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FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF LUTHERANISM.

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Religious, social, economic and political conditions favored the rapid spread of the spirit of revolt, when Luther with the sympathy and support of the rich and powerful Elector of Saxony had boldly defied the Roman hierarchy. Humanists who had just won a victory over the persecutors of Reuchlin for his devotion to Jewish learning and who had made laughing-stocks of the opponents of the new learning in the "Epistles of Obscure Men", promptly pledged him their support and such knights as Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen were in a position to furnish military succor in case of need. His early reformatory writings were evangelical to the core and were vibrant with pleas for liberty of conscience and demands for the abolition of ecclesiastical and civil tyranny. Mystics and old evangelicals saw in him a champion of pure, spiritual Christianity and rejoiced in his heroic stand for righteousness and truth. A number of the German princes sympathised with his religious views and felt especially attracted by his bitter denunciation of papal exploitation and his demand that Germany should be for Germans rather than for corrupt and supercilious Ital-

ians. While Luther bore himself heroically at the Diet of Worms, he had reasonable assurance of protection against violence. His retirement to the Wartburg by the advice and arrangement of his political friends was not really necessary, but it gave time for public opinion to take definite shape and provided him with leisure for some very effective writing. Radical efforts by Münzer and Storch at Zwickau and by Carlstadt and others at Wittenberg to abolish idolatrous practices and to reconstitute the churches on an apostolic basis drew Luther from his retreat and launched him upon a career of repression. Thenceforth he assumed the role of persecutor of all who undertook to introduce innovations without permission from the authorities. Apart from the premature action of the radicals, it is probable that Luther would have gone further and faster in abolishing Roman Catholic ceremonies than he did. The Peasants' War, called forth in part by Luther's radical utterances on liberty, fraternity and equality, he sought by friendly conference with princes and peasants to avert. Failing in this, he denounced the peasants as robbers, murderers and enemies of God and men and counseled the utmost ruthlessness in exterminating them. By 1525 he had lost the support of the Humanists, who disapproved of his violent proceedings and foresaw that he was involving Europe in warfare, of the old evangelicals, who regarded his attitude toward the peasants as unchristian and atrocious, of radical evangelicals, who had largely become Anabaptists and were being mercilessly persecuted, of mystics like Staupitz and Schwenkfeldt, who agreed with Humanists and Anabaptists in regarding Luther's denial of free will and his doctrine of justification by faith alone as demoralizing and who disapproved of his violent proceedings against radical reformers as well as his vituperative denunciations of Roman Catholicism. Zwingli and the Swiss had recognized Luther as a divinely sent apostle of evangelical truth and though differing from him widely

had shrunk from attacking him. These also Luther soon alienated by his bitter attacks.

But what Luther lost in sympathetic support from the highly cultivated classes and the deeply devout evangelical parties was more than made up by the rapidity with which his cause was taken up by the princes who recognized him as the champion of German rights and the arch-enemy of papal exploitation. The encouragement that he gave them to cut off all papal revenues from their domains and to appropriate for themselves the landed estates of the church no doubt attracted several of the nobles to his support. The fact that the emperor was for many years almost constantly engaged in warfare with France and Turkey enabled the Protestant cause to go forward by leaps and bounds for more than twenty years. Luther did everything in his power to avoid war with the emperor and it was not till after his death (1546) that a war broke out which for a time completely overwhelmed and prostrated the Lutheran cause in Germany. The timely intervention of France delivered Protestantism from the effects of the crushing blow and the Peace of Augsburg (1555) gave equality of rights to Lutheran and Roman Catholic princes, each being permitted to force his own religion upon his subjects. Calvinists were given no place in the treaty, Lutherans and Catholics being of one mind in excluding them from toleration. Both had long been co-operating in exterminating measures against Anabaptists. As Calvinism was at this time far more vital and aggressive than Lutheranism, the limitation of toleration to the latter redounded greatly to its advantage.

