

Cath. Church - Hist - General

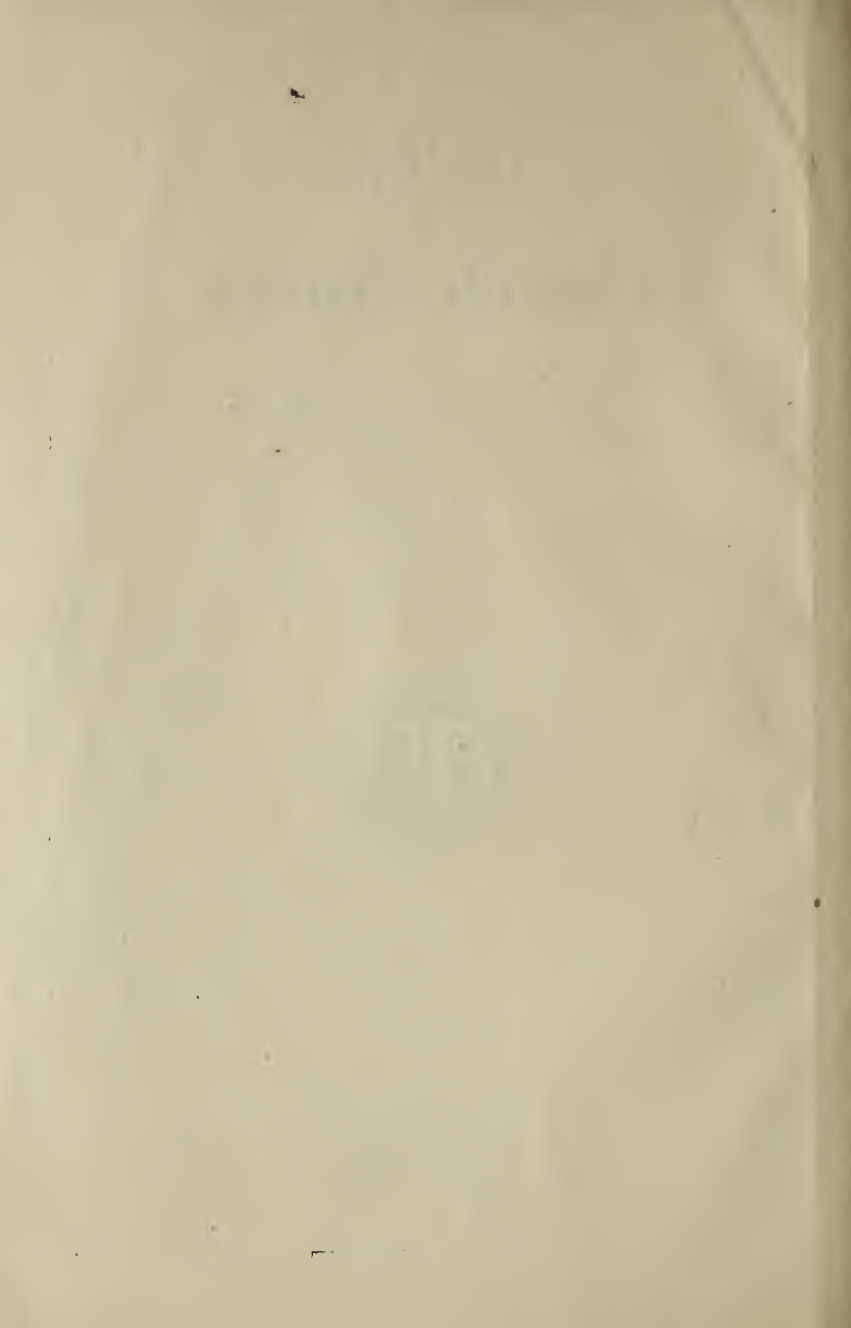
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# Outline of Church History

By  
Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D.



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*“From the fourth to the thirteenth century it is the Church which always marches in the front rank of civilization. I must call your attention to a fact which stands at the head of all others, and characterizes the Christian Church in general—a fact which, so to speak, has decided its destiny. This fact is the unity of the Church, the unity of the Christian society, irrespectively of all diversities of science, of place, of power, of language, or origin. Wonderful phenomenon! It is just at the moment when the Roman Empire is breaking up and disappearing that the Christian Church gathers itself up and takes its definite form. Political unity perishes, religious unity emerges. Populations endlessly different in origin, habits, speech, destiny, rush upon the scene; all becomes local and partial; every enlarged idea, every great local arrangement is lost sight of; and in this moment this Christian Church proclaims most loudly the unity of its teaching, the universality of its law. And from the bosom of the most frightful disorder the world has ever seen has arisen the largest and purest idea, perhaps, which ever drew men together—the idea of a spiritual society.”—Guizot, “Lectures on European History,” xii., p. 230.*

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# Outline of Church History

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## DIFFUSION OF THE CHURCH: ITS CONSTITUTION.

**T**HE three thousand souls forming the nucleus of Christianity at Jerusalem (Acts ii. 41) increased rapidly[1]. Tacitus speaks of a "great multitude" of adherents at Rome (A. D. 64), and a letter of the younger Pliny to Trajan shows that the mission of Paul and Barnabas to Bithynia had made an impression on the entire society of that province. In his *Apology*, Tertullian appeals to the great number of the Christians of Africa. By the middle of the third century the episcopal sees were numerous in Central and Southern Italy, and the Synod of Elvira (A. D. 300) shows that in Spain Christians were to be found in every walk of life. There were Christian martyrs in Britain in the persecution of Diocletian. St. Irenæus and Tertullian speak as though the Britons of their time had heard the Gospel. It is not probable that Christians were numerous in Gaul before the middle of the third century.

Syria and Asia Minor were the natural theatre for the efforts of the Apostles[2]. The "Apostolic Constitutions" and "Canons," as well as the Clementine literature, the very early Syriac version of the Scriptures, and the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, argue a long-established and developed Christian life in the former land. In spite of

NOTE.—The figures in brackets [ ] refer to paragraphs under 'Notes and Comment.'

a certain autonomy of the Jews, the Christians of Palestine grew in numbers. The little kingdoms of Osrhœne, Adiabene, and Edessa were largely Christian in the second century. The frequent persecutions of the Alexandrine Christians are a proof of their number, and the correspondence of Bishop Dionysius about the middle of the third century indicates an active proselytism among the Copts. The letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch show a numerous Christian episcopate on the western seaboard of Asia Minor early in the second century; one hundred and fifty years later the city of Apamæa seems officially Christian. The acts of St. Pionius of Smyrna show that city largely Christian. The persecutions of Schapur II. reveal a multitude of Christians in Persia; the conversion of Armenia antedates the victory of Saxa Rubra (A. D. 312). An Arabian Christian became Roman Emperor in the person of Philip, son of a sheikh of Bosra (A. D. 244-249). Isolated Christian captives were among the Saracens, the Goths, and the Berbers at the same time. It is probable that the Christians of the Malabar peninsula in India are older than Constantine. The history of the Persian Manes shows how energizing were then the tenets of Christianity on the outermost limits of Persia.

By the year A. D. 300 trade, war, travel and lettered curiosity had supplemented personal proselytism and scattered Christianity broadcast. In the following decade Maximinus Daja admitted that "nearly all men" had deserted the service of the gods (Euseb. H. E., ix., 9). Long before, Melito of Sardis paralleled the rapid spread of Christianity with the growth of the Roman name and power, and insinuated a close relation between them.

Origen even entertained the thought that the religion of Christ would one day be mistress of the world.

Gibbon calculates the Christian population of the empire before Constantine at about one-twentieth of the total population, or about five millions; Keim, Zoekler and Chastel at about sixteen millions, while Schultze fixes ten millions as the minimum. The Christians were surely more numerous than the four million Jews.

In the first decades of its history we find this society divided into laity and clergy. "The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances," writes St. Clement (about A. D. 96), and the Apostles "appointed their first fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe." From the beginning of the second century we find in all Christian communities a bishop, priests and deacons, an embryonic but uniform government in countries remote from one another, at an epoch when the action of the principal sees, notably Rome, was as yet intermittent. This phenomenon easily suggests the apostolic origin of the episcopate.

