother's baptism. From 1857 he was leader of the Niger Mission with an all African staff, fulfilling the dream of CMS General Secretary Henry Venn of a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating church. In 1864 he was consecrated Bishop of West Africa beyond the Queen's jurisdiction, a position he held until his death. But in his closing years his authority was bypassed and his African Niger mission virtually dismantled by European missionaries. (No doubt it was in penitence that CMS called its mission partner training college in Birmingham 'Crowther Hall'.)

There was little attempt to evangelize the blacks in **southern Africa** until the British captured the Cape in 1795. Then the first notable figure was the LMS missionary J.T. Vanderkemp. He arrived in Cape Town in 1799 and established work mainly among the native Hottentots. In identifying with the non-whites he married one which aroused great hostility from the other whites. He died in 1811.

The greatest of a number of other notable missionaries was the Scot **David Livingstone** (1818-73). Arriving in Africa in 1841 he spent ten years evangelizing the Bechuana people before embarking on his great exploratory, missionary tours. His first journey led him to both the west and east coasts of central Africa. He was very patient with his African porters. His scientific and geographical observations were detailed and accurate. His greatest concern was for the Gospel and he was horrified by the signs of desolation caused by the slave trade. He wrote to a director of LMS, 'Can the love of Christ not carry the missionary where the slave trade carries the trader?' In 1856 he returned to England to report on his discoveries and to urge the missionary enterprise. His aim was to open up a path in Africa for commerce and Christianity – legitimate commerce to replace the slave trade. His second major tour (1858-67) led him to the heart of Africa. In 1871 he was found in a state of

exhaustion by H. M. Stanley of the New York Herald. After his death in 1873 he was buried in Westminster Abbey, London, as a national hero.

There was no missionary contact with **east Africa** until, in 1844, J. L. Krapf established a mission station at Mombasa (Kenya). He learnt Swahili and made journeys inland, but achieved little because of hostility from Arabs afraid he would uncover their slave trade. The first missionaries came to Buganda (SW Uganda) in response to an appeal by Stanley. They were from the CMS and reached Kampala in 1877. Two years later the Roman Catholic White Fathers arrived. Chief Mutesa kept both groups at his court but was bemused by their conflicting claims and soon their adherents took to armed conflict. His son Mwanga committed some atrocities. In 1885 he had the newly appointed Anglican bishop James Hannington speared to death before he even entered the country. Hannington approached from the east, the direction enemies normally came from. A considerable number of the young people at the court had become Christians. Their refusal then to satisfy Mwanga's lusts led to their being roasted alive. Between 1885 and 1887 over 40 of these, Anglican and Roman Catholic, were martyred. Yet the Church grew. Conflict between Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Muslims, however, continued until Uganda became a British Protectorate in 1894. This favored the Anglicans and also enabled evangelism to spread throughout Uganda.

In 1818 CMS sent five missionaries to **Egypt**. Two went on to **Ethiopia**, but were later expelled (one was Krapf). The remaining three co-operated with the Copts, trying to help them to adapt to the modern world, but it was an unrewarding task and in 1862 the mission was withdrawn. In 1854 the (American) United Presbyterians established a separate church, which disrupted the Copts. There were Anglican missionaries working among Jews in Tunis from 1829 (with interruptions) and in 1875 the work was extended to Morocco. In 1882 the interdenominational North African Mission began low-key evangelism in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya.

India

The Thomas Christians of the Malabar (west) coast of India claim their church was founded by the Apostle Thomas. Whether this claim is justified is not certain but, undoubtedly, from the early centuries their forbears had contact with the Syrian Church. Roman Catholic missionary work began after Vasco da Gama's arrival in Goa in 1498.

In 1793 **William Carey** (1761-1834), known as the 'Father of Modern Missions', arrived in Bengal, NE India. He and his wife Dorothy were the first missionaries of the newly founded English Baptist Missionary Society. His great slogan 'Expect great things from God, attempt great things for God' was tested to the full through his experiences. A cobbler by trade he had a wonderful gift for languages and, in England, taught himself Hebrew and Greek. On board ship for India he learnt Bengali, and, having arrived in Bengal, made Bible translation a priority. In 1801 his Bengali New Testament was printed (though he would revise it 8 times to make it more accurate!), then in 1809 the whole Bible. His mission's base was at Serampore near Calcutta. Early in the 19th century he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali and Marathi at the newly opened Fort William College in Calcutta, a post he held for thirty years. During this time he translated the Bible in whole or part into twenty-four other languages and dialects and wrote grammars and dictionaries in various languages. He also founded an agri-horticulture society to improve methods of agriculture. He experimented with coffee, cotton, tobacco, sugar

and cereals. In 1829, chiefly due to his agitation the ancient practice of *suttee* (burning a widow on her husband's funeral pyre) was abolished in India.

The British East India Company, which had long been establishing trading posts in the country, opposed missionary activity but, in 1813, due to pressure from Anglican Evangelicals in the British Parliament, its charter was changed and in consequence the first Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, Thomas F. Middleton, was appointed in 1814. He built many schools and churches and established Bishop's College, Calcutta for the preparation of Indians for ordination. CMS also became active in India and, in the decade following 1813, sent out 26 missionaries and more later.

There were different attitudes to the Indian caste system. The Danish Halle Mission that Carey had links with made allowances for it. The different castes entered church by different doors, sat separately and received communion separately. Daniel Wilson, Anglican Bishop of Calcutta 1837-58, called the caste system a 'cancer' in the Church which must be completely abolished. Many high caste Anglicans, including some clergy, then left the Anglican Church for the new Leipzig Lutheran Mission which was more sympathetic to them.

Outcastes formed about one-sixth of the Indian population. They owned no land. They did work considered by others to be degrading or unclean. Evangelism amongst them was often by Indian Christians and proved most productive, leading to mass conversions. Missions founded among them schools, hospitals and orphanages.

China

From 7th – 9th and 13th – 14th centuries Nestorian missionaries from Persia were active in China. From 16th - 18th centuries Roman Catholic missionaries worked there very imaginatively. The first Protestant missionary was Robert Morrison, a Presbyterian, who arrived at Canton in 1807 and, because of his proficiency in Chinese, was soon employed as an interpreter for the East India Company. By 1813 he had translated the New Testament into Chinese and, by 1819 the Old Testament, and he produced a dictionary. In 1818 he founded an educational institution. Though he made few converts he established a foothold on the vast continent.

After the first Opium War with Britain (1839-42) five 'treaty ports' were opened to foreigners. Many missionary societies took advantage of this opportunity and sent in representatives. Jointly they produced a more literary but somewhat inaccurate version of the Bible (1852), and then a more mundane but accurate one (1862). After the second Opium War (1856-60) further ports were opened to foreigners, who were now allowed to travel freely into the interior. Lord Shaftesbury led a campaign against the opium trade in the British Parliament and missionaries also denounced it, but then took full advantage of the opportunities to enter the country. In 1865 **James Hudson Taylor** (1832-1905), a northern English Methodist, established the China Inland Mission – an interdenominational faith mission, directed in China. In 1885 its recruitment of the 'Cambridge Seven' (scholars and sportsmen) caused a national sensation, but many of its missionaries were skilled artisans. Women were accepted on the same basis as men. It was a revolutionary idea in Victorian England for single ladies to work in remote areas. All missionaries had to wear Chinese dress and as far as possible adopt Chinese customs. They travelled with Chinese colleagues. Arriving in a town they would preach the Gospel in market places and temple courts, sell or give away literature and perhaps open a clinic. One

or two families would rent a house as a missionary outpost. By 1905 the CIM had established 110 such outposts, 7 hospitals, 16 clinics, and 128 opium rehabilitation centers. There were 550 missionaries and 4,000 recorded Christian converts (out of a total Protestant population then of 40,000). Taylor employed the 'diffusion' method of evangelism, not targeting any particular section of society but preaching the Gospel in the streets to all who would listen. There were other missionaries, such as Timothy Richards (1845-1920), a Welsh Baptist, who arrived in China in 1870 and focused specifically on the upper classes, hoping through them to change society. He planned schools in the capital city of each Chinese province. He published learned journals. Others followed his lead and schools and colleges were opened all over China. Towards the end of the century Christian universities were opened, including one by the Anglicans in Shanghai.

By the end of the century Chinese hatred of foreigners and of Christians as 'agents of imperialism' boiled over. The Dowager Empress called the Chinese to use their fists to destroy the foreigners. The result was the Boxer Rebellion. Some 50 Roman Catholic missionaries and 30,000 Chinese Roman Catholics were killed and 200 Protestant missionaries and 2000 Chinese Protestants. Church houses and property were burnt. The Western powers and Japan dealt violently with the rebellion and China was ordered to pay compensation. Some missionary societies, including the CIM, refused to accept compensation as a witness to the gentleness of Christ.

Notes

1. Gonzales, *Story of Christianity*, vol.1, p382
2. *ibid*, p.410.

The long period to be covered is most conveniently divided into three sections: 1453-1700, 1700-1917, and 1917 to the present.

1453 -1700

The Ottoman Turks conquered not only Constantinople (1453) but later the mainland of Greece itself. The Orthodox Church and its liturgy preserved a sense of Greek identity through long centuries of occupation. From the start the Church was allowed a measure of freedom. Bishops could elect a new patriarch. When the Turks conquered Syria and Palestine Christians there were placed under this patriarch; when they conquered Egypt Christians there were placed under the oversight of the Patriarch of Alexandria. But the office of patriarch soon became obtainable only by paying a massive bribe to the Grand Vizier (chief minister of the Sultan). Patriarchs who did not implement the Sultan's policy were quickly deposed. In the 17th century the office of patriarch changed hands some 60 times. Apart from this two features of government profoundly affected the Church:

Devşirma – compulsory enrolment of Christian boys into the military and administrative service of the empire. They had to become Muslims, learn Turkish, and were not allowed to marry. This did allow children of poor families to reach the highest offices of state, including that of Grand Vizier.

Millet – the 'community' system for Christians and Jews (a privilege for 'the peoples of the book') administered by their own leaders. The millets conducted trade for the empire and provided most of its professional specialists and, in return, under certain restrictions, were allowed to practise their religion.

For several centuries the Greek-speaking Church's theology was dominated by Western influence. There was some contact with Protestant thought because of a desire, it seems, for an anti-Catholic consensus. One consequence was that in 1629 Patriarch Cyril Lucaris issued a strongly Calvinistic 'Confession of Faith'. This did not, however, win general support. There was an anti-Protestant backlash and the Confession was condemned at the Councils of Jassy (1642) and Jerusalem (1672). Contrary statements of faith were issued that were strongly influenced by Catholicism, and used such terms as 'transubstantiation'.

The center of gravity of the Orthodox world had by then moved from Constantinople and Greece to the daughter church in Russia, free from Turkish rule. Moscow viewed itself as the 'third Rome' whose task was to uphold Orthodoxy. Ivan IV took the title of tsar (or czar – successor to the ancient Caesars of Rome and Constantinople). In 1598 the metropolitan of Moscow took the title 'Patriarch'. The Russian Church then produced polemical writings against the Greek Church, Catholics and Protestants. When later Tsar Alexis I Mikhailovich (1645-76) encouraged Patriarch Nikon to revise the liturgy to bring it into agreement with Greek practices some, especially from the lower classes in Russia, reacted violently leading to the schism of the 'Old Believers'. Patriarch Nikon (1652-8) had also taken to himself the title *Veliki Gosundar* ('Great Lord') previously reserved for the tsar, basing his claim to temporal as well as spiritual power on the forged 'Donation of Constantine'. He was condemned for desiring to establish the supremacy of the patriarch over the tsar.