Luther early fell into the habit, especially in polemical utterances, of using the strongest possible language in the setting forth of his own views and in discrediting the views of opponents and as his opponents were many and of many types he could not fail to fall into sheer self-contradictions. When fighting Roman Catholic asceticism or Anabaptist puritanism he frequently gave utterance to the

most astounding sentiments in favor of self-indulgence. He even advised the free drinking of intoxicants, the occupation of the mind with sensual thoughts and "good strong sinning" as antidotes to scruples of conscience which he attributed to the devil. Wishing to give emphasis to his favorite doctrine of justification by faith alone he often spoke disparagingly of good works. To give due stress to the power of the gospel and the all-sufficiency of Christ's atoning work, with baptism, to meet every need of the human soul he spoke disparagingly of Moses and the law. While his writings abound in more satisfactory statements on all these matters it was his extravagant and unguarded statements that made the strongest impression and that were sure to give trouble after his death.

While Luther was still active, Melancthon came to see the ruinous consequences among the people of Luther's disparagement of Moses and his moral laws and sought to correct this aspect of his master's teaching. Agricola assailed Melancthon and went further than Luther had done in the direction of antinomianism. Luther rebuked Agricola and sought to correct his earlier unguarded utterances. After Luther's death Agricola renewed and intensified his assault on the Mosaic law and is said to have drawn from his antinomian views the most immoral consequences. Melancthon was bitterly assailed for making too many and too great concessions to the Roman Catholics when Protestantism was prostrate. He defended himself by maintaining that the points he yielded were not essentials but matters of indifference. The Adiaphoristic controversy in which the essentials of Lutheranism were magnified on the one side and minimized on the other shook the Lutheran body to its foundations. Luther had laid chief stress on the forensic element in justification and while admitting that faith and baptism with the work of the Spirit do transform the soul, yet insisted that justification means declaring just rather

than making just. Osiander denounced this view, insisting that regeneration makes righteous and that if God declares a man righteous it is only after he has become so. He maintained that it is only the divine in Christ which saves a man. His fiery opponent Stancar maintained with equal positiveness that the human alone in Christ is our righteousness. Luther had taught that all divine attributes were communicated to the humanity of Christ. Melancthon had quietly abandoned this view that involved the ubiquity of Christ's humanity. Some of Luther's followers went so far as to assert that in his mother's womb Christ's humanity was omnipresent. Luther had expressed himself strongly regarding man's depravity and helplessness apart from divine grace. Flacius taught that man has been transformed into the image of Satan and that original sin is the very substance of human nature, and Saliger maintained that original sin is the substance of the body and soul of man and that Christ's humanity was not the Adamic but a new creation. University was arrayed against university. When professors in the same university were on opposite sides violence was sometimes done to the one by the student partisans of the other. On several occasions whole faculties of theology were cast out by the government to give place to representatives of the party for the time being in favor. Banishment and imprisonment of those in disfavor were sometimes resorted to. Spiritual life suffered a serious decline because of the widespread and continuous wrangling. In 1577, after much discussion and negotiation, a large body of the ministers with government support adopted as the standard of Lutheran orthodoxy the Formula of Concord, in which the most extreme views were condemned. A period of Lutheran scholasticism had already set in which had little superiority over the mediæval.

The Jesuits with their enthusiasm, thorough training, and magnificent organization were zealously engaged in carrying out the Counter-Reformation in all parts of

southern and eastern Germany and in the Austrian provinces, and they succeeded in almost completely extirpating Lutheranism in some regions where it had once flourished. In the north a hundred bishoprics, which according to a provision of the Augsburg Peace were to remain Catholic even if the incumbent should become Protestant, had fallen into the hands of the Lutherans.

The Thirty Years' War was caused in part by mutual violations of the terms of the Augsburg Peace and may well be regarded as the natural outcome of Luther's politico-ecclesiastical attempt at reformation. In the early stages of the war the Lutheran princes refused to participate, partly because their own territory was not immediately imperiled and partly because the leaders on the anti-Catholic side were all Reformed (Calvinistic). The Lutherans were quite willing to see their Calvinistic neighbors trampled in the dust. Lutheran theology flourished during the first fifteen or twenty years of the conflict and the greatest scholastic elaboration of the Lutheran theology, based upon the symbolical books regarded as authoritative and infallible, was produced at this time (Gerhard). Orthodoxy was the order of the day and any deviation from the standards was frowned upon by the authorities. There can be no doubt that a certain amount of vital, heart religion survived, but the ecclesiastical atmosphere was distinctly unfriendly to evangelistic and emotional types of piety.