From the letters of St. Ignatius to the writings of St. Cyprian the bishop is head, shepherd, judge, representative of the Christian community, its presiding officer in worship, and its bond of union[3]. The priests are counsellors to the bishop, instructors of the faithful, and vicars of the bishop when he is absent or incapacitated. The deacons, hierarchically inferior to the priests, had a much greater influence; the temporal administration was practically in their hands, as well as the immediate service of the bishop in divine worship, the distribution of the Eucharist, and occasional conferring of baptism.

In the middle of the third century the ministry of the deacons was subdivided, and the "minor orders" introduced, first in the Church of Rome[4]. The selection of all this clergy was left to the bishop, with the counsel of his presbytery and the good will of the people. The bishop was elected by the local clergy; the assistance of three bishops was required for a licit consecration. The metropolitan and the bishops of the province confirmed the newly-elect. The support of this clergy came from weekly offerings of the Christians, from their own patrimony, or their labor. Certain qualities were required for entrance among the clergy, and certain impediments were soon established; the age for the priesthood was thirty, that for the episcopate about fifty. Celibacy was held very desirable for the bishops, priests and deacons. After diaconal ordination, clerics could not marry without renouncing the exercise of their order. It is not certain that there was an apostolic law obliging to continency the married man who became deacon, and in time priest or bishop.

Each bishop governed the Christians of a municipal district; as a rule, his authority ran parallel with the city territory; thus he had under him not only the municipal clergy, but also the deacons, and "rural deans" who governed the remote hamlets or towns. The bishop of the provincial metropolis soon rose to the dignity of metropolitan, because of the size of his city, the number of his flock, and the standing of its principal members; great influence, too, accrued to him through the custom of holding frequent synods in his city—a custom as old as the fifth or sixth decade of the second century, and which argues a monarchical episcopacy very widely



spread. The metropolitans were subject to certain higher dignitaries whose circles of influence, established long before the Council of Nice (325), corresponded to the great civil divisions of the empire. They were Alexandria, Antioch and Rome[5]. Ephesus in proconsular Asia, Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Heracleia in Thrace, were also centres of a superior unity. This unity was an ideal deeply cherished and practically preserved by means of the correspondence of bishops, annual synodal meetings, excommunication of offenders against discipline or belief, letters or certificates of membership, and the bond of filiation between churches.

Among the Christian churches the Church of Rome was especially prominent as the centre of unity. The bishops of Rome very soon laid formal claim to a universal authority as successors of St. Peter. The Latin homily, *On the Gamblers*, perhaps the work of Pope Victor (189-199), asserts the power of the keys (Matt. xviii. 18), the vicarship of the Lord, and an original apostolic authority or leadership. St. Clement of Rome writes to the Corinthians, in an unmistakable tone of authority, which the discovery of the complete text has confirmed. St. Irenæus of Lyons attributes to the Roman Church an authoritative and efficient primacy, based on its episcopal succession from SS. Peter and Paul[6]. St. Ignatius of Antioch (107-117), addressing the Roman Church, speaks of its "presidency of love," its "presidency in the country of the region of the Romans," and the lately discovered Epitaph of Abercius shows that the Roman Church enjoyed the highest degree of esteem among all other churches. At the same time the sense of local self-sufficiency, and of apostolic authority lodged

in the episcopate, personal and solidary, was very strong. But the conduct of Origen, of Dionysius of Alexandria, the correspondence of St. Cyprian, the attitude of inimical emperors like Decius and Aurelian, show that the essential authority of the Roman see was not resisted, even if consciousness of the common origin and solidary nature of the episcopate were vivid and sensitive in communities accustomed to be governed in the original spirit of charity and humility enjoined by the Master.

#### CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN STATE: HERESY AND SCHISM.

The first Christian communities were scarcely formed when they entered upon a long conflict with the civil power. The wholesale execution of Roman Christians as such by Nero (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv., 44), and Domitian's attempt to collect the temple-tax from the Jewish Christians, made publicly known the existence of the Christians as a distinct religious society. Their religion was at once declared illicit, and their corporate existence forbidden: *Non licet esse vos*. Even humane emperors like Trajan agree that the title of Christian, the *nomen*, is criminal. And this remained the keynote of all legislation and procedure against the Christians for three centuries. Ten persecutions are reckoned by the domestic historians of the society. As a rule, the Roman historians do not mention the persecutions. Commodianus, about the middle of the third century, expressly reckons that of Decius as the seventh. The earlier persecution differed from the later, being less processes of extermination than of terrorizing by execution of the hierarchic chiefs and more prominent members. The local magistrates and pa-

gan priesthoods, the Cynic philosophers, the miscellaneous mob in the theatre or the circus, the vendors of superstitions, sudden panics following pests or natural disturbances, the ill-will of the Jews, the treachery of apostates and heretics, were so many causes that made the life of the average Christian one of daily fear and anxiety. The avarice of the judges, and the cupidity of informers, brought about confiscation and exile with consequent misery and poverty. A social excommunication hung over every Christian community, and a bitter literary persecution helped to fill the measure of oppression.

As a rule, the Christians bore firmly the impact of these adverse forces. Their principal men called public attention, by written apologies, to the injustice of pursuing harmless and peaceful people, to the open violation of law and custom in the procedure against the martyrs or witnesses to the person and doctrine of Christ as the only true God[7]. There was, indeed, a certain legislation or "customs" against the introduction of new gods, against sacrilege, high treason, illicit meetings, and the like, but this was seldom invoked against the Christians. Their mere existence, the *professio nominis*, was a crime equivalent to the most heinous. With a subtly correct sense, the Roman state felt that the spiritual independence of the Christian was incompatible with the old pagan state in which the social authority was supreme. Hence the charge of obstinacy, *pertinacia*, brought against the society by Celsus, Galen, and Marcus Aurelius, and the superhuman efforts made to break the constancy of the individual martyrs. The lulls in the persecutions enabled the Christians to restore discipline

and renew their courage, while they broke the force of a policy that, if continued, would have exterminated them, even at the expense of a universal desolation. This policy of extermination was at last resolved on by Decius (A. D. 250-253) and by Valerian (253-260), but too late, and in too remiss a manner. The society was now deep-rooted, very numerous, well-disciplined by experience and special training, and capable of sustaining even wholesale apostasy, such as took place at Carthage, and the defection of its prominent members, as at Alexandria.

From the days of Gallienus to Galerius (A. D. 260-305) the Christians enjoyed comparative peace, and won adherents in every rank of society. But the Illyrian dynasty took up once more the Decian policy, by the wholesale persecution of Diocletian, which was more like an internecine war than any act of repression. It ended ignominiously (A. D. 311) by the formal withdrawal of the edicts, and a surly recognition of the Christian right of worship. The cruelties of these persecutions are beyond cavil, for the Roman heart was schooled to severity, and to easy and wanton bloodshed for purposes of state or pleasure. Tiberius once emptied his prisons by an indiscriminate slaughter of all the inmates, whether guilty or on trial. The number of the victims cannot now be ascertained with accuracy, owing to the disappearance of the official acts of the courts, and the deliberate destruction of the ecclesiastical acts by order of Diocletian. But it was very great, for the violent repression of Christianity was carried on for some two hundred and fifty years, not only by general edicts, but at the pleasure of the magistrates, the mob, and the

official enemies of the new religion—the priests and the philosophers[8]. The Christian was an outlaw, and countless individuals who did not suffer death underwent tortures and punishments scarcely inferior to that supreme act of constancy. Every Christian writer of those centuries refers to the persecutions, and the contemporary ones speak of them as causing the death of multitudes. The Christian Church has always looked on their constancy as proof of its inherent divinity, and the “Acts of the Martyrs,” though often of late date, interpolated, and otherwise tampered with, contain a generally true outline of a long period of judicial oppression and injustice[9].