1700 – 1917

Russia

Tsar Peter the Great (reigned 1682-1725) opened his country to Western influences, both Catholic and Protestant. He was also determined that, after his father's experience with Nikon, he would have no rivals from the Church. When Patriarch Adrian died in 1700 he did not fill his post. Eventually he brought a churchman from Kiev with some knowledge of Lutheran traditions to draw up new Church Regulations and, using these, in 1721 he abolished the Moscow patriarchate altogether and replaced it with a Holy Synod in St. Petersburg under a chief procurator (*Oberprokurator*), a layman appointed by the tsar. Originally the procurator was to communicate the tsar's wishes to the Synod and make sure it did not violate the laws of the land. By the end of the 19th century he was in reality ruler of the Church. The bishops, who were always monks, were controlled by the Synod. The parish clergy were married men, whose job as priest tended to become hereditary. Parishioners now had no say in appointing their own priest, yet they had to provide his upkeep. Such an arrangement sowed the seeds of anti-clericalism.

Amongst the holy men of the 18th century was Paisi Velichkovsky (1722-94) who, in his monastery in Moldavia (Romania), translated the Greek Church's classics on asceticism and contemplation into Russian and helped revive Orthodox monastic traditions which had fallen into decay. His disciples took his teachings to Russia and established monasteries including Optino near Tula where in the late 19th century the great writers Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky encountered *starets* ('elders') who, nurtured on the hesychast tradition (inner stillness associated particularly with constant repetition of the Jesus Prayer), offered spiritual counsel.

During his campaign against Napoleon (1812-14) Tsar Alexander I was attracted to German pietism and mysticism. His openness to non-Orthodox initiatives allowed the Russian Bible Society to be founded on a Protestant model. He thought too of political reform but, when he saw the Europe-wide revolutionary forces apparently overthrowing legitimate authority, he drew back.

The mid-19th century saw a great expansion of missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church. By 1899 it had 20 missions within the Russian Empire and foreign missions in Alaska, Korea, China, Japan and Persia. It also ran an efficient system of parish primary schools throughout the empire.

Greece

In 1821 there was a successful nationalist uprising against the Turks and, emboldened, in 1833 the Greek bishops declared their church 'autocephalous' (self-governing). The wary secular Greek government cut the church's bishoprics from 33 to 10 but, after the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople accepted Greek autocephaly in 1850, the dioceses were increased to 24.

1917 – 2000

Greece

A storm was caused on Mt. Athos over the Jesus Prayer ('Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner.') Some Russian monks were teaching that, as the name 'Jesus' was divine, its invocation brought about communion with God who is present in the name. Other Russian monks there accused them of 'onomatolaty' ('making an idol of the name'). When condemnation of the teaching by both the Patriarch of Constantinople (1912) and the Holy Synod of St. Petersburg (1913) failed to bring an end to the dispute a Russian gunboat was sent in and 833 Russian monks were forcibly returned to their homeland!

Greek Church and State were united in their desire to bring Turkish-speaking Greeks in Anatolia (Asia Minor) back into the Greek fold. After World War I the Greek nationalists seized Smyrna on the west coast of Turkey. But in 1922 the Turks under Atatürk seized it back, killing perhaps 30,000 Greeks. The number of Greeks in Constantinople was then reduced to 80,000 and many restrictions were placed on the movements of the Ecumenical Patriarch. In 1923 an exchange of Turks and Greeks resident in each other's country was arranged and, as a result, c. 1,100,000 Christians were returned to Greece. The Greek presence on the western coast of Asia Minor thus ended traumatically after some 2,500 years.

In the 20th century, to the ancient patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, were added Georgia (1917), Russia once again (1917), Serbia (1920), Romania (1925) and Bulgaria (1953). In addition, Orthodox archbishoprics were established in Finland (1924), Poland (1924) and Czechoslovakia (1947).

Russia

The Russian Revolution of 1917 put the Church in a crisis situation. Marxism declared religion to be 'the opium of the people'. In 1918 Lenin decreed the separation of Church from State and from all the schools of the country. All seminaries were closed. During 1925-43 the Russian Patriarchate was again abolished. By 1939 only a few hundred churches were still allowed to be open out of the 46,000 before the Revolution. All the 1,000 or so monasteries and convents were closed. Many church leaders had been arrested and killed. Yet, as the Soviet census of 1937 revealed, the majority of people still believed in God. In 1941, when Hitler invaded Russia, Metropolitan Sergi was quicker than Stalin in appealing to the nation to rise and defend their Motherland. Recognizing the Church as a valuable ally, in 1943 Stalin allowed Sergi to be elected patriarch. The policy of closing churches, seminaries and monasteries was relaxed somewhat.

Only in 1961 was the Russian Orthodox Church allowed to join the World Council of Churches, and it was expected to deny any restrictions on religious freedom in the USSR, despite the massive repression then taking place under Krushchev (1959-64) as a result of which the number of legally open churches was reduced from 20,000 to a mere 7,000.

There followed a long period of stagnation under Brezhnev, indeed until the rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 and the implementation of his policies of *glasnost* ('openness') and *perestroika* ('reconstruction'). In 1988 the Russian Church

was allowed to celebrate its Millennium. At last, in 1990, a new Freedom of Conscience law was passed, revoking Stalin's law of 1929. All religions could now engage in worship, teaching and social activities. Churches and monasteries began to be handed back in large numbers. Similar freedom came to all the former Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. New problems followed. Resources were lacking to take up effectively all the opportunities for work, witness and the repair of buildings. Moreover all kinds of foreign missions and sects flooded in to influence the newly open countries. The Russian Orthodox Church was horrified to see the erosion of its dominant position in the religious scene. Subsequently some of the freedoms granted to other religious bodies have been withdrawn.

With the revolution in France in 1789 the Roman Catholic Church suffered grievously for its privileged existence under the monarchy. Papal power in that country was seriously restricted in the 1801 Concordat between Pius VII and the First French Republic under the leadership of Napoleon Bonaparte. After the latter's fall in 1815, however, the Church experienced a remarkable revival. In part this came from a widespread desire in Europe to put the clock back to before 1789, though in fact the revolutionary movements had not ceased, only paused. In part it displayed a great vitality.

In 1814 the Pope formally revived the **Jesuits** (suppressed in 1773) and they were readmitted to France and Spain. In Spain the Inquisition was re-established. Between 1815 and 1914 more **new orders** came into being than in any other single century. Among them –

- The **Oblates of the Immaculate Virgin Mary**, founded by Charles de Mazenod in Provence in SE France in 1816 to win back those de-Christianized by the Revolution.
- The **Society of St. Vincent de Paul**, founded by Antoine Ozanam in France in 1833 for Catholic laymen to serve the sick and poor. It spread rapidly in France and other lands.
- The **White Fathers** (Society of Missionaries of Our Lady in Africa), founded in 1868 by Charles Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage, for mission work in Africa. Their white tunic or cloak resembled to some extent those of the Muslims amongst whom they lived. They prepared Africans for baptism and then trained them for trades, agriculture, mission work or the priesthood. In 1869 Lavigerie founded the **White Sisters** (Congregation of Missionary Sisters of Our Lady in Africa) to work alongside them. They were devoted to teaching, nursing and pastoral work in urban areas.

Many Catholic educational institutions were founded including the University of Louvain in Belgium in 1834. From 1875 on no less than five Catholic universities were founded in France.

The period was marked by rising devotion to the **Virgin Mary**. In 1854 her **Immaculate Conception** (at her conception, by virtue of being the mother of Jesus Christ, she was preserved free from original sin) was defined by Pope Pius IX as an official dogma. In 1858 a peasant girl Bernadette Subirous claimed the Virgin had appeared to her eighteen times in a grotto near **Lourdes** in the Pyrenees. Pilgrims thronged to the place and healings were reported. Within fifty years the shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes had attracted over five million visitors.

Devotion to the **Sacred Heart of Jesus**, emphasising the sacrificial love of Christ and symbolized by his physical heart, can be traced back to the Middle Ages. In 1856 the Pope extended the feast of the Sacred Heart (established in 1765) to the whole Catholic Church. Late in the 1890s Pope Leo XIII formally consecrated the whole of humanity to the Sacred Heart.

In 1868 **Catholic Action** was founded in Bologna, Italy to band youth together in defence of the Church with the motto: 'Prayer, Action, Sacrifice'.

Lamennais

Félicité Robert de Lamennais (1782-1854) was born at St. Malo, Normandy, into a merchant family. He became a disciple of Rousseau but, influenced by his brother who was a priest, was converted at 22. Then he devoted himself to reading the Bible and other Christian writings. In 1804 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics at the Episcopal College of St. Malo. Encouraged by his brother he began to write in defence of the faith but then seems to have been pushed, somewhat against his will, into ordination in 1816. Between 1817 and 1823 he published his *Essay on Indifference in the Matter of Religion*, a fresh apologetic work for Christianity against 18th century rationalism. It proved very popular. He included an attack on Protestantism, saying that the Protestants' authority Scripture, interpreted by the individual, becomes the authority of reason. Further, he pointed out the essential role of religion in society: it guarantees the rule of justice not simply the will of the strongest, and it not only restrains people externally by law but also inwardly produces virtue. He also argued that common consent (*sensus communis*) gives us certainty of many things that Descartes' principle of doubt would sweep away, e.g. that the sun will rise tomorrow. Common consent also points to the existence of God, who then guarantees the truth of his revelation. Pope Leo XII commended Lamennais' work.

Having tasted the authoritarian rule of the Bourbon kings (1815-30) Lamennais concluded Church and State must be separated for absolute monarchs will always seek to use the church for their own ends. In 1830 he, with like-minded friends, began to publish a daily paper *L'Avenir* ('The Future') advocating a more liberal regime with freedom of the press, freedom for the practice of all forms of religion, voting rights for all, and all this guaranteed by the Pope. He and his friends went to Rome to appeal directly to Pope Gregory XVI for his support for the scheme, but the latter, scared of the effects of liberalism, instead condemned it in the bull *Mirari vos* (1832). Shattered, Lamennais retired to his family home in the country and wrote an answer *Paroles d'un Croyant* ('Words of a Believer', 1834). That too received a papal condemnation in *Singulari nos* (1834). Lamennais left the church and turned to politics. In 1848 he became a member of the French revolutionary Parliament. His religious belief had become a vague pantheism.