There was a strong tendency among the orthodox Lutheran preachers and writers of this period to make of Luther a superman, to ignore completely his human frailties and limitations, to ascribe to him every quality that should characterize the master Bible interpreter, theologian, preacher, pastor and leader of the people in a superlative measure. They represented the religious condition before he appeared as utter darkness. His work was symbolized by an open Bible illuminated by a lighted torch. His head was encircled with a divine nimbus. He

was prompted by a special divine afflatus to crush out the spirit of revolution among peasants and Anabaptists and to expound the great doctrines of the faith so as to make them as everlastingly authoritative as the word of God. They placed him side by side with Biblical prophets and apostles. As John the Baptist was the second Elijah to prepare the way for the first advent of Christ, so Luther was the third Elijah as the forerunner of the second advent. He was called the second Abel, the second Noah, the second Abraham, the second Moses, the second Samson, the second Samuel, the second Jeremiah, the second John the evangelist, the second Paul, etc. Four passages in the Apocalypse were supposed to refer directly to him and Rev. 14:6 was, by transferring the letters into numbers, made to yield "Martin Luther, Dr. in the Holy Scripture, born at Eisleben, baptized on Martin's day". Luther was the angel to fly through the air proclaiming the everlasting gospel. Prophecies of Luther's advent were found in Martin of Tours, Wiclif and Huss. The inscription L. U. T. E. R. U. S. on a column erected by Frederick Barbarossa was supposed to have been discovered. A picture of Luther was reported to have passed through a fire unscorched and a fragment from a timber in his house was supposed to have cured toothache and other maladies. He was called a messenger of God, divine, wonderful, a wonder-worker, a godman (Theander), etc. He was supposed to have had the gift of prophesy in the predictive sense.

During the war Calixtus in the university of Helmstedt, having become familiar with all types of thought, Protestant and Catholic, by years of travel and sojourn in the various countries of Europe, opposed the narrowness and bigotry of Lutheran orthodoxy and sought to bring about a measure of sympathy and appreciation among Lutherans, Catholic and Reformed. He found agreement among them in accepting the Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed and in regarding the Christian literature

and the canons of the councils of the first five centuries as essentially correct expositions of the Christian faith. In matters of indifference each should tolerate the unaccepted teachings of the others and polemics should give place to irenics. Calixtus was sharply assailed by Calovius of Wittenberg and by the theologians of the university of Leipzig, but he was favored by a number of the princes, who weary of war and rejoicing in peace were anxious for religious peace as well as civil. Calixtus did much to undermine Lutheran orthodoxy, but no more than the latter did his teachings promote a spirit of earnest evangelism among clergy and people. A number of mystical writers and theosophical societies that stressed the direct relations of the individual soul with God and that tended toward quietism rather than religious enthusiasm were at work and were contributing their quota toward the undermining of scholastic orthodoxy, but had little tendency in the direction of a revival of vital and aggressive piety among the people.

It remained for Spener to voice the need for a revival of the apostolic type of piety and at the same time to become an apostle of the new evangelism. Brought up under quietistic mystical influence, he early became acquainted with the devotional writings of such English and Scottish evangelicals as Baxter, Bayly and Dyke. As a student at Strasburg he exerted a strong religious influence. He visited Switzerland and France to confer with devout Reformed ministers and professors and traveled much to gain information as to the best means of living, cultivating and propagating earnest Christian living. As preacher and university teacher at Strasburg (1663-66), he laid stress on conversion by the Holy Spirit and upon personal effort for the salvation of the lost. At Frankfort-on-the-Main (1666-74), his evangelistic efforts were highly successful and he was much concerned to enlist converted laymen in the work of soul-saving. He devoted much attention to philanthropy and social reform. He