The original revelation of Jesus was at an early date the object of individual criticism and selection by those who refused to accept a definitive tribunal of preservation and interpretation in the Christian society. Thus arose a series of heresies[10], some of which take as their starting point the Mosaic law, and others certain pagan concepts of creation and the origin of evil. The first gave rise to the Jewish Christians, of whom the most extreme recognized Christ as man only, while others accepted Him as God, but maintained as permanent the obligation of the Mosaic law, for Jews at least. Simon the Magician (Acts viii. 9), is the earliest arch-heretic, followed by another Samaritan, Menander. Cerinthus and the Ebionites represent the Docetic element in these heresies, while the Elcesaites offer a transitional shading into Gnosticism. The numerous complex systems known by this latter name arose from the problem of the origin of evil. It exists in the world, and as God cannot be its author, the ques-

tion arises: whence is the world? The philosophers of Gnosticism were not satisfied with the answer of Christian faith *πιστις*: they desired an independent, more profound knowledge *γνώσις*, hence called Gnostics. An essential dualism of God and matter, the latter an eternal but formless entity, sometimes conceived as informed by an evil principle; the successive emanation from a remote and inactive God of certain spirits or *Æons*; their corresponding decrease in nature and power, and admixture of hylic or material elements with the *Pleroma*, or portion of the World of Light that is individualized in each spirit; the creation of the world by the *Demiurgus* or lowest *Æon* out of this mixture of matter and spirit (light); the redemption, imagined as a freeing of the particles of the spirit sunk in matter; the identity of the *Demiurgus* with the *Jehovah* of the Old Testament; the sending of an *Æon* (*Jesus*) to accomplish the liberation of the spirit; the division of mankind into three classes, the "spiritual," the "material," and the "psychic" or simple ignorant Christians, the first of which are the elect or Gnostics; the restoration at the end of time of all things to that place which befits their nature in the system of being—such are the general and common elements of Gnosticism, in which the Christian religion met for the first time a systematic rationalism that affected the fullest knowledge where the Christian simply believed.

It was widely preached and learnedly, formulated by certain remarkable men, like *Basilides*, *Valentine*, and *Carpocrates*; its true home seems to have been *Alexandria*, the *Paris* of antiquity, though it maintained an active agency at *Rome*, and sought to seat itself in the

apostolic chair. This was done chiefly through Marcion, who, though not a Gnostic proper, has points of contact with that heresy, especially in his description of the Demiurgus, or God of the Jews, as against the "good God," Who was unknown until He descended on earth in the person of Jesus, and was afterwards crucified by the malice of the Jewish God. Between the Old and the New Testaments there is irreconcilable opposition—the God of the former is cruel and terrible, the God of the latter is the God of Love. In the New Testament only the Gospel of St. Luke (minus the first two chapters) and some Epistles of St. Paul were held genuine. This heresy was particularly active, for it had adherents as late as the fifth century. The Oriental Mani (d. A. D. 276) added to the number of the Gnostic systems a Persian Gnosis, made up of elements drawn from the Chaldæo-Babylonian, the Parsee and the Buddhist religions, in which are found the essential elements of the Alexandrine Gnosis, with a close imitation of Christian constitution and discipline.

Other heresies arose from the effort to reconcile the unity of God with the divine personality of the Son. Some maintained that the Son was really only the impersonal wisdom of the Father, but begotten in time, as the exemplar of creation; thus there was no eternal generation of the Logos. Others, like Paul of Samosata, maintained that Jesus was only man, but that the divine impersonal Logos dwelt and worked with Him. Still others imagined a successive revelation of the one Divinity as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three modes, as it were, that gave way to one another. This was the opinion of Sabellius, and it roused a vigorous opposition

that was scarcely placated before the opening of the Council of Nice (A. D. 325).

The Chiliast or Millenarian expectations based on the Apocalypse (cc. 20, 21) seduced many Christians, chiefly in the course of the third century, and in Egypt. A revival of the primitive rigorism led to the sect of the Montanists, who eventually claimed special prophetic direction, and thus escaped from the yoke of church unity. At Rome and Carthage painful schisms broke out about the middle of the third century, apropos of the readmission of those who had fallen in the persecutions; a little later the same schism was renewed at Carthage by Donatus; a grave discord broke out in the church of Egypt under Meletius, while the church of Rome was also troubled by the schismatic attitude of one Heraclius.

In this long period of conflict, within and without, the original germs of the constitution of the Christian society developed. The true relation of the Old to the New Testament, as type to reality, was made clear. The character of Christianity as a religion, not a philosophy, was brought out, and the functions of faith and reason defined, if only in a large general way. The specific unity of Christian belief was symbolized in the growing habit of coöperation of the churches by means of synods. The culminating point of the hierarchy, the bishop of Rome, comes more often into sight, as the needs of defence multiply, or the essential unity of the society is more seriously threatened. In an embryonic way, every problem that the society must one day encounter on a large scale, has already presented itself; personal example has consecrated the principles of the Christian life; the lines of the society have been more clearly drawn, and



its office in the world of mankind more widely illustrated; the possibilities of the Gospel stand out more visibly to all; an art, a literature, and a legislature, and a legislation are at hand, imbued with a personal, absolute devotion to Jesus Christ as the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

#### THE OVERTHROW OF GRÆCO-ROMAN PAGANISM.

By the Edict of Milan (A. D. 312) Constantine gave effect to his great victory at Saxa Rubra over Maxentius, and raised Christianity to the dignity of a licit religion, with all the rights and privileges of the existing State religion[11]. The ecclesiastics were freed from certain charges, the Church enabled to inherit, the emancipation of slaves permitted before the Christian clergy and people, the Sunday legalized as a day of rest. The pagan religion was correspondingly restricted, although the emperor kept yet the title of "Pontifex Maximus," and the symbols of that office. During the next ten years his colleague Licinius endeavored to stem the tide of victorious Christianity, but in 323 lost both life and empire at the battle of Adrianople. Paganism was now systematically, but surely suppressed. The great imperial charges were conferred on Christians, splendid churches built, divination, both public and private, forbidden; the temples were gradually abandoned, some being destroyed as especially dangerous to public morals. A New Rome, Christian in every sense, was built on the Bosphorus, called after the emperor, Constantinople (A. D. 330), and was thenceforth the official seat of the empire.

Constantine was baptized on his deathbed (337). His imperfections were neither few nor slight, but he stands out in history as a man of genius and determination,

peaceful and religious by inclination, but violent and harsh when his wishes were thwarted[12]. Under him there was again a *Pax Romana*. His children pursued his policy toward paganism, but with more insistence. In 341 Constantius recalls a law of his father against all sacrifices, hitherto poorly enforced, and soon in concert with his brother Constans (d. 350) closed the temples. In the following years he renewed these decrees. The short reign of Julian (361-363) gave fresh hope to the adherents of paganism, but the official prestige and the literary skill of Julian were unavailing; he could not galvanize the decaying forces of the old paganism, even by the adoption of Christian discipline and institutions[13]. His successor, Jovian, revoked the measures of Julian, whose apostasy had greatly irritated the Christians. His memory was accursed, as of one who had betrayed his God, though they admitted that he had not betrayed his country, but fought bravely for it. Valentinian I. (364-375) forbade again the sacrifices and nocturnal assemblies, but was otherwise tolerant, though henceforth the meetings of pagans were suspected as revolutionary in spirit.

The term *paganism*, religion of *pagani* or the peasants, arose about this time, and indicates the reversal of ancient conditions. Gratian (375-383) refused the insignia of the pagan pontificate, suppressed all state subsidies to that worship, confiscated the revenues of the priesthoods and the vestals, as well as the temple-lands, limited the priestly immunities, and sided with St. Ambrose in the famous affair of the Altar of Victory, by ordering its removal from the Roman Senate, now in the majority Christian. In the Orient, the destruction of the Serapeum at Alex-

andria (391) was the death-knell of the old religion, which again held up its head in the West during the brief usurpation of Eugenius (392-394).

But Arcadius (395-408) withdrew from the priest-hoods all remaining privileges, and closed the rural temples, while in the West Stilicho burned the Sibylline books at Rome. Theodosius II. excluded (416) the pagans from official functions, and (448) caused all antichristian writings to be burned. Justinian (527-565) declared pagans incapable of possessing, and under him fell into decay that last nursery of Græco-Roman paganism, the schools of Athens.

It is true that the purity of the Christian life suffered much from the influx of great multitudes of ignorant or selfish converts, who were Christians only in name. There was also no little crypto-paganism and a sad mixture of pagan and Christian elements in popular belief and life [14]. Yet this fourth century is also a period of extraordinary and intelligent activity on the part of the Church and her ministers. Great enterprises of benevolence are carried on by the bishops; every form of public charity finds expression; the evil of slavery was greatly mitigated, and by the spiritual equality of master and slave the world was prepared for the extirpation of its greatest injustice. Under Constantine the murder of a slave was classed with assassination; under Justinian all legal obstacles to emancipation were set aside, the class of freedmen suppressed and made citizens, and slaves permitted, with the master's consent, to marry free women. Certain cruelties of legal procedure were abolished, thus, stamping the forehead with a heated iron. The cross soon ceased to be an instrument of torture. Prisoners

were treated with more humanity; the bishops were charged with the visitation of the prisons. The right of asylum was accorded to the churches. The respect for human life was inculcated; abortion and abandonment of infants were severely denounced, as well as the gladiatorial games. Suicide was treated as a grave crime against the rights of the Creator. The public morals were improved by the solemn and practical reprobation of pederasty, adultery, and concubinage. Doubtless, in individual cases, the pagan conscience had risen to some of these betterments, but only sporadically, and without any lasting effect on the social order. That conscience had no leverage outside of itself, no religious sanction in a firm belief in immortality, divine justice, sin and human responsibility [15, 16].