Vatican I

The longest pontificate in history was that of **Pius IX** (1846-78). Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti (1792-1878) came from the lesser nobility of Italy. As a young man he was a soldier in the papal troops until his epilepsy blocked his promotion. Then he prepared for the priesthood and was ordained priest in 1819. He served some of his early ministry in South America. In 1827 he was appointed Archbishop of Spoleto, a poor part of the Papal States, then in 1832 Bishop of Imola (again in the Papal States), where he impressed people by his charitable works and liberal outlook. In 1840 he was made a cardinal before, in 1846, being elected pope. At first he instituted some liberal reforms: a general amnesty for political prisoners, more freedom for the press etc. But in 1848 there was revolution in France and in Italy too and, when he refused to support the revolutionary cause in driving the Austrians out of Italy, he lost favor and had to flee from Rome. With the aid of French troops he returned in 1850 but had finished with liberalism. If his temporal power had proved shaky he was determined to assert his ecclesiastical power. In 1850 he re-established the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and, in 1853, in the Netherlands. In 1854 he

proclaimed on his own authority the dogma the **Immaculate Conception**. It was the first time a pope had defined a dogma on his own without the help of a council, yet he encountered very little opposition. In 1864 he published a *Syllabus of Errors* listing 80 propositions Catholics must reject, including:

- that each person is free to follow whatever religion seems to him best (15)
- that in a Christian country the State should control education (45)
- that there ought to be separation between Church and State (55)
- that the Roman Pontiff should accept progress, liberalism and modern civilization (80)

In 1869 he summoned all Catholic bishops to Rome. Nearly 700 attended for what was considered the 20th Ecumenical Council to deal with a vast array of subjects on faith and dogma, ecclesiastical discipline, canon law, missions etc, but the centerpiece was a declaration of **papal infallibility**. On July 18th in the constitutional declaration of the council, *Pastor Aeternus*, it was stated:

That the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra* (that is, when – fulfilling the office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians – on his supreme Apostolical authority, he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church), through the divine assistance promised him in blessed Peter, is endowed with that infallibility, with which the Divine Redeemer has willed that his Church – in defining doctrine concerning faith or morals – should be equipped: And therefore, that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff of themselves – and not by virtue of the consent of the Church – are irreformable. If any one shall presume (which God forbid!) to contradict this our definition; let him be anathema. (Bettenson)

533 bishops voted in favor, 2 against, 80 abstained (60 others against had already left). Only two months after Pius achieved this peak of ecclesiastical authority, on September 20th Rome surrendered to the armies of the Kingdom of Italy, and he was deprived of almost all his temporal power. He protested vigorously.

In 1871 some academics from Germany, Austria and Switzerland met at Munich, declared they would not accept the declaration of papal infallibility but rather held to the decrees of the Council of Trent. They also abolished compulsory celibacy for their clergy. As there were no bishops among them they received the apostolic succession from the small Dutch Church of Utrecht that had separated from Rome, partly over the issue of Jansenism, in the previous century. They took the name of **Old Catholic Church**. (They are now in full communion with the Anglican Communion and the I.F.I.)

Subsequent Popes

The pontificate of Pius IX was followed by another long one, that of **Leo XIII** (1878-1903). Leo continued many of the policies of his predecessor but exhibited more diplomacy. Some important points:

- he did not repudiate the discoveries of modern scientific research and himself added to the equipment of the Vatican observatory
- he declared the church is not hostile to liberty and Catholic governments are not bound to crusade against liberalism
- he defended the rights of the poor (*Rerum novarum*, 1891)

- he threw open the Vatican archives to historical research (1883) and encouraged the study of the Bible (1893)
- he declared Anglican ordinations defective in form and intentions (*Apostolicae Cura*, 1896)

His successor **Pius X** (Pope, 1903-14) was very conservative. He condemned all who applied new methods of research to Scripture or theological matters – thus rejecting Catholic ‘Modernism’. He reformed Canon Law. He recommended daily communion and children’s communion. Many miracles are said to have come from his prayers. With particularly the first of these points in mind Gonzales says that, by the start of World War I:

Protestants and Catholics were as far apart from each other as they had been at any previous time. Protestants looked upon the Catholic Church as a relic of bygone ages, while Catholics were convinced that Protestantism had confirmed its heretical character by capitulating before the challenges of the modern world. (*Story of Christianity II*, p.302)

Benedict XV (1914-22) protested against inhuman methods of warfare and strenuously sought to bring about peace in World War I but without success. He was concerned that missionary bishops should develop indigenous (native) clergy, and encouraged Uniat Churches (Eastern Churches which acknowledge the authority of the pope and are in communion with Rome) to retain their own languages and traditions – hoping that this would encourage more Eastern church to acknowledge the authority of Rome.

Pius XI (1922-39) was a scholar and an administrator. He too was concerned to support the apostolate of the laity though under clerical supervision. He was strongly aware of the importance of the non-European world and required each religious order to take part in missionary work; as a result the number of missionaries was doubled during his time. He insisted mission must adapt to local customs and encourage indigenous clergy. He consecrated the first Chinese bishops. He was very concerned about Communism but not, for some time, so perturbed by Fascism. As early Fascism in Italy favored Catholicism he worked with it. In 1929, in a signed agreement, Mussolini acknowledged the existence of the papal sovereign state of ‘Vatican City’ while Pius in return endorsed the kingdom of Italy with Rome as its capital. In 1933 Pius signed a concordat with Hitler, seeing Nazism as an acceptable alternative to Communism. By 1937, however, he condemned both ideologies. Seeing the progress of Communism in Asia he declared there could be no grounds for Christian collaboration with it. As Hitler and Mussolini drew closer his support for Italian Fascism cooled.

Upon the death of Pius XI his Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli, was quickly elected pope. Taking the name **Pius XII** (1939-58) he sought to continue his predecessor’s policies. He was a diplomat, a mystic and a tireless worker, a man of personal magnetism yet also highly authoritarian. He tried to prevent World War II and then to keep Italy out of it, but failed in both endeavors. Once war broke out he followed a policy of neutrality, hoping he could be a mediator in due time. It meant he did not condemn the German atrocities against the Jews, though he did denounce the atrocities against the Catholics in Poland. Certain other Catholics did, however, risk life and freedom by helping Jews escape from Germany. After the war his international policy was almost entirely focused on Communism. In 1949 he decreed automatic excommunication for any Catholic anywhere who supported it. In 1953 he signed a concordat with the Fascist regime of Franco in Spain again as an alternative

to Communism. Yet, he would not condemn Cardinal Wyszyński's experiment at co-existence with the Communist government of Poland.

Whilst Pius favored the Ecumenical Movement he put an obstacle in its path by defining the dogma of the **Bodily Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary into Heaven** in his bull *Humani generis* (1950). He also showed himself very suspicious of theological innovation by stifling the work of creative thinkers like Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, forbidding the publication of his works. Pope Pius first supported the French 'worker priests' but later, when several became *leaders* in the labor movement and declared against capitalism, he withdrew his support and closed the seminary where most of them had been trained. Yet, in 1943, in *Divino afflante Spiritu* he encouraged the use of modern methods of Bible study, and cautiously supported liturgical reform. He also forwarded the policy of strengthening churches outside Europe and encouraged the independence of colonies and the development of indigenous churches under native leadership. He established the Conference of Latin American Bishops (CELAM) – the first such official regional organization. He also internationalized the Curia so that, by his death, only one third of its membership was Italian.

De Chardin

Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881-1955) came from the aristocracy near Clermont in central France. He joined the Jesuits, and was ordained priest in 1911. In 1922 he obtained his doctorate in paleontology¹. His first writings were on the relation between faith and evolution and drew condemnation from Rome. He was therefore sent to serve in China, where it was thought he could do little damage. He pursued his paleontological and theological writing there. In 1929 he helped to identify the *Sinanthropus* skull which won him international scientific acclaim. His writings were published after his death. Best known in English translation are *The Phenomenon of Man* (1959, from Fr. 1955) and *The Divine Milieu* (1960, from Fr. 1957). Whilst generally accepting the principle of evolution he denied that the guiding force was 'the survival of the fittest'. Instead he proposed 'the cosmic law of complexity and consciousness' – that there is a pull in evolution towards the more complex and the more highly conscious. Evolution is still continuing with mankind, he said, but we are involved in our own evolution. The goal of the process (the 'omega point') is Jesus Christ. In him a new stage, the final stage of evolution has appeared - the 'Christosphere'.² De Chardin defends a 'Christianity of incarnation' and attributes a high value to man's secular activities which, especially if man is working under the Spirit of God, can make a positive contribution to the coming of the Kingdom of God. Others take a less optimistic view of the activities of man.³

Vatican II

Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli (1881-1963), came of a large peasant family near Bergamo in Italy. From the seminary in Bergamo he won a scholarship to Apollinaire College in Rome. He was priested in 1904 and became Secretary to the Bishop of Bergamo (1905-14). In the war he worked as a hospital orderly then as an army chaplain. In 1921 he was made Director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Italy, which he reorganized. In 1925 he was sent as Vicar Apostolic to Bulgaria, and in 1934 Apostolic Delegate to Turkey and Greece. He established good relations with the Orthodox, visiting the Ecumenical Patriarch in 1937. In World War II he organized relief supplies in German-occupied Greece and helped Jews in Istanbul. In 1944 he was sent as Papal Nuncio to Paris. In 1953 he was made a cardinal and then

went to be Patriarch of Venice. He was elected pope at 77 in 1958 and took the name **John XXIII**. Three months after his election he revealed his plan for an ecumenical council. He felt inspired by the Holy Spirit to call one and he wanted to consult his 'brother bishops' for a total updating (It. *aggiornamento*) of the Church, with the unity of all Christians as the ultimate goal. In 1960 he called a Synod in Rome to deal with local problems, and the same year set up the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. It was in 1960 too that he received Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher in Rome, the first time an Archbishop of Canterbury had been received there since the Reformation. In October 1962 he opened Vatican II. It was a truly global council. While 46% of the bishops came from Europe, the United States and Canada, 42% came from Latin America, Asia and black Africa, many from poor churches needing support from richer churches to attend.

In his opening speech he called for the 'medicine of mercy'. A major concern of that first session was liturgical renewal. He brought the Council to a close in December. The next year, in his encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, he encouraged the end of colonialism, the improvement of the position of women, and pleaded the abandonment of the arms race. He died in June.

His successor Giovanni Battista Montini (1897-1978), who took the name **Paul VI**, promised to continue the Council. Opening the second session in September 1963 he called all present to 'build a bridge between the Church and the modern world'. This session published the 'Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy', authorizing the use of vernacular languages and declaring there could be local variations to suit particular situations. The third session (September – November 1964) produced more reforming documents on the Church, the Eastern churches and ecumenism. This more conservative pope added a note saying episcopal collegiality must be understood in terms of the primacy of the pope. Also, while many in the Council wished to stress the centrality of Christ, he declared the Blessed Virgin to be the 'Mother of the Church'. At the fourth session (September – December 1965), after a bitter debate on the question of religious freedom, the progressives won the day. The document issued on religious freedom stressed that individuals as well as groups should be respected. The 'Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World' insisted on Catholic principles of faith and morality but was genuinely open to positive aspects of the modern world and deals with issues of family life, economic, social and political matters, science and technology, culture etc. A new epoch had begun.

At the close of the Council Paul VI proclaimed an extraordinary Jubilee from January 1st 1966 to May 29th (Whitsun, 1966) to allow all the faithful to hear the teaching of the Council and the Church to be renewed. A new Missal was published in 1970, and a Breviary in 1971. Pope Paul's own encyclicals were more conservative, including *Mysterium fidei* (1965) reaffirming the traditional doctrine of the Eucharist; *Sacerdotalis coelibatus* (1967) insisting on clerical celibacy; and *Humanae vitae* (1968) condemning artificial methods of birth control (the 'rhythm method' alone being acceptable). But he kept up the ecumenical momentum. In 1964 he had visited Jerusalem and there embraced Athenagoras, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. At the close of Vatican II a joint declaration was read out in which these two expressed mutual regret for the events of 1054 when Cardinal Humbert and Patriarch Michael Cerularius had excommunicated each other. During the course of his pontificate the pope also received two more Archbishops of Canterbury (A. M. Ramsay and F. D. Coggan), addressed the World Council of Churches in Geneva and travelled to many countries including the Philippines.

Subsequent Popes

Pope **John Paul I** (1978), another Italian, sought by choosing this name to indicate he would carry on the work of both of his predecessors. He started his pontificate with a simplified ceremony. After only 33 days in office he died of a heart attack. His premature death was much lamented.