laid the utmost stress upon devout Bible study as a means of promoting personal piety and of winning souls. In 1670 *Collegia Pietatis* (devotional meetings) were formed for Bible study and the cultivation of the spiritual life. He disapproved of the emphasis that was being put upon the study of dogmatic theology, philosophy and science as tending to a fruitless intellectualism unfavorable to evangelistic zeal. Orthodox Lutherans denounced the movement as tending to separatism and Anabaptism. The extreme scrupulosity of Spener and the Pietists in denying themselves worldly pleasures and amusements that seemed to them to militate against spirituality and their whole-souled devotion to Christian service was regarded as monkish asceticism. Pietists did not hesitate to find fault with Luther's violence, intemperate language, and his encouragement of frivolity by precept and example. And yet they found in Luther's devotional writings and his habit of prayer much to commend, and they had no thought of disowning Lutheranism.

Francke (b. 1663) early came under Spener's influence and as pastor and professor at Leipsic and Erfurt he won great numbers of students and others to the devout life. His work was so disturbing to the ordinary work of the universities as to arouse the opposition of the authorities. Spener had in the meantime gained influence with the Elector of Brandenburg and secured an appointment for Francke at the university of Halle, which was soon transformed into a Pietistic institution. In Halle Francke established a great orphanage which became the best equipped and best organized graded school in Germany. Here hundreds were educated and transformed into devout Christian workers. From Halle were secured the King of Denmark's first evangelical missionaries to the Orient and Pietistic teachers and preachers were scattered over Germany. The old Lutheran orthodoxy almost disappeared and Pietism seemed to have a good prospect of reforming Germany. Church historians like

Gottfried Arnold discovered that evangelical life of a very pure and devout type existed in the Middle Ages and abounded in the sixteenth century among those whom Luther joined with the Catholics in persecuting. Bengel interpreted the New Testament with little regard to the standards of Lutheran orthodoxy, but unfortunately gave currency to millenarian vagaries. Hymnology was enriched by Pietistic poets and a large body of edificatory literature is to be credited to the Pietistic movement.

The Elector Frederick William I (1688-1740), while he practiced and enforced the forms of religion, was narrow-minded and fantastic. To show his contempt for learning he appointed a tavern buffoon president of the Academy of Sciences. He could see no utility in the study of ancient languages and history. He disapproved of the retention of Roman Catholic paraphernalia and ceremonies (candles, copes, chasubles, Latin hymns, etc.) in the Lutheran churches and ordered their disuse. He preferred the simplicity of Calvinistic worship, but did not find the Reformed preachers as edifying as the Lutheran. The points at issue between Lutherans and Reformed seemed to him of no importance and he would gladly have brought about amalgamation. "Fear God, love Christ, and do right. The rest is bosh", was his maxim. Thousands of Huguenots had settled in Brandenburg, Prussia, by special invitation, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes (1685), and many Reformed from the Palatinate had taken refuge in this electorate when, as a result of conquest by Louis XIV, an effort was made to supplant Protestantism with Roman Catholicism (1689 onward). When the Evangelicals of Salzburg, Austria, were driven from their homes in 1731 they were invited to make Brandenburg, Prussia, their home and a majority of the 22,000 emigrants were cared for by the elector. They were illiterate but intensely religious and became a valuable accession to the population. Most of the Reformed ministers favored union, as the concessions in-

volved would be chiefly on the Lutheran side. The stricter Lutherans were horrified at the suggestion. A Hamburg minister declared Calvinism "a doctrine of devils", "a wretched beggar's mantle, patched up of mere rags of heresy". He "had rather be a miserable worm than the most renowned and distinguished Calvinistic theologian, for such must assuredly meet their doom in hell".