#### **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIANIZED EMPIRE.**

After the example of Constantine, his successors looked upon themselves as clothed with a quasi-episcopal character in all matters pertaining to the public relations of Christianity. In theory they acknowledged the spiritual independence of the bishops and, when occasion offered, they rendered efficient support in preserving the unity of discipline and belief, as in their conduct toward the Donatists and the Manichæans. They enriched the churches not only with subsidies and revenues, but with lands, church-plate, quasi-municipal authority and privileges. As the emperor was the shadow of God on earth in the civil order, so the bishop was the present disinterested providence of the emperor protecting the people. Without formal proclamation there grew up an intimate

concord of scope and spirit between the two orders, and the prophetic vision of a "Kingdom of God," a "City of God," seemed about to be realized among men. In proportion as the internal comfort and security of the state decreased, the need of religious harmony was evident. The Arian heresy in the fourth century, with all its minor imitators, and the great Christological controversies of Nestorianism and Monophysitism in the fifth century, emphasized this passion of spiritual unity, and revealed in the imperial soul one of the great political motives that, unconsciously enough but efficaciously, drew it toward Christianity—the latter's theory of fraternal unity and intelligent and willing subordination on a world-wide scale. On this head there is something supremely sad in the utterances of Constantine apropos of his attempts to suppress the schism of the Donatists.

Heresies were the storm centres, the political "oppositions" of the day, and they swept into their path of action whatever elements of discord, disaffection and revolution were lying around unorganized. The emperors were driven to and fro between the unbending orthodoxy of the Church and the implacable obstinacy of great bodies of heretics, who were often dissatisfied with the remote and absolutist central government, and secretly gave ear to velleities of national or racial freedom. As the prestige of conquest waned and the fiction of an invincible state, the value of religious unity stood out more clearly, and its preservation became a very obsession of the emperor. Hence impossible treaties, promises shattered on the ledge of principle, temporary combinations and makeshifts. Hence the alternate pursuit of Athanasius and Ambrose, the exiling of Nestorians

and Eutychians, the hunting of Donatists and the tortures of Priscillianists. Hence a gradual encroachment, for the sake of present gain or immediate relief, on the independence of the Church, and the gradual awakening of the latter to the dangers that lay in this intimate alliance of two powers, each claiming the whole man, even if under widely different aspects. The sorrows of Vigilius and the sufferings of Martin are the outcome of the policy that banished in turn an Arius and an Athanasius, forgetful of its own original and noble policy as outlined in the edict of Milan.

Christian missions spread the faith in this period through Persia, Armenia, Georgia, Abyssinia, even in China, Southern Arabia and the East; among the Visigoths and Ostrogoths in the West, though under the form of Arian heresy, and among other Teutonic tribes, notably the Burgundians and Vandals. The conversion of Ireland opened the way to Christianity among the Celtic peoples.

Within the Church itself new offices appear, arch-priest, archdeacon; the diocese is divided into parishes; the ecclesiastical celibacy strictly enforced in the West, while the East tolerates customs already old; new patriarchates arise, like Constantinople and Jerusalem. Above all, the primacy of the Roman See is more steadily asserted and accepted, as a rule, by all the churches. In all the great Christological and anthropological controversies Rome stands well to the front on the side of orthodoxy, and deals with the emperors as a power apart and vicarious for the whole Church. The conciliar institution reaches now its fullest growth; a written and fixed liturgy, an ecclesiastical year with its recurrent

feasts, the veneration of Saints and of their images, the institution of monachism, the growth of a peculiar Christian art, notably the basilical architecture and the arts of miniature and of working in mosaic and ivory. Above all, an independent literature, Greek and Latin, with its echoes in Syriac, Armenian, Coptic and Ethiopic, developed in controversy, bearing all the marks of a time of "*Sturm und Drang*," but original and pregnant, capable of inspiring ten centuries to come, of furnishing them with great ideas, and of moulding new vernaculars to transmit the same [17].

Unfortunately for the hopes of Christianity, this period of its growth was closed by the apparition of Islam along the line of the eastern provinces of the Empire. Mohammed (570-632) set himself up as an inspired prophet of monotheism, with an admixture of Christian and Jewish elements, the whole leavened by Semitic fanaticism. He precipitated multitudes of desert swordsmen on an empire weakened in all its extremities of economic exhaustion, crystallized religious dissension, nationalisms, multitudes of wandering exiled Jews[18]. The overthrow by Heraclius of the Persian Chosroes (628) did not stay the terrific rapidity of the propagation of Islam. Its success, brought about by a skillful or lucky combination of fanaticism, toleration, cajolery, sensual concessions, positive and negative proselytism, closed the Orient of Greek Christianity, and shut up the great heart of the empire between unelastic, unsympathetic politics, East and West.

#### CONVERSION OF BARBARIAN EUROPE.

The conversion of the Angles and Saxons in Britain,

though not the first of the national Teutonic conversions, was scarcely less momentous than the conversion of Chlodwig and his Franks. In 596 Augustine landed in England with forty monks, sent by Gregory I., and eventually succeeded in establishing two ecclesiastical provinces: Canterbury and York. The Roman mission was supplemented in 633 by the mission of Irish monks of St. Columba from Iona, under whom the Christian discipline was restored. Thus a fresh impetus was given to the conversion of the island, that was completed in the reign of Cædwalla (685-688) [19].

The battle of Tolbiac (496), which decided the conversion to Christianity of Chlodwig (Clovis), King of the Franks, was also the beginning of the conversion of the Alemans or Suabians, who suffered defeat in that conflict. A hundred years later they were still pagan when the Irish monks and saints, Gallus and Columbanus, began their permanent conversion, that was accomplished by 750. Their neighbors, the Bavarians, were finally converted by Ruprecht of Worms in the latter half of the seventh century, at which time the peoples of Thuringia received the faith from Irish monks, under the guidance of St. Kilian. Bishopricks and monasteries were usually founded to sustain the labors of the missionaries. For nearly fifty years the Anglo-Saxon monk Willibrod (690-739) toiled among the Frisians in the Netherlands after receiving episcopal consecration at Rome (695). All these efforts were unified and solidified by the Anglo-Saxon Winfrid (680-754), who received in 719 the name of Boniface from Pope Gregory II., with the mission to evangelize Germany. To this he devoted the rest of his life, converting new tribes, extirpating abuses, organiz-



ing both old and new communities, and establishing on all sides institutions destined to foster his work. The building of monasteries of men and women, the creation of episcopal sees, the holding of reform councils, frequent journeys to Rome, constant correspondence, fill up the days of the great apostle, who was eventually martyred by pagan Frisians. At Paderborn (777-785) the Saxons at last yielded and accepted baptism, but not until they had exhausted the patience of the great Karl, and brought about at Verden the cruel massacre of 4,500 of their own. From the Saxon monastery of Corbie, Anschar went out (826) to convert Denmark, but it was only slowly that the nation was won over from Hamburg to Aahus (988).