His successor, the Pole Karol Wojtyla, was the first non-Italian pope since the 16th century. He came from a poor family. He studied at Cracow University and was ordained in 1946. He served as parish priest and university chaplain. He lectured on ethics and moral theology and published plays and poetry pseudonymously. He has an outstanding gift for languages. In 1964 he became Archbishop of Cracow and in 1967 was made a cardinal. He attended all the sessions of Vatican II. He was a leading figure in the Polish Church's struggle against Communism. When elected pope in 1978 he chose the name **John Paul II** to show continuity with his predecessors. Early on he began his trips abroad which took him to over 100 countries. As long as he was fit he always marked his arrival in a country by kissing the soil. In 1981 he survived an assassination attempt in Rome, forgiving his assassin.

In Mexico at the beginning of his pontificate he showed caution about 'Liberation Theology', insisting politics was the business of the laity. But he has always made clear his commitment to human rights and dignity. He is rightly credited with a crucial role in the collapse of Communism, which spread from Poland but later he warned former Communist countries of the danger of materialism and was strongly critical of capitalism.

John Paul II showed himself a theologically conservative pope, reaffirming the Roman Catholic Church's traditional position on moral issues and celibacy and withdrawing the licence to teach theology of such liberal theologians as Hans Küng (1979). He strongly affirmed the importance of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Catholic theology. Nevertheless he, like his predecessors, showed himself a committed ecumenist though he was strongly against the ordination of women within the Anglican Communion, seeing it as an obstacle to reunion. He died to global lamentation in 2006, to be succeeded by Cardinal Ratzinger, now **Benedict XVI**.

Notes

1. The study of fossils.
2. Gonzales, p.357.
3. Aubert, p.73.

The word 'ecumenical' is from the Greek *oikoumenē* meaning 'the whole inhabited world'. The 'Ecumenical Patriarch' of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) claims worldwide leadership over the Orthodox Communion. Since the early 20th century, however, the term ecumenical has been applied to the movement drawing together churches from across the world into fellowship, common action and, ultimately, actual church union. It is the large numbers of churches involved and the quest for church union that distinguishes it from earlier interdenominationalism which characterized, for instance, the London Missionary Society (1795), the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804) and the Y.M.C.A (1844).

The Origins of the World Council of Churches

Nowhere were the denominational differences felt to be more injurious to the development of the Church than on the mission field, when energy and resources were wasted in competition and conflict. Accordingly an International Missionary Conference was organized in Edinburgh in 1910. It was attended by 1,200 delegates from 160 mission boards and societies. The chairman of its planning committee was the American Methodist Dr. John Mott whose watchword was 'the evangelization of the world in our generation'. The conference, in confident mood, worked on concrete plans to achieve just that. Its General Secretary of the Conference was the Scottish layman Joseph H. Oldham.

One of its participants was Bishop Charles Brent. He was convinced that the churches represented should face up to the doctrinal differences that separated them. The outcome was a proposal laid before the General Convention of PECUSA to issue an invitation to prepare a conference on Faith and Order. Other churches felt similarly and, in 1927, the first World Conference on Faith and Order was held at Lausanne in Switzerland with 400 delegates representing 108 churches, Protestant, Orthodox and Old Catholics. Bishop Brent was elected President. There were frank and open discussions but the matters on which they agreed were more numerous than those on which they disagreed. The next Faith and Order Conference was held in Edinburgh in 1937.

Meanwhile, triggered off by the problems resulting from World War I, in 1925 another international conference had been held on 'Practical Christianity' (Life and Work) in Stockholm. Its outstanding figure was Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Uppsala in Sweden. He wanted the churches to *take responsibility* in the social and political life of the nations. The Conference saw its task as being to make the Gospel 'the decisive force in every area of the life of man'. The subjects it considered included unemployment, disarmament, work for children, and the care of prisoners. Prior to that the churches had merely focused on charity and relief work. Oldham was chairman of the Study Commission which prepared for the Second Conference on Life and Work which was held in Oxford in 1937 and had as its theme 'Church, Community and State'. By that time the National Socialist Party (Nazis) had achieved prominence in Germany. The Conference condemned all totalitarianism and war as a method of settling international conflict. It also spoke of the Church's presence in the world in the persons of its laity. Oldham was strongly critical of the clerical understanding of the Church. It also called upon the Faith and Order movement to join with it to form the World Council of Churches.

Accordingly, in 1948 the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches was held at Amsterdam. Its delegates represented 107 churches (including the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox) from 44 nations. Amongst its speakers were the theologians Karl Barth and Reinhold Niebuhr. The Council called on all churches to reject Communism and liberal capitalism. The chairman of the Council's central committee from 1948-54 was George Bell, Bishop of Chichester. In 1954 163 churches were represented at the WCC's Second Assembly, in Evanston, Illinois. At its Third Assembly, in New Delhi, in 1961 there were 197 churches, including the Russian Orthodox Church and two Pentecostal churches from Chile (the first Pentecostals to join), and Roman Catholic observers were present. At this Assembly the International Missionary Council finally joined the WCC, though sadly many of the Evangelical missionary societies had dropped out feeling it was too liberal and political. In 1964 Vatican II issued a 'Decree on Ecumenism' which described members of other churches as 'separated brethren' rather than regarding them still as totally outside the Church.

Church Unions

Parallel with the WCC there developed national, regional and local Councils of Churches. During the 20th century there were also some actual church unions, including the formation of the United Church of Canada, in 1925, the last of nineteen mergers in that country uniting in all 40 denominations. New ground was broken when, in 1947, the Church of South India was formed, bringing together for the first time episcopal (Anglican) and non-episcopal (Methodist and United churches). These churches, though they adopted an episcopal form of governance for the CSI, at its institution merely accepted each others ministries as valid, which did not satisfy Anglo-Catholic clergy in the Church of England who considered 30 years needed to elapse before all serving clergy of the CSI were considered validly episcopally ordained. The CSI reintroduced to Christendom the 'kiss of peace' in the eucharist. In 1970 Anglican and non-episcopal churches combined to form the Church of North India and the Church of Pakistan. The former included amongst its merging churches the Baptists and therefore infant and believer's baptism were accepted as parallel practices within the one body. In both united churches the procedure for accepting each others ministries was more complex, allowing the Church of England to conclude all had then and there received episcopal ordination; accordingly she entered into full communion with both in 1972. In the last few decades of the 20th century two schemes for union between the Church of England and free churches in England (principally the Methodists) failed to win the necessary two-thirds majority in General Synod's House of Clergy. Only early in the new millennium have the first cautious steps been taken to try again.

Other Initiatives

Meanwhile various bilateral investigations have made progress in overcoming doctrinal barriers between churches. Pope Paul VI and Archbishop Michael Ramsey set up the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (**ARCIC**) in 1966. Its Final Report in 1982 brought together its earlier reports on the Eucharist, Ministry and Ordination, and Authority in the Church. Whilst a number of common perspectives were achieved, still such stumbling blocks as the refusal to accept the validity of Anglican orders, papal infallibility etc remain. An **ARCIC II** was appointed in 1982 and has produced the less contentious reports *Salvation and the Church* (focusing in part on 'justification by faith') in 1987 and *Church as Communion* in 1990.

In 1988 the **Meissen** Agreement brought the German non-episcopal Evangelische Kirche and the Anglican Communion to a high degree of cooperation, but the **Porvoo** Agreement (1992) brought the episcopal Nordic and Baltic Lutheran Churches into full intercommunion with the Anglicans.

In 1982 the Faith and Order Commission of the WCC produced the report *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* (BEM) which has been widely accepted by member churches.

In the Philippines

In the Philippines in 1901 the main Protestant missions formed the 'Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands' intending that only one Protestant Church should be formed. It divided the country into separate spheres for the different denominations. Bishop Brent refused to join declaring his was not an 'evangelical' but 'catholic' church. There were soon various splits from the original constituent churches. But in 1932 various Presbyterian and Methodist splinter groups combined to form Iglesia Evangelica Unida de Cristo (UNIDA), and there have been other unions.

The present ecumenical umbrella organization to which both the ECP and the IFI belong is the National Council of Churches of the Philippines (**NCCP**), inaugurated in CSMSJ in 1963. It has proved effective in lobbying the Government on social issues.

It is strange indeed that, after Vatican II's recognition of other denominations as Christian (albeit 'separated') brethren with valid baptisms, if in the three-fold Name, an agreed statement had to be signed between the Roman Catholic Church and what was then the Philippine Episcopal Church recognizing each other's baptisms as valid.

‘Pentecostalism’ emphasises the work of the Holy Spirit, declaring that ‘baptism in the Holy Spirit’, an experience like that of the apostles at the first Christian Pentecost, awaits every believer and is accompanied normally by the ‘gift of tongues’ (speaking in a language, known or unknown, that one has never learnt). Pentecostal churches are denominations with this perspective, e.g. the Assemblies of God. ‘Charismatic’ is from the Greek *charisma*, a ‘gift’, and refers particularly to the gifts of the Spirit listed in 1 Corinthians 12 and Romans 12. Charismatics, like Pentecostals, have received the baptism of the Spirit, tongues and some of the other gifts but remain *within* the mainline Christian denominations. Pentecostal and charismatic forms of Christianity are the most vigorous in the worldwide Church today.

It seems that Luther was convinced of the continuing validity of divine healing, Xavier sometimes spoke in languages he had never learnt, and supernatural gifts were experienced by some Huguenots, Jansenists, Quakers and Methodists. D. L. Moody’s preaching could lead to people speaking in tongues and prophesying. He and other leaders of the Holiness movements in America in the late 19th century taught the importance of a ‘second blessing’ or ‘baptism in the Spirit’ after conversion.

The Beginnings of Pentecostalism

The Pentecostal movement is generally considered to have started when Charles Parham, founder of a Methodist Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, went away for a few days leaving his students to investigate what was the biblical evidence of ‘baptism in the Holy Spirit’. He returned to find them excited to have discovered it was ‘speaking in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.’ After the laying on of hands one of them, Agnes Ozman, began to speak in tongues. It was December 31st 1900. Soon after, Parham himself and a number of others had the same experience. Friends and neighbours were unimpressed. The movement did not make much headway until, in 1905, W. J. Seymour a black student of Parham was invited to Los Angeles to preach at a black Holiness church, the Church of the Nazarene. He declared that a Christian could not have baptism in the Spirit without speaking in tongues, and they excluded him because they had long believed one could. He then rented a disused Methodist chapel that had been turned into a warehouse at 312 Azusa Street. There meetings went on all night long as hundreds received the baptism. Many who came to contest what was happening ended up flat on their faces! People came from all over the world and many others wrote for information. At first Azusa Street taught a three-stage salvation: conversion (or regeneration), sanctification (or second blessing), and baptism in the Spirit indicated by the gift of tongues. Later it was held to be a two-stage process, the middle stage dropping out. Azusa Street accentuated the outpouring of the Spirit on the poor and oppressed – African and Hispanic Americans. Later, people from other social strata shared in the blessing including T. B. Barratt, a Methodist minister from Oslo, and Cecil Polhill, an English squire who, as one of the ‘Cambridge Seven’, had gone to join the China Inland Mission and served as a missionary in Tibet. Back in England he founded the Pentecostal Missionary Union.

Pentecostalism spread to various parts of Europe, Barratt playing a considerable role in this. By 1908 it had reached South Africa, where it gave rise to white and independent black churches, and by 1910 Brazil where, as well as in Chile and other South American countries, it became the dominant form of Protestantism. In America in 1914 a number of assemblies federated to form the Assemblies of God,

which remains the largest Pentecostal denomination in the U.S. In 1953 the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship was founded and has proved very influential.