Christian Wolff when a ministerial student at Jena had devoted chief attention to mathematics and physics and had conceived the idea that the chief cause of theological controversy, for which he had a decided aversion, was lack of clearness of statement. All truth, he thought, could be expressed in clear, categorical language and could be demonstrated by logical processes. Called to Halle (1707), the stronghold of Pietism, as professor of mathematics and physics, he soon began to lecture on ethics and to apply his principles to theology. Leibnitz had advanced the theory of "pre-established harmony". Monads eternally existent had a tendency to combine and unite and this tendency had resulted in the formation of the material universe. Wolff carried this materialistic conception still further and developed and applied it so convincingly that his lecture room was thronged at the expense of the theological professors. Francke and Lampe denounced his teaching as atheistic. Some one suggested to the excitable elector that if his tall soldiers (in whom he took great pride) should accept the doctrine of pre-established harmony they might conclude that they were foreordained to desert. He became furious and ordered Wolff to leave the electorate in forty-eight hours on pain of hanging. Wolff was called to Marburg, where he soon became the most popular teacher in Germany. He drew great numbers of students from Prussian, Saxon and other universities, and Wolffian preachers soon abounded.

Frederick the Great as a boy had not submitted cheerfully to the rigorous training, including orthodox reli-

gious instruction, prescribed by his father. His rebellious attitude led at last to a prolonged imprisonment with forcible, compulsory religious as well as physical and intellectual exercises. Naturally he became bitterly opposed to religion of his father's kind. French language and customs had already come into vogue in Germany. Young Frederick devoted himself with avidity to the study of the French. He became enamoured of Voltaire. A year or two before he succeeded to the electorate he wrote Voltaire: "There is nothing we want in Rheinsberg to make us perfectly happy but Voltaire." "There is only one God and one Voltaire in the world; and God sent V. in order to make this century perfect." "If I were a heathen, I would worship you under the name of Apollo; were I a Jew, I would perhaps confound you with the royal prophet and with his son (David and Solomon); if I were a papist, I would . . . have made you my father confessor." It was because he thought Voltaire embodied the spirit of the new age that Frederick worshiped him. French literature under Louis XIV reached its greatest perfection and Frederick read with eagerness the sermons of the great French preachers, Catholic as well as Protestant. He was not concerned to destroy the Christian religion, but he believed in liberty of conscience and he was willing for each of his subjects to believe and worship as he pleased or not to believe at all. Lutherans were permitted to restore the Romanizing elements that his predecessor had prohibited. Calvinists and Pietists, as well as various sects that had arisen, were given a free hand. This was well. But a state establishment was maintained and official positions were frequently given to outspoken skeptics. The parish churches he allowed to choose their own pastors, "not being acquainted with the game" himself. When the younger Francke at Halle opposed theatricals Frederick declared that they should continue and ordered Francke to see the play. While he encouraged the circulation of skeptical works in French,

he sought to prevent the publication of deistical works in German. The old orthodoxy almost completely disappeared. Pietists and the Moravian Brethren (that represented an extreme development of Pietism) persisted in considerable strength throughout this trying period. A large proportion of the ministers and especially those most highly placed were skeptics of the most irreverent type and the masses of the people either became imbued with skepticism or from lack of gospel privileges were little better than heathen. A considerable number of able ministers and professors while holding to the fundamentals of the faith were moderately rationalistic, applying critical and historical methods to the study of the Scriptures and Christian doctrines (Semler, Michaelis, Ernesti, Mosheim, etc.).

Luther's works were now published more completely than ever before (Walch's edition), with the Latin works translated into German. The editor added to Luther's writings many important explanatory documents, including early lives of Luther, and sought to show Luther's relation to the age in which he lived and his real significance for the people of the eighteenth century. The study of Luther in the various phases of his career was more enthusiastically prosecuted than at any time in the past. The theologians of the enlightenment rejoiced in Luther's fight against Roman Catholic intolerance, in his strong declarations in favor of liberty of conscience, in his effort to keep the church dependent upon the civil rulers, in his conviviality and even in his excesses. They did not hesitate to express their disapproval of his controversial bitterness and intolerance, his excessive dogmatism and his mediæval superstitions. They were fond, after the example of some of the Pietists, of distinguishing between the young Luther and the old Luther, between the young reformer defying the pope and freshly and boldly setting forth his German patriotic and his evangelical sentiments, and the

old politico-ecclesiastical leader denouncing other evangelical workers and inciting the nobles to persecute them. In the midst of the enlightenment arose Immanuel Kant, one of the greatest philosophers since Aristotle, whose "Critique of Pure Reason" and "Critique of Practical Reason" were to revolutionize religious thought not only in Germany but throughout the world by putting an end to the dominance of the shallow French skepticism and the deistic unbelief of the Wolffian school.