In the eleventh century seeds of Christianity are sown in Sweden, but ripen slowly. From Hako the Good to Olaf Trygvæson (938-1000), Norway was the scene of Christian missionary labors. The self-exiled Northmen who harried the continent were converted in the lands they raided, as in Ireland and Normandy. About the year 1000 Christianity was established firmly both in Iceland and Greenland. At the same time it was making rapid strides in the Slavic world. Croatia, Carinthia and Moravia were the first to accept the Gospel, brought to them through Roman or German missionaries, especially by way of Passau or Salzburg. Saints Cyril and Methodius, priests of Constantinople, are, however, the true apostles of the Slavic peoples. To Cyril the Slavs owe their (*Glagolitza*) alphabet, and to Methodius the use of the vernacular tongue in the liturgy. Bohemia became Christian (845-875) after grave internal dissensions; about 965, the Bohemian wife of the Duke of Po-

land brought about the conversion of that nation, and the establishment of episcopal sees at Posen and Gnesen. The Wends between the Elbe and the Oder were compelled to receive the Christian faith in the latter half of the tenth century, but as late as 1066 they were still rebellious. Servia and Bulgaria accepted about 868 the religion of their Greek conquerors, while the following century (862-987) saw the conversion of those Varangian descendants of the tribe of Russ, who had founded Russia. At the battle of Lech (955) Otto I. broke the power of the Hungarians, who soon after became Christian, notably under King Stephen the Pious (897-1038), though his example and his generosity to the new religion did not prevent a subsequent century of disorder. These gains in the North and East of Europe were set off to some extent by losses in the Spanish peninsula, where the battle of Xeres de la Frontera (711) established an Arab dynasty on the throne of the Visigoths, and opened a new chapter of alternate peace and warfare. The battle of Poitiers (732) saved the rest of Europe from Islam, but the ninth century in particular saw several successful attempts of the Saracens in Sicily, Italy and even in Provence.

The five centuries in which was affected the conversion of Central, Northern and Eastern Europe offer a striking spectacle. Christian virtue was brought home to millions of men who had never risen above the ideal of animal courage. In the persons of apostles and saints of both sexes, a spiritual world was opened up that gave employment to the crushed or famished instincts of the heart. Woman, the slave, the captive, the child, the failures even of barbarian society, appeared in a new light transfigured

as brethren of Christ. A host of new ideas clamored for expression in the vernaculars of semi-savage tribes. The Roman private law, so equable, rational and common-human in its spirit and provisions; the canon law, so evangelical and other-worldly in its scope and method, perfected or modified their rude customary usages and procedure[20]. A certain detritus of ancient culture was preserved as sacred fire, which would one day quicken into mediæval literature and art. The Church itself was now just such a society as was needed by the barbarian tribes: motherly and compassionate, where they were rude and violent; universal, where they were splintered into infinite sections; refined, where they were coarse and uncouth; related intimately to all past history, peoples and civilization, where they were but emerging from their forests[21].

In the centuries they learned what virtue was when practised by the Christians: their own institutions, like feudalism, took on something of Christian mildness and mysticism. Then was seen that rare phenomenon, an apostolic nation, in the persons of the thousands of Irish missionaries who flooded Central Europe, while their disciples and imitators, the Anglo-Saxons, were scarcely less active and devoted[22]. In the latter half of this period bloodshed and force appear as unchristian and deplorable elements of persuasion—a crusading spirit that was often worldly-calculating, and saw in the baptism of the pagan tribes the sure renunciation of old national or racial independence or opposition. Nor could this vast work be done without some concession to the popular passions or traditions, as they lived on in pagan superstitions. They were gradually eliminated or allowed to live

on under forms that did not seriously affect Christian principles or doctrine. That there is a certain unity in this long missionary movement is owing to the direction and influence of the Roman Church, to which, mediately or immediately, are referable the impulses that brought these Northern nations into the Church.

### **THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.**

The splendid theory of an orderly cööperation of all the spiritual and temporal forces of Christians under the Pope and the emperor as representatives, each in his own order, of Jesus Christ, was the basic idea of mediæval life in the West[23]. The coronation of Charlemagne at Rome on Christmas Day, 800, proclaimed the restoration of a system whose germs are traceable to a very early period of Christianity. Nor did it always remain a theory; even in the disorders subsequent on the death of Charlemagne it continued to impress the individual as the desirable ideal; it was never abandoned by the churches, and it was strong enough, after a century of abeyance, to awake in the Othos, and successfully hold its own for three hundred years. In the ninth and tenth centuries no man arose in the State of the measure of Charlemagne to adapt the theory to the situation, and the Roman Church produced no Pope of genius in the same time to dominate a scene of miscellaneous embryonic institutions, and bring unity and purpose out of general disorder.

This splintering of his new and vast State by the will of Charlemagne, was a first rude blow at the fabric so laboriously evolved out of the wreck of the Roman provincial governments and the interim kingdoms of bar-

barians. The growth of the imperial *missi* into hereditary feudal lords rendered it doubly difficult to fully realize the imperial idea, while the independence of the French Carolingians, of the Arab state in Spain, and of the British Isles, reduced the actual power to very moderate limits. To this must be added the fierce turbulence of the Roman nobles and people who balanced emperor and Pope against their own license, and, more than any other single element, contributed to the imperfection of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Constantinople never forgave this empire the impertinence of its existence; the remnants of Italian freedom in the North gathered about the empire's own great vassals; the semi-bandit nobles of the Campagna closely allied to the *militia* of the Eternal City, dreamed of the Empire of Trajan and Hadrian; the Greeks of Southern Italy felt the quickening pulse of blood as they looked towards the East; the Popes were constantly obliged to resent encroachments or to enter into personal conflict, on moral grounds, with the degenerate heirs of Charlemagne[24]. Family dissensions long divided the latter; when these seem exhausted, the Northman and the Hun ravage the heart of the Empire until the conversion of Rollo (912) and the battle of Lech (955) leave Christian Europe free from immediate fear of pagan domination. The Saxon emperors cherish the dream of the ancient Roman state; they exercise considerable, but not unhealthful, pressure on the Roman Church; the pious, mystical, Catholic element is uppermost in these Othos and first Henrys, as in the Franconian line.

In the latter half of the eleventh century the Church, responding to influences from Cluny, began to take alarm

at her gradual enslavement, and under Henry IV. and Gregory VII. broke out the famous quarrel concerning the investiture of the bishops, whether by crozier and ring or by the royal sceptre. Many of them, especially in Germany, had long been great feudataries; as such, their offices were equivalent to the highest charges in the State. Hence their election, by abuse, had gradually fallen into the hands of the emperors, and thereby the reform of the clergy in the matters of simony and incontinency became impossible. Whatever the wisdom of individual steps or the political shortcomings of individual Popes, each felt that in this long struggle he was holding out for an essential condition of Christian truth and life[25]. Under the Hohenstaufen the struggle reached its acme. Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. waged an almost unrelenting war against the papacy. The latter, in the persons of Alexander III. (1159-1181) and Gregory IX. (1227-1241), was not unequal to the task, and by spiritual and temporal weapons, including deposition of the emperor, came out victorious. In 1268 the last of the Hohenstaufen, the little Conradin, perished by a cruel death; the Empire was broken, masterless; a sad inheritance of suspicion, vendetta, and irreligiosity was stored up for the future; the theory of the Pope and the emperor was made obsolete by the new power of kings, and the incipient states of modern Europe. The failure of the mediæval political ideal is not traceable to its impossible sublimity, nor to the intractability of the Popes. The sense of growth and power, the decay of earnest faith through wealth and scandal and delayed reform, the example of Constantinople and her subservient clergy, the subtler influences of Islam, the increase and

union of scattered anti-ecclesiastical forces, the antithesis of German imperial and Italian peninsular interests, the evil effects of the study of the absolutist Roman law, were among the influences that worked on the Hohenstaufen emperors and their counsellors.

### **THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.**

The government of the Mediæval Church presents a varied development, the outcome of a multitude of circumstances that differ according to age and nation. In the early part we have the mixed or national synods and the canonical or common life for the clergy, the tithes, the advocates or protectors of the churches. The latter enjoy a growing independence of jurisdiction, civil and general, over their clergy, immunities of many kinds, certain sovereign rights. On the other hand, the care of the poor, the sick, and strangers falls on them. The cathedrals and abbeys are the chief centres of mediæval life, and grow constantly in wealth, which brings about royal or lay interference in their elections, and grave disorders in their administration. In time the election of the bishop falls in theory to the cathedral chapter or canons; the archdeacon gives way to the vicar general, more dependent on the bishop; auxiliary bishops are multiplied. The Pope is frequently appealed to for justice in both orders. Since the pseudo-Isidoran decretals, his already real and recognized power is more frequently applied, especially in the case of bishops, who are henceforth less subject to the provincial council. According as the nations are unified, new details of Church life fall under the immediate authority of the Pope. The election of the Pope is gradually confined to the cardinals,

who take on a new importance with the increase of the prerogatives of the Roman See. The canon law, the outcome chiefly of Scripture, ancient custom, decrees of councils and decisions of Popes, is logically formulated in the twelfth and codified in the thirteenth century.