British Origins

In 1907, at the invitation of the Vicar Alexander Body, T. B. Barratt went to preach at All Saints Bradford in the North of England. Several members of the church were filled with the Spirit leading to reports in the national press such as, 'Strange Revivalist Scenes – Vicar's Child Talks Chinese'! The church soon became the Azusa Street of Britain as people travelled from far and wide to receive the baptism. Amongst the people who came into the experience through the ministry of Mrs. Body was the shy and uneducated plumber Smith Wigglesworth. He went on to become a forceful evangelist with a dramatic healing ministry.

Meanwhile, in 1905, a revival had broken out in Wales in which singing played a large part. Amongst those spiritually set on fire were the brothers George and Stephen Jeffreys. Their father was a miner and Stephen worked with him earning his living. George was a salesman. Both brothers became powerful preachers and evangelists. In 1915 George set up the Elim Evangelistic Band to support him in his huge mission meetings. Later he set up the Elim Four Square (Pentecostal) Gospel Church. In time, however, centralized control was exerted by other leaders and he left and founded the Bible Pattern Church Fellowship.

The Assemblies of God in Britain and Ireland was constituted in 1924 from about 70 independent assemblies. In 1953 immigrants from Jamaica established the New Testament Church of God.

The Neo-Pentecostal or Charismatic Movement

This was the second wave of Pentecostalism working within (and beyond) the mainline churches, Protestant, Catholic and ultimately Orthodox. Its start is generally held to be the baptism in the Spirit, with tongues, experienced by the Episcopal Rector of Van Nuys in California, Dennis Bennett in 1959. When he announced in church what had happened to him it aroused such opposition that he resigned. He was eventually offered a bankrupt mission church in Seattle (St. Luke's). A year later 85% of the congregation had been filled with the Spirit and the church had risen out of bankruptcy. The renewal spread to some other Episcopal churches and denominations, including the Roman Catholics in 1967.

In the 1960s it crossed the Atlantic to Britain where Michael Harper, a curate at one of the leading Anglican Evangelical churches in London, All Souls Langham Place, clashed with his Rector John Stott and left to found the Fountain Trust which organized huge rallies to encourage the charismatic fraternity of London and beyond. In time the Fountain Trust disbanded feeling it had served its function. Many other organizations now provide opportunities for fellowship and teaching, but Michael Harper has joined the Orthodox Communion.

The worldwide Charismatic Movement has generated a great quantity of new worship songs and choruses, many of which are very fine and have gone into general church use alongside more traditional hymns.

Pentecostalism in Asia

Pentecostalism in Asia reflects more diversity in beliefs and practices than its Euro-American counterparts. It has been easily contextualized. In some places women have played influential roles. Often it has appealed to marginalized people, such as the lower castes of India; however, now it also affects the middle classes. It is very strong in Korea and China. In Singapore the Anglican Church became strongly charismatic under the leadership of Bishop Chiu Ban It (baptized in the Spirit in 1973) and his successor Bishop Moses Tay. This brought great growth in membership and many new churches were founded throughout the island.

In the **Philippines** various ECP clergy found renewal through spending time in Singapore, though some have subsequently left the ECP. Independent Pentecostal fellowships have drawn large numbers from all social classes. Brother Eddie Villanueva, a professor at Polytechnic University, began a small Bible study in 1978 which has now grown into the Jesus is Lord Fellowship, the largest Pentecostal church, claiming some 5 million members. The Catholic Charismatic Movement came to the Philippines in 1969 under Brother Aquinas and Mother Marie Angela, who began prayer groups and organized large conferences. The church leadership reluctantly responded and permitted El Shaddai, Couples for Christ and other fellowships. There are now perhaps 12 million Catholic charismatics.

A Theological Assessment

The New Testament does speak of ‘the gift of the Spirit’ or ‘receiving the Spirit’ as part of the initiation process (Acts 2:4, 38; 8:17...) and John the Baptist refers to Jesus’ work as ‘baptizing with the Holy Spirit and with fire’ (Mt.3:11, Lk.3:16, cf. 1Cor.12:13). The receiving of the Spirit is clearly marked by something noticeable: tongues (Ac.2:4, 10:46), tongues and prophecy (19:6), unspecified though possibly tongues in the light of the previous passages (8:17-18), joy (8:39, 16:34). It would seem fair to conclude that, in the earliest Church, receiving the Spirit was an emotional experience that could not pass unnoticed. If today then a person at baptism or confirmation is unaware of any powerful experience perhaps it is because s/he lacks repentance, faith or expectation at that time (cf. Ac.2:38, 8:16). Perhaps on a subsequent occasion that could be rectified, the person experiencing ‘conversion’, ‘second blessing’ or ‘baptism in the Holy Spirit’. This may or may not be accompanied by tongues.

If we gladly accept the New Testament’s teaching that a Christian should possess the ‘fruit of the Spirit’ (Gal.5:22-23) why should we not also accept its teaching about the gifts of the Holy Spirit? (1 Cor.12:7-11) But St. Paul is clear that the gifts are scattered *among* church members rather than, including tongues, being given to *all* (vv.11, 27-31). Tongues clearly can be valuable to an individual Christian in prayer (1 Cor.14:4-5), and to the church *if* there is also interpretation (vv.13, 27-8) but it is love that is the indispensable sign of the Spirit’s presence (Gal.5:22, 1Cor.13).

What is the secret of Pentecostal and charismatic success? What might be the weaknesses of these movements?

Ch.26 Churches of the Third World Take the Lead

1970: World Population 3,696 million. Christians 1,236 (33%) - 56% Western, 44% Non-Western.

1990: World Population 6,055 million. Christians 1,747 (29%) - 44% Western, 56% Non-Western.

(*World Christian Encyclopedia*, ed. D. B Barrett, 2nd ed., 2001)

So at the beginning of the 3rd millennium c.60% of all Christians live outside Europe and North America.

After the surge of colonization and founding new churches in the 19th century, the 20th century was marked by the handing over of these churches to indigenous leadership. The missionary societies assisted with the strengthening of theological education but also by sending many personnel into the fields of education generally, medical work, development etc. (CMS no longer speaks of 'missionaries' but 'mission partners', i.e. those who work *with* the local churches, and her name is now the 'Church Mission (not Missionary) Society'.) In recent times the 'new' churches have paid more attention to indigenizing their life and worship.

Africa

A feature of the Church in black Africa in the 20th century was the development of independent churches. As they were most numerous under the repressive white apartheid regime in South Africa (3 such churches in 1904, over 2,000 by 1960) and fewest of all in Tanzania (from where the German missionaries departed in 1914) it seems fair to deduce that they offered an outlet for black Christian leadership and culture when it was denied in the official churches. These independent churches have been usually led by a 'prophet' (sometimes female). Some at least offered baptism without conditions, many accepted polygamy and other traditional African practices. Their members wear flowing robes, and their worship usually employs drums and responsive chanting. In the more extreme ('Zionist') churches dance-trances and animal sacrifice take place. They claim to offer genuinely African worship. Christians in the mainline churches accuse them of being syncretistic and superficial in their knowledge of the Gospel.

The 20th century witnessed impressive growth in the mainline churches too. From the 1930s the East African Revival (*Balokole*, 'saved ones') made a big impact on particularly Uganda and Rwanda. Bishop Festo Kivengere, known as the 'African Billy Graham', was one converted through it. In 1977 Ugandan Anglicanism produced a notable martyr in Archbishop Janani Luwum, shot dead after daring to stand up to the ruthless dictator Idi Amin.

In South Africa black churchmen, including most notably Desmond Tutu Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town 1986-96, assisted in the downfall of apartheid (1989) and ensured that the church had a great influence on the regime that followed it. Further north various countries have experienced fierce rivalry between Islam and Christianity. In the Sudan the church has thrived despite suffering greatly during the prolonged civil war. In Nigeria the resilient church refused to give up the north of the country to Muslims but rather, in the Decade of Evangelism (1990-2000), established six missionary dioceses there. The Nigerian Anglican Church is now the largest church in the Anglican Communion, has quite recently founded its own missionary society, the Nigerian CMS, and has taken led the opposition to the liberal practices of the American Episcopal Church over gay matters.

Latin America

In the 19th century the Church in Latin America had declined in influence, but in the 20th century its influence increased. Latin America's population rose from 61m in 1900 to 390m in the mid-1980s (including 40m abandoned babies). By 1960 the continent held 35% of the world's Roman Catholics. But there is a great shortage of indigenous priests. In 1960 37% of the clergy were foreign.

There had long been a huge inequality between wealthy landowners and the upper middle-class townspeople, on the one hand, and the peasantry and urban poor on the other. The Church as an institution had been tied to the former. In the 1940s, however, an increasing number of clergy and laity began to focus attention on improving the conditions of the poor. In the 1950s and 1960s a strong Christian Democrat movement built up, prepared to criticise capitalism and demanding state intervention in the social and economic spheres. By the 1960s, however, many Latin American thinkers found this tame. Vatican II had focused in part on social and political issues, and at the second Conference of Latin American Bishops (CELAM II) at Medellín, Columbia in 1968 the participants rejected capitalism and communism, calling on Christians to side with the peasants and Indians in struggling for dignity and better living conditions. **Liberation theology** was one of the main developments. A key exposition of this is Peruvian Gustavo Gutierrez's *Teología de la Liberación* (1971, Eng.tr. 1973). Other thinkers include Leonardo and Clodovis Boff (Brazil), José Bonino (Argentinean Protestant), and José Miranda (Mexico). They are prepared to use Marxist analysis in their critique of capitalism. Their key teachings are:

1. Preferential support for the poor.
2. Liberation as an essential part of salvation.
3. The Exodus as the biblical model.
4. Christ's teaching is highly political.
5. Right practice is more important than right belief.
6. Unfair structures of society constitute 'institutional violence'.

Influenced by this teaching some Catholic clergy have fully supported revolutionary movements, e.g. the Sandanistas of Nicaragua. In 1980 Oscar Romero, Archbishop of San Salvador, who had become a supporter of liberation theology in El Salvador, was shot dead while celebrating Mass. In 1984 the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (under Cardinal Ratzinger, now pope) responded to liberation theology by accepting the bias towards the poor but rejecting the Marxist analysis, especially point 5. Conservative bishops have been appointed to vacant sees in Latin America. The most practical outcome has been the development of **Base Communities**. These consist of 15 to 20 families usually led by a layman and combining Bible Study, worship and social action, including 'conscientization' - making people aware of the causes of their situation and their rights. There are over 70,000 of them in Brazil alone. Another feature of the Latin American church scene especially in the 20th century was the growth of Protestantism in its fundamentalist and especially Pentecostal forms. This has made advances not only among the poor but also among the military, students and business people. It has been seen as an effective answer to communism and Marxist-slanted Catholicism. Generals Pinochet in Chile and Samora in Nicaragua have looked to it for support. It has been positive towards business enterprise whereas Catholicism has found it hard to encourage this. Protestantism in Latin America has received strong support from North America.

Asia

China

The population of this country is some 1.3bn. It has been Communist since 1949 though it has adopted some capitalist trade practices since 1980. From the start the Communists sought to control the Church, hoping it would wither away. All missionaries were forced to leave in the early 1950s. The Protestants were ordered to unite to form the one Three-Self Church; Roman Catholics were ordered to cut their tie with Rome. Congregations had to register with the government. A large underground Church also developed. Many Christians were 'criticized', often by members of their own families, for association with imperialism and other claimed evils, and suffered gravely. The last decades have seen spectacular growth particularly in Protestantism: 1949 700,000 Protestants 1984 3 million 1992 63m Protestants (12m Roman Catholics). It is impossible to give an accurate figure but Christians may now constitute as much as 10% of the population.