Frederick William II (1786-97) sought to stay the progress of rationalism of the extreme type by issuing an edict (1788) guaranteeing liberty of conscience to Lutherans, Reformed and Catholics, but prohibiting the public teaching of Socinianism, deism, naturalism and other forms of error, which he regarded as subversive of the creeds and of Scripture authority and as depriving the people of their repose in life, consolation in death and eternal felicity. It was not required that all who entertained objectionable views should at once abandon them, but only that they should cease to proclaim them. A commission was constituted to gather information regarding all the good and bad preachers and teachers in the land with a view to eliminating the latter and promoting the former. Scoffing infidelity was no longer in favor at court and while the edict was not carried out rigorously a marked improvement in decency soon appeared. A number of scholars of the moderately orthodox and the semi-pietistic types flourished at this time.

Frederick William III revoked the edict and while he did not favor the crass unbelief of the time of Frederick the Great was not at all disposed to dictate to his subjects what they should believe. When Fichte was driven away from Saxony (Jena) because of his pantheistic teaching, regarded as atheistic by his opponents, Frederic William allowed him to settle in Berlin, where his character became mellowed and his pantheism was softened into something like Christian mysticism. He supplemented Kant's

categorical imperative (the sense of obligation in the human soul to do the right) which involved a moral order and a moral governor, by the claim that each individual has a heart perception of God. Yet his passionate repudiation of traditional views about God, revelation and the great doctrines of redemption gave a mighty impulse to skeptical thought. While equally pantheistic Schelling gave a place in his system to the fall of Adam which brought confusion into the universe, and for Jesus as the God-man restoring harmony and sending the Holy Spirit to lead mankind back to God.

The French Revolution found religious life and thought in Germany at a very low ebb. When Napoleon overran and took possession of the country and compelled the Germans to fight his battles for the conquest of the rest of the world, a strong religious reaction took place. Bibles and hymn books long disused were now in demand. Pietism reasserted itself and something like a revival occurred.

The downfall of Napoleon brought universal rejoicing in Germany and introduced a new era in national development. There was evident a mighty spirit of reaction against the French revolution and everything French. As the Roman Catholic church had throughout the revolutionary period stood stalwartly for conservatism many Lutherans now showed their admiration for this venerable institution. The rulers entered into cordial relations with the papacy and many of the aristocracy and others united with the Roman Catholic church. Others who did not go so far became infatuated with mediæval institutions, personages and modes of thought, and were disposed to bring Lutheran practice into as close conformity as possible to Roman Catholic. Elaborate ritual, veneration of saints, transubstantiation, sacerdotalism, auricular confession, etc., were looked upon with favor. In a more secular way Romanticism manifested itself powerfully in literature and in art.

Hegel began his career as a philosophical teacher in 1818. While he was fundamentally pantheistic in his mode of thinking, the prominent place that he gave to will and to the idea of development and the development of the idea, with his optimistic view of the politics, literature and Christianity of his own time and state, gave him a mighty influence over the religious thinkers of his own and succeeding time and did more than any other to create and advance German *Kultur* in all its phases.

The most valuable product of the recent philosophy, combined with elements of Reformed teaching, the teaching and religious zeal of the Moravian Brethren, the study of Plato and Aristotle, and close association with Romantics like Schlegel, was Schleiermacher, in many respects the most influential and admirable of modern German preachers and theologians. He was already coming to the front before the French conquest of Germany, and along with Fichte and others as a German patriot he helped to encourage the people and to prepare them for the great reaction that followed the downfall of Napoleon. For many years he was the dominating spirit in the university of Berlin and the trusted counselor of Frederick William III. Without returning to the old orthodoxy, he attached supreme value to the Scriptures as divine revelation and to Christ as the perfect manifestation of God and as our Lord and Saviour. His theology was distinctly Christocentric, without Zinzendorf's exaggerated representations. His religious enthusiasm was profound without any tendency toward fanaticism. He was able to win over to the study and preaching of a vital form of Christianity many who had become involved in the mazes of philosophical speculations and had made shipwreck of their faith.