The worship of the Church is marked in the West by the almost general adoption of the Roman liturgy, the development of the church-song, Gregorian and figured, and the introduction of the organ. The Eucharist is received under the one species of bread; its elevation remains as a protest against the heresy of Berengarius. The Credo is finally added to the Mass. The churches gradually give up the Romanesque to adopt the freer and more ambitious Gothic. Sculpture especially flourishes, and minature, while much skill is shown in all the minor arts, encouraged especially by the production of church plate and church furniture. The feasts multiply, both general and local, until they consume a great part of the year. The penitential discipline is variously modified; censures of many kinds, interdicts, and excommunications are frequent, often imposed in the interests of the oppressed, or to curb absolutism. Pilgrimages to Rome, Jerusalem, or Compostella are frequent. In the increasing veneration of saints, their canonization passes from the bishops to the Pope. The monastic life in Europe soon counts more clerics than laymen—hence the care of souls, missionary work[26]. The Benedictine Order overruns Europe, and brings the soil into cultivation[27], instructs the peasantry, keeps alive the arts of reading and writing, a love of literature and of science. In time its vast wealth, the intrusion of lay abbots, the familiarity of the great, bring about disorders and decay.



The reforms of Cluny (910-1048) Citeaux, the Chartreuse, and similiar attempts, restore it to esteem; but the democratic spirit of the thirteenth century, and the opposition to luxury and to excessive wealth, bring forth the Mendicant Orders, in which not only the individual but the corporation is considered as poor.

That independence which the monasteries had slowly gained by a gradual exemption from the bishops was gained from the beginning by the Mendicant Orders through direct subjection to the Pope. The ecclesiastical celibacy, constantly insisted on as the rule by councils and Popes, was not always strictly observed; but this abuse was opposed by Gregory VII., who succeeded, with some exceptions, in compelling its observance throughout Europe.

The ancient paganism did not die out too rapidly. The "judgments of God," ordeals, duels, and the like, lived on among the Teutonic Christians, but were formally disavowed by Innocent III. The Word of God was assiduously preached, as a rule[28]. The "Peace of God" did much to diminish private warfare, that bane of the Middle Ages. The typical examples of countless holy lives, of such men as St. Bernard, St. Dunstan, St. Bruno, St. Malachy, did much to counteract the passions and lawlessness of the time. The charitable establishments were exceedingly numerous; *the highest charity, that of education, became in time the most common form of beneficence, as seen in the monastery and grammar schools and the universities.* In the early Middle Ages the education of the rural clergy was very inferior, both in the East and West. Men like Bede and Alcuin, or Sedulius Scotus and Photius, were very rare. But the monastic and episcopal schools were never closed[29].

From them issued the corporations of students that made the universities; from them came the first scholastics, the great mystical writers, and later on the great theologians of the thirteenth century.

#### **THE GREEK SCHISM AND THE RENAISSANCE.**

The roots of the Greek schism are old, and spring partly from the character of Greeks and Latins, partly from historical events. The chief reason was the ambition of the bishops of Constantinople and the pride of the clergy of the New Rome, haughty and powerful men, who looked down on the Latin West as wanting in culture and refinement. The jealousy of the emperors, often helpless before the Roman bishops, the growing affection of the Italian people for the latter, the forced absence of all expansion for the Greek, with the narrow, hostile, anti-Latin spirit that this brought on, the remnants of the barbarian blood in the Western nations, certain survivals of pure Roman imperialism, the Iconoclastic struggles, were so many predisposing causes to a separation of the churches. It came between 857 and 1054. In the former year began the long series of events which brought about the first formal conflict between the two churches. The rightful patriarch of Constantinople, Ignatius, was deposed by the emperor, and Photius, a learned but ambitious and wily layman, put in his place. Rome sustained Ignatius, deposition and counter-deposition took place. The eighth ecumenical council (869-870) was held at Constantinople against Photius, but its action was reversed ten years later. In the end Ignatius died as patriarch, but Photius was unanimously agreed on as his successor.

Both parties were inimical to the West in the matter of the Bulgarians, whose incorporation in the patriarchate of Constantinople was opposed by Rome. Photius furnished the literary and theological weapons, and formulated the various objections since urged by the Schismatic Greeks—the insertion of the *Filioque* in the creed, the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist, the celibacy of the clergy, the fasting on Saturday, the rejection of the Greek confirmation by priests, the belief in purgatory. Photius died in 912, but the temporary reconciliation was only on the surface[30]. The peace was broken by harsh controversies in the middle of the eleventh century, which ended in the excommunication by Leo IX. of the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Caerularius (1054). The crusades did not help the later attempts at union, especially the fourth crusade, which ended in the capture of Constantinople and the establishment of a temporary Latin empire on the Bosphorus (1204-1270). The fear of the Ottoman and the hope of Western help brought about a transient submission of the Greeks at Florence (1439), but this formal act never met with the acceptance of the jealous and embittered clergy and people. Long before the fall of Constantinople (1453) it was a dead letter. Since that event the schism has been final and complete[31].

The Pope did well in trying to close the breach, for the first rent of another was already visible. The passionate cultivation of the Greek and Latin classics in the fifteenth century, aided by many discoveries, by the influx into Italy of exiled Greeks, the art of printing, a general awakening of the mind, and extraordinary commercial prosperity, turned men gradually to the false but

specious philosophy of paganism, to skepticism, and epicureanism. In vain did the Christian humanists try to stem the tide[32]. The unhappy conflict of the two powers had shattered the imperial ideal, and left the Church greatly in need of a thorough reform. Familiarity with sacred things, the long absence of the Pope from Rome and the consequent decay of its symbolic influence, the bitter internal feuds, the degeneration of theological training and style, had left the ecclesiastical forces unequal to the responsibilities thrust upon them. The fine arts claimed the attention of all that was noble, wealthy and cultured; on all sides the senses were allowed a satisfaction that the severer Middle Ages abhorred as the gate of sin. Sculpture, painting, architecture, music, flourished for the first time, independent and grandiose, with all the ineffable grace of antiquity, but with a something romantic and individual, in which a secular experience betrayed itself. The control of the old, stiff conventionalism in art was gone. New words of thought and matter were swinging within the ken of mankind. The European man had long been a member of two great ideal societies; he would now be himself the measure of all his capacities, the scope of all his energies. He little suspected that when he had closed this new orbit of activity, he would still be face to face with the mighty verities, the adamant principles of Christianity, no less than his Catholic brethren of the Middle Ages.

#### **THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.**

The series of events by which the Western Church was definitely rent in twain is well known. In 1517, apropos of the preaching of indulgences by Tetzal, Luther opposed

to him ninety-five theses. As a result of the discussion that followed, Luther was excommunicated in the spring of 1520 by the Bull *Exsurge Domine*, to which he replied by burning the bull and the books of the canon law at Wittenberg. A series of violent pamphlets from his pen roused all Germany[33]. Some earnest reformers, many humanists, and all the numerous enemies of Rome, with idle and dissolute monks, gathered about this new force. The imperial power was too weak to carry out the directions of Rome; the diets were divided; passion, self-interest, a long-seething hatred of Rome and jealous of the empire, won to Luther several princes, prominent among whom were Frederick, the elector of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse. They were the nucleus of a league of princes and cities, whose adherents received the name of Protestants at the diet of Speyer in 1529. War with France, and the threatening attitude of the Turk, made these princes necessary to the emperor, and the league of Smalkald in 1531 bound them definitely to the defence of Luther and his teachings. Conferences, diets and *colloquia* were held in great number, but the principles at stake and the immediate gains were too serious to be given up except at the point of the sword.

The battle of Muhlberg (1547) was a momentary ray of hope in that direction, but the external occupations of the emperor forbade any utilization of his hard-earned victory. The treaty of Passau (1552) and the peace of Augsburg (1555), consecrated temporarily the new religious situation, in Germany, at least, until the Thirty Years' War and the Treaty of Westphalia (1618-1648) when it was finally adopted, despite the protest of Pope

Urban VIII. While the Reformation was, in principle, one and the same in all the lands of Europe—the rejection of the central authority—its immediate motives and methods differed much in every country. No doubt there were here and there ardent and noble, but misled men, who saw in it the restoration of Christian freedom; they were usually the dupes of worldly and ambitious persons, who saw preferment, power and wealth in the new movement[34]. Few, if any, of the princes of Germany were moved by religious principle—most were led by avarice or love of dominion. Without their aid the Reformation would have been stifled in the bud. In England it was brought about by the lust of Henry VIII. and the unprincipled servility of men like Cranmer[35]. In France and Italy, Spain, Ireland, and a large part of the Netherlands, it made little or no headway, if we except the Huguenots.