India

Out of a total population of 1.15bn, Christians number some 2-3%, some 70% or more of them being Catholic. The 20th century witnessed various steps towards the Indianization of Christianity. Sadhu Sundar Singh (1889-1929) dressed as an Indian holy man while he proclaimed Christ. In 1912 Bishop Azariah was appointed Bishop of Dornakal in southern India, the first Indian Anglican bishop. United churches: the Church of South India (CSI) was established in 1947, the Church of North India (CNI) in 1970. Just now attempts to express Christian life and worship more in terms of Indian culture are beginning to be attempted and evangelism has been reinvigorated.

Indonesia

Out of a population of 240m 87% are Muslims, 10% are officially said to be Christians but the real figure could be considerably higher. Christianity is one of the officially accepted religions but even in recent times there has been conflict with Islam – churches burnt etc. Recently there has been some Pentecostal growth.

Japan

Some 90% of the population of 127m are Shinto/Buddhist (though it seems many do not believe in a deity); only some 1-2% are Christian. In this fiercely nationalistic country there is little inclination for people to join a 'foreign' religion, but Christianity has a far greater influence than its membership would suggest. The Bible has long been a best-seller. Church weddings are eagerly sought after. Sadly the very traditional Anglican Church is in serious membership decline.

Philippines

Out of a population of 92m Roman Catholics comprise over 80%, IFI, Protestants, and Muslims each around 5%. The Roman Catholic Church has mostly Filipino priests but many expatriate monks. It is generally conservative, but has experienced considerable charismatic renewal leading to the formation of such movements as El Shaddai, and lay leadership is developing. Liberation theology is influential. In 1963 the National Council of Churches in the Philippines brought together large Protestant denominations and the ECP and IFI.

Iglesia Filipina Independiente (Philippine Independent Church)

Most members of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI) take pride in the notion that their Church is nationalist and the "only one" that can teach patriotism or love of country to the Filipinos. They romantically picture their church as the "remaining tangible result of the Philippine Revolution". Such description could have been the source of the erroneous but widespread idea that it was founded by Gregorio Aglipay during the Revolution against Spain. The Visitation - Secularization - Filipinization controversies in the church during the Spanish colonial period found its successful culmination or crowning success in the establishment of the IFI. Though there is truth in that description, there is a lot more that was glossed over. The account of its founding is not in its proper historical context and thereby diluting the primary mission of the Church. A fuller presentation on the founding of the IFI can be outlined in the following paragraphs.

The end of the Filipino-American war as officially proclaimed by then US President Theodore Roosevelt on July 4, 1902 did not mean the end of Filipino resistance or in a more positive manner, the Filipino desire for liberty. The laws passed by the Philippine Commission (which was the legislative body in the colony until the establishment of the Philippine Assembly in 1907) could be seen as evidence of continuing Filipino aspiration for liberty. Three of these were the Sedition Law (1901) which forbade advocacy of independence even by peaceful means; the Brigandage Act (1902) which classified all armed resistance as pure banditry; and the Reconcentration Act (1903) which gave legal justification for hamletting to deny support for the guerilla's from the populace. A later one was the Flag Law (1907) that prohibited the display of the flag (the one used in the proclamation of Independence on June 12, 1898) and the playing of the Philippine National Anthem (Marcha Nacional Filipina). The Filipinos' expressions of their desire for liberty were varied and these laws could be seen as a response to these expressions.

In the urban centers most particularly Manila and Cebu, journalists like Aurelio Tolentino, Juan Matapang Cruz, Juan Abad, Vicente Sotto and many others continued to write in symbolisms, some of which were so blatant that a number of their writings were judged as seditious. Many of the then known bandits were actually revolutionaries continuing the struggle for liberty like Macario Sakay and the lieutenants of Vibora (the Viper which was Artemio Ricarte). Even millenarian movements joined the fray or even if they did not, they were suspected as such and therefore suffered persecutions. In this period of continuing resistance when the (institutional and missionary) churches were cooperating (explicitly or otherwise) with the American colonial government, the Iglesia Filipina Independiente was founded.

It was Sunday, August 3, 1902 when in a meeting of the General Council of the Union Obrera Democratica (UOD), its head, Isabelo de los Reyes, Sr. (popularly known as don Belong), proclaimed the establishment/founding of the IFI. To give shape to this proposed Church, he nominated prominent lay and clerical persons to compose two councils to operate in one level: Executive for the Lay people and the Doctrinal for the Clergy. Those for the Doctrinal Council were also nominated to become bishops of envisioned dioceses with Gregorio Aglipay as the Obispo Maximo (Supreme Bishop). He even nominated the Civil Governor, William Howard Taft and Emilio Aguinaldo as Honorary Presidents.

In the following two weeks, many disclaimers were published. Except for Aguinaldo, all the lay people rejected their nominations. Most took pains to deny any involvement in the movement. The most telling blow came from Gregorio Aglipay whose circular to the Filipino clergy dated August 16 was published on August 20 called them for a meeting to give assurance that there was yet no schism. A newspaper, the *Manila American* published the following day a derisive article picturing the IFI as a "Church that died before it was born."

Nevertheless, one year afterwards, the IFI was believed to have one and a half million members, which was roughly one fourth or 25% of the population. The start of the swelling membership was given an account by the *La Iglesia Filipina Independiente: Revista Catolica* (LIFIRC) in one of the earliest issues on October 1903 in two articles - one on the founding and another a list the First Adherents. The first explained that while the prominent persons nominated to fill the two governing councils declined or denied any involvement, the people including Protestants, on the other hand, joined or pledged allegiance to the new church.

The second listed the following groups as the First Adherents (*Primeras Adhesiones*): sixty Navotas Residents with Saturnina Bunda first on the list; numerous Tondo residents; officers and members of the UOD; some clergymen; 3 seminarians and several individuals. Further research proved that many groups joined the church. Even millenarian groups like the Sagrada Familia in the Ilocos provinces joined the IFI in the first year of its existence. For the administration of the new church, a new Executive Council composed of officers of the UOD was created and which came out with circulars and the First Fundamental Epistle.

These developments and others affecting his personal life could have been the reasons why Aglipay eventually joined the Church and headed the signatories of the Temporary Constitution and the Second Fundamental Epistle on October 1, 1902. Also on this day, the eminent priest, Pedro Brillantes who accepted the position of Bishop of Ilocos Norte occupied Baccara Church and proclaimed the place as his Cathedral See. In his action, he had the support of all except one priest in the province. That was not surprising since most of these priests-heroes were with Aglipay in the famous Kullabeng Assembly of May 8, 1902. In that gathering attended by Aglipay and his wartime comrades, it was agreed by all who attended that they will separate from the Vatican and establish a Filipino Church and residents of the place also renewed their resolve to found a new town with the site as the center.

These evidences show that many people were involved in the eventual birth and early existence of the IFI. These people more than anybody else should be considered rightfully as the founders of this nationalist church. Such was in accordance to the thinking of the First Obispo Maximo. On the celebration of the 30th year of the IFI, in an interview with the correspondent of *Herald Week Magazine* he repeated what he has written in a letter to the Papal Nuncio When asked about the founding of the IFI by saying:

The Filipino people are my witness that I am not the author of the Philippine Independent Church; neither did I intervene in its preparation. I was sleeping in Ezpeleta Street when I was awakened and told that in a meeting at the Centro de Bella Artes in Manila, August 3, 1902, the Filipino people proclaimed the new church...

The Philippine Independent Church was founded by the people of our country. It was a product of their desire for liberty - religiously, politically and socially. I was only one of the instruments of its expression.

That the Filipino people founded the IFI as a product of their desire for liberty was explained in accordance to the will of God in the *Fundamental Epistles* and *Doctrinas y Reglas Constitucionales* (DRC). The DRC's provision on Catholicity is very revealing:

Our Church is Catholic or Universal for it considers all men equally children of God and it bears the designation "Philippine independent" to identify this association of free men who, within the said universality, admit servility to no one. (Part One, chapter Two, Section IX)

Such belief would be the theme of the early songs and prayers of the IFI. The standard prayer book was the *Oficio Divino* from 1906-1961. In the songs and prayers, the theology can be aptly considered as not very consistent, sometimes Unitarian, sometimes Trinitarian. Relations with the Unitarians, which started in the late twenties, could have been the reason why the leadership gradually turned Unitarian. Rank and file clergy and membership seemed to have rejected such doctrinal direction. It became however the bone of contention after the death of Aglipay. The struggle for leadership between Santiago Fonancier and Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr. after the Japanese Occupation proved costly and sapped the strength of the Church. The majority of members followed or supported Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr. who eventually won the court struggle in 1955.

Even earlier than that, he has entered into relations with the Episcopal Church of the United States of America (ECUSA). Such relations led to the clarification of the theology of the IFI, which was laid down in two documents: *Declaration of Faith and Articles of Religion*; and *The Constitution and Canons*, 1947.

One lasting product of such relations was the training for the priesthood in the IFI at St. Andrew's Theological Seminary (SATS), which started in the year when SATS began to operate in its new site at Cathedral Heights, Quezon City. The adoption of the new *Filipino Missal* and *Filipino Ritual* of 1961 was the last step of the preparation for the Concordat of Full Agreement between the Churches, which was signed on the 22nd of September of that same year.

The assurance of the IFI's place in the mainstream of Christianity was another lasting product of such relations. A Joint Council was put up to give flesh to such Concordat and joint programs were implemented. The Joint Council was eventually phased out in 1978-1979 and programs were pursued independently. One very significant criticism towards the Joint Council and the training of clergy at SATS was the Anglipayanization of the IFI. The IFI was being made to ignore if not to forget its nationalist heritage.

St. Andrew's listened to such criticism and so made changes (though slower than desired) in its curriculum. Presently, in the IFI, there is now a significant portion of its membership that is spearheading the movement to recapture its nationalist heritage. Such movement has documentary evidences: the *Statement on Church Mission*, 1976; the *Constitution and Canons* 1977; *Statement and Development*, 1987; and the two SCB Pastoral Letters, 1988 and 1989. All these are the guiding documents for the IFI in its quest to recapture its nationalist heritage.

Rev. Fr. Apolonio Ranche

Ch.28 **The Episcopal Church in the Philippines**

First Episcopal Services and Creation of the Missionary District

The first recorded Episcopal Church service in the Philippines took place on September 4, 1898 and was conducted by Chaplain Charles Pierce who came with the American occupation forces. This service was mainly attended by Americans and other English-speaking residents of Manila. On Christmas Day that same year, the first Eucharist was conducted by Chaplain Pierce for Filipinos who were disgruntled with their former allegiance. This was held in what is now the Metropolitan Theater in Liwasang Bonifacio. Not long after, Chaplain Pierce, who also acted as a military spy for Admiral Ovenshine of the U.S. Navy, was able to organize a congregation which was called the Anglo-Saxon Church holding services in a temporary church built at Calle Nueva. The congregation was later renamed the Anglo-American Church. With the assistance of the first representatives of the Brotherhood of Saint Andrew who came to the country with the 21st Infantry in the early part of 1899, the congregation was able to secure a two-storey house near the military barracks. The second floor was used as the military headquarters while the first floor was used as the chapel for the Anglo-American congregation which now calls itself the Holy Trinity Church.