Frederick William III had early in his reign expressed the opinion that the differences between Lutherans and Reformed were so slight that they ought to unite in a single state church with a view to efficiency and had taken

some steps in this direction. The political disturbances that grew and grew until Prussia and her neighbors were trampled under foot by Napoleon no doubt prevented him from carrying out his purpose at the time. Under the advice of Stein, his earnest and devout political counselor, and of Schleiermacher, he decided sometime beforehand to make the anniversary of Luther's initial act in the Protestant revolution the occasion of the union in his domains of the two great Protestant bodies. Under the influence of Romanticism he had acquired a taste for a more elaborate liturgy than Lutherans had commonly used and he undertook, with the help no doubt of some of the Romanizing ministers, to foist upon the people a brand-new form of worship. It proved so unpopular that it had to be abandoned. But his order for the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches (1817) was carried out unrelentingly in the face of considerable opposition. The Reformed in general, being no longer very ardent Calvinists, favored the union. Lutherans of the old orthodox type and the descendants of the Salzburgers resisted, suffered severe persecution, and many of them emigrated to the United States, where they still perpetuate their rigorous Lutheran doctrines and practices. After a few years it was authoritatively explained that Lutherans were not required to give up the Augsburg confession or cease to be Lutherans, but simply to co-operate with Reformed as members of the State Evangelical Church. After persecution had ceased, a number of Lutheran congregations organized free churches. Most of the German states followed the example of Prussia in forcing a union of the two bodies. The present established church in the German empire is thus fundamentally Lutheran, though liberal types of thought have to a great extent caused Luther's distinctive teachings to be held to very loosely or not at all.

Frederick William III sought to secure a more complete organization of Prussian Protestants under state

control of the most absolute kind. Bishops were appointed in 1816 and an archbishop in 1829. These terms proved unpopular and were for the most part abandoned in favor of superintendents.

Among the more earnest Lutherans who conformed to the union arrangement there arose a considerable body of pietistic theologians, some of whom became learned and influential. Most of these had been profoundly influenced by Schleiermacher, but they felt that he had conceded too much to the spirit of rationalistic philosophy, and they adopted a distinctly more supranaturalistic attitude. Mention should be made of the Krummachers, eloquent preachers, Perthes, the great publisher, von Kottwitz, the philanthropist, Neander, Tholuck and Hengstenberg. Hengstenberg was a host in himself. As professor in Berlin (1826-69) and editor of an evangelical review, he carried on for many years a relentless warfare against rationalism in every form; and having considerable influence with Frederick William IV (1840-61) his opponents looked upon him as an inquisitor. He sought to defend the Old Testament as well as the New from critical assaults and his expositions of the Old Testament still please the orthodox.

Radical unbelief reappeared with fresh vigor in Strauss, whose "Life of Jesus" (1835), written in popular style, set aside the historical character of the Gospels and reduced the life of Jesus to a myth. In his subsequent literary career he combated historical Christianity with even less reserve and may fairly be designated an atheist. Of a far more serious and well-meaning type was the criticism of Baur, founder of the new Tübingen school, who sought to discredit the Gospel narratives and other New Testament writings as a late product of a struggle between the Petrine and Pauline factions among early Christians and so as tendential and unreliable. Nearly all of the eminent German theologians since Hengstenberg's death have recognized the right of the

application to the Bible of the Higher as well as the Lower Criticism, and many have gone to the greatest extremes in their criticism of the Biblical books.