Nor was it very popular in the Northern kingdoms, which were in reality robbed of their faith before they quite knew what had happened. The regalist principles nurtured by the reformers precluded any possibility of resistance; for safety's sake they enslaved the once free Church to the state, a fact that alone explains the rapid spread of Protestantism, by which the hardly-won independence of the Church was lost in a generation, and even orthodox Catholicism driven into unsatisfactory relations and conditions that yet hamper its action. Other causes of the rapid spread of Protestantism were the immense spiritual discontent that everywhere prevailed, and made itself felt in national, conciliar and individual complaints and protests. Everyone recognized the need of a reformation “in the head and in the members,” *i. e.*,

at Rome and throughout Christendom; but in fact the ancient abuses were preserved, until not a reformation but a revolution broke out that left scarcely a vestige of the past. The great offices in the Church were given to nobles; the monasteries were largely exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction; venality, corruption and simony prevailed in very high places; a few great Italian families exercised an undue influence over the Papacy; despair of any positive efficient action was setting in, that the delay of the Council of Trent and the sterility of earlier councils confirmed. Between the Church and the governments there was dislike or suspicion, partly the result of the long quarrel with the empire.

Novelty was in the air; the new catchwords were attractive—liberty of thought, freedom of the Christian man, a general priesthood. Each prince or city was, unconsciously perhaps, drawn by avarice. The immoral priest or monk was content to cast away his obligations. The severe yoke of fasting and confession was no longer to be borne. Almsdeeds and other good works could be abandoned for the simple act of faith by which alone man was made just and his redemption certain. A worldly, careless episcopate, a clergy often degenerate or ignorant, were incapable of resisting; especially when popular preachers, reckless of truth or moderation, playing on every weakness of the people, backed up by the local authorities, appeared in great numbers. The people were flattered by communion under both species, by the use of the vernacular in the liturgy, and by the indiscriminate Bible reading—a new fetich as bad as any denounced by the reformers. To this must be added the jealous opposition of France against the Hapsburgs, and the unjust

violence used against Catholics by the princes and municipalities that adopted the new religion.

For awhile it seemed as if the bonds of social order were broken; the reformers themselves stood aghast at the seething flood they had let loose. Typical in every way was the experience of the noble city of Muenster in Westphalia, where the Peasants' War, and the subsequent atrocities of the Anabaptists, opened men's eyes to the possibilities of certain of Luther's doctrines that he now repudiated, leaving the wretched peasants to their fate. The volumes of Dœllinger and Janssen abound with the detail evidence of the social and academic life that was the first fruits of the Reformation. The internal divisions of the German states had now another and deeper fountain, they did not cease to grow for a hundred years until, in the Thirty Years' War, the people reaped the dread harvest that had been sown a century before, and found themselves the bond-slaves of little absolutistic dynasties, where once they had enjoyed the sturdy, healthy freedom of Catholic mediæval life, of which had come their wonderful architecture and all the masterpieces of their art. In England the dissolution of the monasteries inaugurated a social revolution, by precipitating on the state the problem of modern pauperism[36].

### **THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.**

The lifetime of Luther was the darkest hour in the history of the Roman Church. It seemed as if faith, authority, discipline, the entire Catholic system of life and thought, consecrated by a thousand years of universal affectionate acceptance, had gone down in one great storm. Naturally men look at once to the historic



remedy, a general council. After much disagreement as to what it should first treat—reform or doctrine, and where it should be held—in Germany or Italy, and who should be invited, it met at Trent in 1542. Interrupted frequently, transferred for a while to Bologna, it held, through four pontificates twenty-five sessions, and closed in 1563 its memorable and stormy career. It did not accomplish all that Pope, emperor, and the people expected of it; war, passion, numberless interests and jealousies stood in the way—yet it saved Catholicism. It settled formally for the Catholic conscience all that Luther had denied or doubted—the sources and the criteria of faith, the office of the Church in the interpretation of Scripture, the nature of original sin and justification, the sacerdotal and sacramental systems, the authority of the Roman Church. It was a tangible proof that Christ lived and governed; that the organism of His society, though rudely shaken, was still functioning[37].

A more severe and religious line of Popes came on the scene—Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Clement VIII. Henceforth bishops reside in their dioceses, attend to the education of their clergy, hold annual synods, visit Rome regularly, and report in detail as to Catholic life and sentiment. There are yet human weaknesses in the central government, nepotism for instance, but they yield to publicity and criticism—good and great Popes are the rule. There is not in all history such a spectacle of sustained wisdom and morality as the Papacy of the last three centuries. The monastic life is thoroughly reformed—St. Maur and La Trappe make up for much decay and relaxation in the Benedictines. The Jesuits enter upon the scene—an army of preachers, teachers, mis-

sionaries, the apostles of the doctrine whose rejection was the only principle of Protestant unity—the Papal supremacy. The education of the clergy, the formation of Christian youth, the care of the sick, the ministry of the pest and the battlefield, each has canonized saints at the head of its annals.

The Holy Spirit quickened every force in the vast system of Catholicism; while yet its existence seemed in doubt, new millions were being won as the raw material for another conquest of faith. India, Japan, China, the islands of the sea, a new world across the Atlantic, made up the losses of Germany and England, that yet the old Church never ceased to mourn, and to call back to former unity; nor did her call go unechoed, even in the darkest days. Through annual synods and provincial councils the episcopal action of the decrees of Trent were made operative. Bishops like St. Francis of Sales, Otto von Truchsess and Julius von Mespellbrunn were not uncommon. The Roman Church again chose for cardinals the most learned and experienced men; many of them were models of laborious Christian life. The example of St. Charles Borromeo roused the clergy of all Catholic Europe, and inaugurated practical reforms and improvements that are yet working in Catholicism. The remaining wealth of the Church was used for better purposes. Popes no longer squandered revenue on Greek manuscripts and rare coins; *colleges, academies, seminaries, universities, attracted ecclesiastical wealth.*

Polemics created an incredible development and realignment of the ecclesiastical sciences; one after the other, dogma, moral, canon law, history, asserts each its distinctive value and use. The original authorities are

gathered, the Fathers are published with critical care, the weak spots of Catholic apology noted and strengthened, the lives of the saints collected, sifted, studied critically. The old books of the Church service are reëxamined and set in better order, the breviary, the missal, and the martyrology. The law books of the Church are corrected and adjusted to actual needs; Roman habit does not permit a quasi-impious abolition of ancient law, but rescript and constitution, committee-decisions, and the like, create such remedial legislation as is needed, according to time and country. The poets of Catholicism sing again in Italy and Spain; the solemn music of the ancient Church comes back, transfigured, from the soul of Palestrina. An architecture, somewhat over-laden, but adapted to a religion in which sacrifice, preaching and pomp are essentially public and popular, is created, chiefly by the new institutes and congregations. Preaching and catechetical instruction are again an essential item in the daily life of the priest; admirable manuals, like the Catechism of the Council of Trent and the Catechism of Blessed Peter Canisius, are in every cleric's hand; his stock of learning is larger and of better quality than before the Reformation. Controversies that would once have led to heresy or schism could now rage almost unchecked, owing to the work of the Council of Trent and the development of a critico-historical spirit among theologians.

In the old and new schools and universities there arose a multitude of learned men in every branch of ecclesiastical science, whose works are yet the scientific foundation of modern Catholicism—Baronius, Bellarmine, Petavius, Suarez, Antonio Agostino Bollandus, Papebroch, Lessius, Richard Simon, Stapleton, Du Perron, the theologians of

Salamanca and Alcala. Bossuet reviewed with judicial calm and philosophic method the mighty revolution that rent Europe[38]. The immense mass of detail administration of the universal Church was apportioned among permanent commissions, known as the Roman Congregations; the bishops again resumed responsible control over the monastic and religious houses by delegation of the Holy See; the scandals connected with benefices were extinguished; the appeals to Rome in first instance forbidden. In the common danger the depths of the Catholic heart were touched, and after the Council of Trent all Catholic forces rallied round the sign and bond of unity, the Roman Church[39]. Religious persecution bred a feeling of kinship that the political and dynastic wars of the time did not destroy. An army of saints was the practical answer to the Reformation, and among them some of the rarest flowers of Catholic mysticism, like St. Teresa and St. Rose of Lima. If there had been gross neglect and criminal obstinacy in the matter of reform before the revolution of Luther, there has been since then a marvelous awakening of the Catholic conscience. If before that event the spiritual and political interests were fatally ingrown with one another, since then the Church has developed a keen and accurate sense of her essential adaptability to all forms of government, and of the sublime spiritual character of her vocation in human society.