In September 1899, the then Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Thomas Clark, appointed Bishop Frederick Graves of Shanghai, China, to oversee the church work in the Philippines. He visited Manila in that same month and confirmed some English speaking members and received a few Filipinos into the Episcopal Church. Work among the Chinese residents of Manila began in 1901 through the efforts of another military Chaplain, John Marvine, who baptized 15 members before his regiment was sent to China to suppress the Boxer rebellion.

After his initial visit to the country, Bishop Graves expressed the need for more missionaries to come to the Philippines. He also recommended to the House of Bishops that a permanent resident bishop be provided for the islands. There was an initial opposition to these proposals from anti-imperialist bishops of ECUSA. Bishop Graves had to wait for the next General Convention for the matter to be decided.

On October 11, 1901, the General Convention of the ECUSA meeting in San Francisco and acting on a memorial presented by Bishop Frederick Graves, voted to create the Philippines as a Missionary District and elected Charles Henry Brent, then Rector of St. Stephen's in Boston, as its first bishop. On August 24, 1902, Bishop Brent arrived in the Philippines with a huge amount of money to support the beginnings of his work.

The Formative Years and the Expansion of the Church

A month after the General Convention which created the Philippines as a Missionary District, the Rev. John Staunton and the Rev. Walter Clapp arrived as missionaries duly appointed by ECUSA's Board of Managers. The Rev. Clapp's immediate task was to continue the work with the Anglo-American congregation while the Rev. Staunton accepted the offer for him to become Deputy Superintendent of Schools in Cebu. In February 1902, the first missionary appointed by Bishop Brent, the Rev. Russel Talbot, arrived in Manila to assist both Clapp and Staunton. He wanted so much to begin work among the people of Mountain Province and Mindanao but was discouraged by the Secretary of Public Instruction. He stayed in Manila instead to assist the Rev. Clapp, later replacing him as Rector of Holy Trinity Church which he

promptly renamed Saint Stephen's Church. On January 13, 1903, he had to leave the country due to severe kidney ailment and was replaced by the Rev. Irving Spencer. Upon his arrival in Manila in August 1902, Bishop Brent established the Settlement House in Trozo, Tondo, Manila with the help of Margaret Waterman and Harriet Osgood, for the purpose of introducing Filipinos to the American style of living. This Settlement House formally opened on December 13, 1902 with Governor-General William Howard Taft in attendance. Several Filipinos were brought into the Settlement House where they were given lessons in sewing, writing and singing. A kindergarten class was also opened and in 1903, Clara Thatcher, an army nurse, began operating a dispensary in the same house.

In February 1903, Bishop Brent and the Rev. Walter Clapp made a survey trip to the Cordillera. Six months after, the Rev. Clapp was sent to Bontoc to open the mission of the Holy Comforter. The Rev. John Staunton, on the other hand, was sent to Baguio to establish a Rest House for missionaries and to do mission work among the natives. He built the house of the Resurrection where he and his wife Maria resided and distributed soap, bread, and medicines to needy residents. The house also served as a chapel for a small American congregation until April 24, 1904 when a new Church of the Resurrection was consecrated by Bishop Brent after a second visit to Bontoc. Later that year, the Rev. John Staunton opened the mission of St. Mary the Virgin in Sagada, Mountain Province, and on October 2, 1904, baptized his first Sagada convert.

On September 27, 1904, the first Episcopal service was conducted by Col. Edward Davies in Zamboanga. Later, the Rev. Irving Spencer was sent by Bishop Brent to this place to care for the American congregation. Bishop Brent visited Zamboanga in the same year and was invited by General Wood to chaplain the soldiers who were on a punitive expedition against those who ambushed the 17th American Army Detachment. Bishop Brent accepted the invitation. That same year (1904), the Columbia Club was established by the Rev. Mercer Johnston, for the purpose of drawing away young American soldiers from the red light district of Mabini where gambling and alcoholism were rampant. In the same year, St. Luke's dispensary began to operate with initial eight beds under the direction of Radcliff Johnson.

In early 1905, the Rev. Hobart Studley, a former missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church in China and received into the Episcopal Church, took over the work for the Chinese mission in Manila. By this time, the Chinese congregation had acquired a building at Calle Nueva in Binondo. It was named by Bishop Brent as the Cathedral Mission of Saint Stephen with the Cathedral Vestry exercising oversight of the congregation. Before the end of 1905, however, St. Stephen's Mission achieved self-supporting status and even paid the salary and rent of the Rev. Studley. It was also able to establish a night school for Chinese boys.

In October of the same year, Bishop Brent visited Zamboanga for the second time and consecrated the Holy Trinity Church. He also transferred the Rev. Irving Spencer to Kabayan, Benguet, after a bad business deal on a piece of land in Cotabato.

On January 25, 1905, the foundation stone of what would become the Cathedral of Saint Mary and Saint John was laid in a piece of land along Calle Isaac Peral (now United Nations Avenue) where the Manila Doctors' Hospital stands today. The construction was completed and the cathedral was consecrated on February 3, 1907 with the Rev. Mercer Johnston, founder of the Columbia Club, as its first Rector.

In Easter Week of 1906, Easter School was opened in Baguio with Samuel Drury as headmaster. It was established on a piece of land bought by Bishop Brent from his honoraria as a member of the Opium Commission created by Governor-General Taft. The first students were eight boys from Bontoc who hiked all the way to the School from that town. The school was to provide continuing education for those who initially received schooling in Bontoc and Sagada and training for future leadership in both public life and in the Church. Among the first students was the first convert of the Rev. Walter Clapp in Bontoc, Hilary Pitapit Clapp, who would later continue his education at Trinity College of Port Hope in Toronto, Canada under the auspices of Bishop Brent, and the University of the Philippines, where he completed his medical studies in the mid-twenties. He worked for a time as a doctor at the Philippine General Hospital and then continued in what is now the Provincial Hospital in Bontoc.

In 1907, Methodist missionaries working among the Chinese gave up their mission work due to lack of personnel in favor of the Rev. Hobart Studley's work. In consultation with Bishop Brent and the Rev. Studley, the Methodist Pastor Homer C. Stuntz turned over the congregation to St. Stephen's. As a result, the congregation grew in number and Rev. Studley moved his congregation to the third floor of a business building formerly used by the Chinese Methodists since it was more spacious.

In May 1908, the Rev. Rob White, the Rev. Sibley and the Rev. Meredith arrived. White was assigned to take care of Resurrection Church in Baguio, Sibley was assigned in Bontoc to assist the Rev. Clapp who went on a furlough while Meredith was sent to Besao to start work in Kin-iway. In November 1909, the Baguio School for Boys opened at the YMCA building in Manila with Fr. Remsen Ogilby as Head Master. It was supposed to open with new buildings in Baguio but a strong typhoon destroyed communication facilities so that the first students could not go up to Baguio in time for opening of school. This school would later be called Brent School.

In 1910, regular services began to be held at Saint Benedict's Mission in Kin-iway, Besao, Mountain Province. In February 26, 1912 Deaconess Anne Hargreaves went to Besao as a resident Missionary. Prior to this, she was assisting the Rev. Staunton in work at Pico, La Trinidad, which led to the establishment of Holy Guardian Angels Mission. In 1907, when Samuel Drury, headmaster of Easter School, left the Philippines to pursue studies for ordination, Deaconess Hargreaves was pulled out of Pico to care for Easter School. She brought along with her the girls she had been training and teaching at Pico. As a result, Easter School became co-educational.

At the beginning of the second decade of Bishop Brent's leadership, work among the Moslems of Mindanao began. Not getting any financial support from the Board of Missions in the United States, Bishop Brent financed the work through donations from friends in the U.S. who guaranteed a total of US\$100,000 a year. Thus he was able to establish the Zamboanga Hospital at Kawakawa. In 1914, a school for girls of Muslim descent was also established in Kawakawa. The Jolo Agricultural School was also established in the same year. In 1915, a dispensary in Jolo began operating under Ms. Leslie Thomsoll. The most daring project undertaken by Bishop Brent in Mindanao, however, was the roving dispensary. It was a boat named "Peril" which traveled from shore to shore with its nurses providing care and cure for sick people. It is sad to note however that after Bishop Brent's departure from the country, none of his projects were able to continue operation.

The Church through World Wars I and II

In October 1917, just a few months after World War I began, Bishop Brent was invited by General John Pershing of the American Expeditionary Force in Europe to become its chaplain. At about the same time, he was elected bishop of the Diocese of Western New York which he accepted on the condition that he first be allowed to join General Pershing in Europe until the cessation of war. The Diocese of Western New York acceded to the condition.

On October 20, 1917 Bishop Brent left the country to consult with the Standing Committee of the diocese of Western New York which had elected him as its bishop. They reached an agreement that he would officially take office on January 10, 1918 with the proviso that he may come when he thought it necessary so that he could fully serve the American troops in Europe. From New York he went to France and was appointed by General Pershing as the Chief of Chaplains with the rank of Major. It was in this capacity that he was able to iron out some misunderstandings between the British and American forces. It was also through his efforts that the various war agencies became well-coordinated in their services.

Meanwhile, the House of Bishops was not able to elect an immediate replacement for Bishop Brent and so the Presiding Bishop assigned Bishop Graves of Shanghai again to oversee the work in the country. He did so for two years. On February 25, 1920 the Rev. Gouverneur Frank Mosher was consecrated and became second bishop of the Missionary District. As soon as he arrived in the country that same year, he made a survey trip to Upi, Cotabato among the Tirurays. Work among the Tirurays began largely through the efforts of Captain Irving Edwards of the US Army who was Deputy Governor of Cotabato. He called on the Rev. Leo Gay Macaffe who was stationed in Zamboanga who agreed to open a mission among the people of Cotabato. In 1927, he moved permanently from Zamboanga to Upi and opened the Mission of Saint Francis of Assisi.

In November 1925, Deaconess Chaflotte Massey began holding clinic in Balbalasang, Kalinga. Later Bishop Mosher and the Rev. Willis Sibley followed to explore possibilities of work there. Two years after, the Rev. Arthur Richardson was sent to the place to start the Mission of St. Paul. In 1929, the Rev. Robert Wilner started his outreach ministry among those working in the gold mines around Baguio.

In February 1932, St. Stephen's Church split up into two congregations. The Amoy-speaking congregation retained the name St. Stephen's while the Cantonese-speaking group organized what would later be called St. Peter's Church. The Rev. Hobart Studley was assigned to St. Stephen's while the Rev. Henry Mattocks was assigned with, St. Peter's Church.

In the same year (1932) the Sagada Training School for lay and clergy ministry opened in Sagada with the Rev. Wayland Mandell and Rev. Ramsey as its first teachers. They were later to be joined by Deacon Raymond Abbit. This training school was to be the forerunner of St. Andrew's Theological Seminary. Among its first students were Eduardo Longid and Mark Suluen who were admitted as postulants for Holy Orders in January 1933 with the object of being advanced through Candidacy for Holy Orders and later be ordained to the diaconate. Indeed, along with Albert Masferre, they were to become the first Filipino clergy of the Church.

On October 13, 1937 the House of Bishops in the Cincinnati General

Convention elected Robert Wilner as Suffragan Bishop of the Missionary District. In his first-address recorded in the Thirtieth Annual Report of the Mission District of the Philippine Islands covering the year 1938, he said that the most urgent missionary work that needs to be done in the country is the establishment of a native ministry. He also expressed intention to ordain two men from Sagada and one from Bontoc to the diaconate. True to his word, on January 25, 1939, Eduardo Longid, Albert Masferre and Mark Suluen were made deacons. During the 1938 Convention, the name Philippine Episcopal Church was adopted in place of the "Missionary District of the Philippine Islands."