Baur regarded current Christianity as a development from the simple teachings and the holy life of Jesus. In this he has been followed by many of the foremost men of the past and the present generations. Pfleiderer (among others) followed closely in Baur's footsteps and regarded the elaborate theological development of Jesus' simple ethical and religious teachings by Paul and the somewhat mystical transformation by the author of the Fourth Gospel as justifiable and valuable, and insisted that as in the early centuries Greek philosophy contributed toward the elaboration of New Testament teaching into dogmas and systems of thought, so in every generation the prevailing modes of philosophical thought will inevitably bring theology into accord with its principles.

Ritschl, a disciple of Baur, agreed with Baur and Pfleiderer as regards the successive and continuous transformations of Christian thought by current philosophy; but he denied the rightfulness of the process. He insisted that Christ's original teaching, which he limited to the ethical teachings of the Synoptic Gospels and reduced virtually to the two precepts of love and obedience to God and love and helpfulness to man, manifesting themselves in the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth which should be identical with the Christian State; while he regarded the Pauline, Johannean and later elaborations as unauthorized and corrupting. Yet he believed thoroughly in Luther and the state church and did more to promote the study of Luther and his works than any man of his time. His chief concern was to eliminate all mysticism. His disciples were clearly in the ascendancy in all branches of theological research at the beginning of the war and were high in the favor of the Kaiser. The names of Harnack, Hermann, Loofs, Kattenbusch and Kaftan suggest the highest attainments.

Hengstenberg was too sympathetic with Reformed doctrine to satisfy some of the more extreme Lutherans. Stahl, a converted Jew and professor of law in the University of Berlin, had by 1848 become the king's most trusted counselor. He held to the divine right of kings and encouraged his royal master to make his religious as well as his civil administration strictly monarchical. The king was glad to use him for the tightening of his hold on power. Löhe, Delitzsch, Münchmeyer, Vilmar and others maintained the absolute infallibility of the Lutheran confessional books, the necessity of baptism to church membership, and the necessity of church membership to salvation. Some of them made the most extravagant statements regarding the efficacy of the sacraments. Vilmar wanted to see the mass re-established. Such eminent theologians as Philippi, Thomasius, Luthardt, Kahnis and Baumgarten belonged to this extreme school. The modern mediating school has included such scholars and thinkers as Dorner, Rothe, Martensen, Hundeshagen and Beyschlag.

The great mass of the German working people (the social democracy) have become alienated from religion and are expecting to receive from socialism the satisfaction of their highest aspirations.

Troeltsch, one of the ablest of the present-day German thinkers, insists that Luther did not advance much beyond the Middle Ages; that he interrupted and almost destroyed the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; that this latter reasserted itself in the Illumination of the eighteenth century and thus inaugurated the modern era; that Luther and Lutheranism have failed to utilize the free religious and ethical spirit that appeared in the Anabaptist and similar movements, whereas Reformed bodies, after persecuting dissent for awhile, have given place to the great Anglo-American denominations that in many ways have greatly outstripped the Lutheran.

Space will not allow a description of the great Lutheran bodies of America and other parts of the world. Un-

der American influences and free from civil interference Lutheranism has developed in much the same way as the Anglo-American denominations. On the basis of divisions that had already occurred in Germany they have organized themselves into several separate denominations, some of which disfellowship others. Some are exclusive in their attitude toward other denominations of Christians, while others are friendly and co-operative. Some represent the extreme of orthodoxy and intolerance toward differences of opinion and practice, while others accept the most advanced German views. A movement is on foot and has, I believe, met with considerable encouragement, to unite several of the Lutheran bodies that have most in common.

One could not spend even a short time in Germany within the past few years without feeling profoundly impressed with the widespread and pervasive adoration of Luther and pride and trust in the greatest and most efficient army in the world. The press was teeming with editions of Luther's books and books about the great national hero. The Kaiser himself glorifies Luther and subsidized the magnificent edition of his works that was still in course of publication at the outbreak of the war. Treitschke delivered an oration on Luther a few years ago in which he declared the movement he inaugurated the source of all that is great and noble in the modern world, and, with Nietzsche and Bernhardt, he no doubt attributes to Luther the spirit of military conquest that all alike regard as the glory of Germany.