On January 6, 1940 Bishop Mosher tendered his resignation to Presiding Bishop Saint George Tucker stating poor health as reason. He was then 70 years old. Upon his retirement on October 1940, he was succeeded by Norman Spencer Binsted who was then the bishop of Tohuco in Japan. Like Bishop Mosher, Bishop Binsted also believed that a strong native ministry is needed in the country but this would take years to build up. The ordination of the first three natives to the diaconate was a good beginning and he expressed hope that he would be able to ordain them priest before long. Deacons Eduardo Longid and Albert Masferre were ordained priest just before the beginning of the Second World War. On December 7, 1941 Pearl Harbor was bombed by Japan. World War II began. The next day, both the cities of Baguio and Davao were also bombed. Between 1941 and 1945 all missionaries in the country were interned by the Japanese. During these years, about 85 to 90 percent of the members of the Church were in the Mountain Province. The care of the congregations in the Mountain Province was left entirely in the hands of the three native clergy. At no other time in the history of this Church was it autonomous. With no foreign bishop to lead and no dollar support from the U.S. the native clergy did their work with zeal and yet they and their families did not starve.

I

During the war, most of the church's structures were destroyed through American bombings. The Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John was totally destroyed. And so were the Church of St. Mary the Virgin in Sagada, St. Stephen's Church, the church and hospital in Zamboanga and many others. Among the church buildings that escaped destruction were St. Stephen's School, St. Luke's Hospital, and Brent School in Baguio which was used by the Japanese as a hospital during the war and for the same purpose by the Americans during the war for liberation. It should be noted that the staff of St. Luke's Hospital remained in their posts throughout the duration of the war and faithfully attended to their duties even during the most dangerous days of the Battle of Manila. During the war for liberation 120 Filipino women took entrance exams at St. Luke's School of Nursing. Of these, 40 were admitted. Many of them rendered services in Bataan and Corregidor during the war. When the war ended in 1944 with the surrender of Japan, Bishop Binsted decided to repatriate all remaining missionaries who survived internment in Japanese concentration camps to enable them to fully recover from the traumas of war before coming back. Only he and the Rev. Harry Burke remained in the country to face the work of post-war rehabilitation.

In March 1945, diggings through the debris of the Cathedral and the Bishopric yielded land titles and deeds, and certificates of stocks and bonds belonging to the Cathedral Chapter. With these, Bishop Binsted was to start post-war reconstruction work. From the sale of stocks and bonds and some of the Church's properties, he bought the land where now stands Cathedral Heights. He envisioned to build a cathedral, a hospital, a modern seminary, a school and a training center for women church workers within the property. A small church property was retained in Manila. A church was built there right after the war which was called Holy Trinity and which

served the remaining members of the American congregation of the old cathedral who were mostly businessmen. In the late fifties and early sixties most of these Americans transferred to Forbes Park in Makati which was at that time being developed. The Church of the Holy Trinity in Manila was sold and the congregation transferred also to Forbes Park where it continues to this day.

The Division into Dioceses and Localization of Leadership

Part of the post-war reconstructions vigorously pursued by Bishop Binsted was providing the Church with local leadership who would receive education, training, and formation according to the standards set by the Canons of ECUSA. It is thus not surprising that the first institution to be built within Cathedral Heights was St. Andrew's Theological Seminary, which, on September 16, 1947, under the deanship of Wayland Stearns Mandell, opened its doors to the first batch of students including the remnants of the Sagada Training School and some from the Iglesia Filipina Independiente. It offered a four to five-year curriculum based on a student's educational background, ability and academic and spiritual maturity. Between 1949 and 1950, St. Andrew's graduated James Kollin Sr., Robert Pekas and Ramon Armiro Alipit. They were the last of the students who began theological studies in Sagada.

Of Bishop Binsted's efforts, Fr. Eduardo Longid had this to say in the March 1957 Convocation: "He was determined to push through the unvarying policy of churches within the Anglican Communion, when establishing mission in foreign lands, to lay the foundations of autonomous churches... He realized that an essential step towards the completion of the Church's task here as in other mission fields, is first and foremost, the securing of and provision for adequate training of local ministers. Decided to push the Filipino and the Chinese clergy to the front line in the work, he assigned some as priest-in-charge of mission stations or encouraged their election as rectors of parishes. He often had seminarians for meals and conferences in his home. When they graduated he followed them into the field by letters and personal contacts, always encouraging and inspiring them and sending them books to further their education... We can thus rejoice in the increase in the number of our Filipino clergy and take pride in the splendid work which they are doing. We pray that through their labors the Church may be more and more integrated into the life of this nation and the gospel preached in an ever widening field."

In March 1957, Bishop Binsted resigned because of poor health. Elected in his stead was Lyman Ogilby who shared his dream of strengthening local leadership. A year after Bp. Ogilby took office as bishop, Benito Cabanban was elected Suffragan Bishop by the ECUSA House of Bishops, becoming the first Filipino to be elevated to the Episcopate of this Church. He was consecrated on February 2, 1959. During the 1961 Detroit General Convention, Eduardo Longid was elected suffragan bishop and was consecrated on February 24, 1963. The election of both Bishop Cabanban and Bishop Longid was indeed a significant step towards localization of leadership in the Church.

There were other notable developments taking place during this period: On February 9, 1962 the new Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John was consecrated. The PECUSA General Convention of 1962 approved the Concordat of Full Communion between the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America and the Iglesia Filipina Independiente. In 1963, the National Council of Churches in the Philippines was inaugurated with the Philippine Episcopal Church as one of the first members. At about the same time, the PEC purchased Capitol City College and

renamed it Trinity College of Quezon City. The curriculum of St. Andrew's Theological Seminary was revised to include the Associate in Arts Program which lengthened preparation for the ordained ministry by a full year.

In October 1966, Bishop Benito Cabanban was elected bishop-coadjutor by the House of Bishops. A year later, on May 1, 1967 Bishop Ogilby resigned to become coadjutor of the diocese of South Dakota and Bishop Cabanban became the first (Diocesan) Filipino bishop of the Philippine Episcopal Church. On January 25, 1969, Constancio Manguramas was consecrated bishop. Two weeks later, Bishop Cabanban was unanimously elected by the PEC House of Bishops as the first Prime Bishop.

In 1971, the PEC National Convention approved a resolution to be presented to the ECUSA House of Bishops calling for the division of the PEC into three distinct dioceses. It was felt that this was necessary in view of the significant increase in membership, a very large Convocation, and to prevent administrative encumbrances through decentralization. On October 1971, the PECUSA House of Bishops, meeting in Pacono Manor, Pennsylvania, approved the division of the PEC into three dioceses.

On January 13, 1972 Constancio Manguramas was elected bishop of the Diocese of Southern Philippines. A week later, Eduardo Longid was elected bishop of the Diocese of Northern Philippines while Benito Cabanban chose to become bishop of the Diocese of Central Philippines. In January 1975, the Diocese of Northern Philippines elected Richard Abellon, Sr. as bishop-coadjutor. In May 1978, Bishop Cabanban retired and Manuel Lumpias was elected in his stead. With these developments, the Church could now set its face towards the road to eventual autonomy.

The Road to Autonomy

It is to be noted that even during the post-war reconstructions, Bishop Norman Binsted had already envisioned the day when this Church would become autonomous. He thus took steps towards setting the Church on this path. With the turn over of leadership to Filipinos and the division of the church into three dioceses, the Church was on its way.

In June 1978, National Convention approved, on first reading, a proposed Constitution and Canons for the Church. The same Constitution was carefully reviewed and approved during the special Constitutional Convention in December of the same year. In 1979, the Joint Council, which was the implementing arm of the IFI-PECUSA Concordat, was phased out and replaced by a Concordat Council tasked to study the implications of eventual autonomy to the relationship between the PEC and its mother Church, the PECUSA. On March 1980, National Council appointed members of an Ad Hoc Committee on Covenant Relations with eight members, to study the possibility of a covenant relationship between the two churches and submit its recommendations.

The Committee promptly met and worked out the various components of a plan towards the Church's eventual autonomy, which included, among others: a Constitution and Canons which would adequately cover Church organization and structure, polity, Convention and a National Council; Worship which would include a Book of Common Prayer and Hymnal; a Financial plan to include a pension system for church workers; management of Buildings, lands, and other resources of the Church; and the Church's relations with such bodies as the ECUSA, the Council of Churches in East Asia, the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, and the

World Council of Churches.

In May 1982, National Convention adopted a proposed Covenant Relation between the PEC and PECUSA. General Convention of PECUSA meeting in New Orleans that same year approved the resolution establishing that covenant relationship as a preliminary step towards the establishment of the projected Autonomous Church Province of the PEC. In June 1985, the National Commission on Liturgy and Church Architecture began its work of drafting the rites which would eventually form part of the Church's Book of Common Prayer. On September of the same year, PECUSA's General Convention in Anaheim approved a Notice of Intention for the granting of the PEC constitutional autonomy provided that all its constituent dioceses express their consent.

On November 28, 1985 Manuel Lumpias was elected Prime Bishop by the PEC House of Bishops. His election was confirmed during the National Convention of May 1986. Meanwhile, the Diocese of Northern Philippines was divided into two dioceses. Robert Lee Longid was elected bishop of the Diocese of Northern Philippines and Bishop Abellon elected to become bishop of the new Diocese of Northern Luzon. On July 27 of the same year, Narciso Ticobay became bishop of the Diocese of Southern Philippines. In July 1987, the Joint Committee on the Philippine Covenant with representatives from both the PEC and the ECUSA was created. This body was tasked to define the covenant relations between the two churches in view of the planned autonomy.

In this same year, the PEC Unified Five-Year Plan (1988-1992) and Budget Projection was completed. On December 10, 1987 Standing Committee on Church Autonomy presented a proposed resolution for the release of the PEC dioceses from the jurisdiction of ECUSA to form a new Anglican Province. The resolution was adopted by the National Council which met the next day. In May 1988, National Convention approved the same resolution for presentation to the next ECUSA General Convention. On July 5, 1988 the 6th General Convention held in Detroit, Michigan, approved the resolution. The same General Convention approved the request of the Diocese of Central Philippines to divide into two dioceses. It also adopted the Covenant between the two churches which defined the new level of relationships to be pursued when autonomy is achieved by the PEC.

In January 1989, a Mission Conference of the PEC drafted a statement of mission for the Church. This was endorsed to the dioceses for discussions. In February 1989, Artemio Zabala was elected bishop of the new diocese of North Central Philippines in its initial Convocation. He was consecrated and installed on October 28. In May 1989, Special National Convention adopted the Constitution and Canons of the PEC. It also elected Richard Abellon Sr. to become the first Prime Bishop of the Province. In August 1989, the revised Statement of Mission was endorsed by the National Council for further study and finalization and to be presented to the first Synod scheduled for May 1, 1990.

On April 30, 1990 Special National Convention discussed and approved final proposed amendments to the Constitution and Canons. The next day, May 1, 1990, the Autonomous Province of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines was inaugurated and Bishop Abellon was installed as its first Prime Bishop. This event completed the process of the Church's gaining of its autonomy. A new Anglican Province was born! [Our present Prime Bishop, Ignacio Soliba, was installed on 15 March 1997.]

(From the Centennial Brochure of the ECP; based on notes of the **Rt Rev. Edward P. Malecchan**)

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