## NOTES AND COMMENT.

[1] *The Primitive Evangelists*.—For, indeed, most of the disciples of that time, animated by the divine word with a more ardent love for philosophy (*i. e.*, the perfect Christian life), had already fulfilled the commands of the Saviour, and had distributed their goods to the needy. Then, starting out upon long journeys they performed the office of Evangelists, being filled with the desire to preach Christ to those that had not yet heard the word of faith, and to deliver to them the divine Gospels. And when they had only laid the foundations of faith in foreign places, they appointed others as pastors (compare *Clem. ad Cor.*, c. 32), and entrusted them with the nurture of those that had recently been brought in, while they themselves went on again to other countries and nations with the grace and coöperation of God.—*Eusebius Hist. Ecc.*, Book VII., c. 32.

[2] *Christianity in Asia Minor*.—Thenceforward (from A. D. 112) for three hundred years Phrygia was essentially a Christian land. There began the public profession of Christianity; there are found, from the third century, on monuments exposed to the public gaze, the terms *Chrestianos* or *Christianos*; there the formulas of epitaphs conveyed veiled references to Christian dogmas; there, from the days of Septimius Severus, great cities adopt Biblical symbols for their coins, or rather adapt their old traditions to Biblical narrations. A great number of the Christians of Ephesus and Rome came from Phrygia. The names most frequently met with on the monuments of Phrygia are the antique Christian names (Trophimus, Tychicus, Tryphenus, Papias, etc.), the names special to the apostolic times and of which the martyrologies are full.—*Renan*, "*Origines du Christianisme*," vol. iii., pp. 363, 364.

[3] *St. Ignatius of Antioch on the Christian Hierarchy*.—Be ye careful, therefore, to observe one Eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup), unto union in this blood; there is one altar, as there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and deacons my fellow-servants, that whatsoever ye do, ye may do it after God.—*To the Philadelphians*, c. 4.

[4] *The Roman Clergy About A. D. 250*.—He (Novatus) was not ignorant (for how could he be?) that in it there were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers and janitors, and over fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress.—*St. Cornelius of Rome to Fabian of Antioch in Euseb.*, *Hist. Ecc.* Book VI., c. 43, 11.

[5] *Antiquity of the Three Great Patriarchates.*—The old customs in use in Egypt, in Libya, and in Pentapolis, should continue to exist; that is, that the Bishop of Alexandria should have jurisdiction over all these (provinces); for there is a similar relation (or custom) for the Bishop of Rome. The rights which they formerly possessed must also be preserved to the Churches of Antioch and to the other eparchies (provinces).—*Sixth Canon of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325.*

[6] *St. Irenæus of Lyons (A. D. 178) on the Roman Church.*—But as it would be a very long task to enumerate in such a volume as this the successions of all the Churches, we do put to confusion all those who.....assemble in unauthorized meetings (we do this, I say), by indicating that tradition derived from the Apostles, of the greatest, the most ancient, and universally known Church, founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul; as also (by pointing out) the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by many of the successors of the bishops. For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this (the Roman) Church, on account of its preëminent authority; that is, the faithful everywhere.—“*Against All Heresies,*” *Book III., c. 3.*

[7] *The Christian Apologists and Roman Procedure.*—The Apologists do not ask for a change of law; they ask for a regulation of practice to accord with the law of the state. They demand for Christians a fair trial on some definite charge, attested by witnesses with permission to make and prove their defence. They ask to be brought under the ordinary law; and they inveigh against the exercise of arbitrary authority against them on no definite charge. This, the most elementary right of citizens, had been absolutely denied them by the Flavian policy, which treated them as brigands. Trajan had left the Flavian principle unaltered, but had exempted them from active pursuit. The Apologists justly argue against the illogical nature of a policy which treats them like brigands when any one formally accuses them, but does not take the trouble to hunt for them; if they are brigands, it is the duty of the State to hunt them down. Even Hadrian had shrunk from the decisive step of clearly stating that Christianity was not in itself a crime; and this is the step which the Apologists urge upon the Emperors whom they address.—*Ramsay, “The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170,”* p. 344.

[8] *Number of t'he Martyrs.*—During the succession of persecutions which came to an end on the accession of Constantine to supreme power and his adoption of the Christian faith, there were many who submitted to imprisonment, torture, and death.

Not a few, especially after long seasons of quiet, lacked the courage to face the terror, and saved their lives at the cost of their Christian fidelity. To offer sacrifice to the heathen gods, to procure from the heathen false testimonies to the effect that they had renounced Christianity, or to give up copies of the Scriptures on the demand of the magistrates, excluded those guilty of these offences from Christian fellowship. As to the total number of martyrs in the first three centuries, it was doubtless overestimated by the Church Fathers, but it has been underrated by Gibbon, who draws a larger inference than is warranted from a passage in Origen. Gibbon, moreover, fails to take into account the multitude of instances where tortures were inflicted that resulted, not at once, yet eventually, in death. It was the heroic age in the history of the Church, when, with no aid from an arm of flesh, the whole might of the Roman empire was victoriously encountered by the unarmed and unresisting adherents of the Christian faith. Imperial Rome, the conqueror of the world, was herself overcome by the bands of Christian disciples, whose meek but dauntless courage was more than a match for all her power.—G. P. Fisher, "*History of the Christian Church*," p. 50.

[9] *Death Sentence of a Christian Martyr*.—"Your life has long been led in a sacrilegious mode of thought—you have associated yourself with a very large number of persons in criminal complicity. You have constituted yourself an antagonist to the gods of Rome and to their sacred observances. Nor have our pious and most hallowed princes, Valerian and Gallien, the Augusti, and Valerian the most noble Cæsar, been able to recall you to the obedience of their own ceremonial. And, therefore, whereas you have been clearly detected as the instigator and standard bearer in very bad offences, you shall in your own person be a lesson to those whom you have by guilt of your own associated with you. Discipline shall be ratified with your blood." He then took the prepared tablet and read, "Our pleasure is that Thascius Cyprianus be executed with the sword." "Thanks be to God," said Cyprian.—*From the Life of Cyprian by his Deacon Pontius, in Benson's "St. Cyprian,"* p. 503.

[10] *The Church Universal and Heresies*.—One new heresy arose after another, and the former ones always passed away, and now at one time, now at another, now in one way, now in other ways, were lost in ideas of various kinds and various forms. But the consistent and Catholic and only true Church which is always the same, grew in magnitude and power, and affected its purity and simplicity and freedom, and the modest and purity of its inspired life and philosophy before every no

tion both of the Greeks and Barbarians.—*Eusebius*, “*Hist. Ecc.*, Book IV., c. 9.

[11] *The Edict of Milan*.—Perceiving long ago that religious liberty ought not to be denied, but that it ought to be granted to the judgment and desire of each individual to perform his religious duties according to his own choice, we had given orders that every man, Christian as well as others, should preserve the faith of his own sect and religion. But since in that rescript, in which such liberty was granted them, many and various conditions seemed clearly added, some of them it may be, after a little, retired from such observance. When I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, came under favorable auspices to Milan and took under consideration everything which pertained to the commonweal and prosperity, we resolved among other things, or rather first of all, to make such decrees as seemed in many respects for the benefit of every one; namely, such as should preserve reverence and piety toward the deity. We resolved, that is, to grant both to the Christians and to all men freedom to follow the religion which they choose, that whatever heavenly divinity exists may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government, etc.—*Eusebius*, “*Hist. Ecc.*,” Book X., c. 5, 2.

[12] *Sincerity of Constantine*.—Was Constantine sincere in his famous conversion, or was he moved by deep political calculations? Let us understand what we understand by sincerity and faith. If we mean that penitent compunction which works the reform of the heart's vices, frees it from earthly attachments, purifies it of the dross of human passion, such a faith was vouchsafed only on his deathbed to the ambitious and often cruel Constantine. If we mean by faith a belief in the Gospel revelation, respect for the supernatural power of Christ and for the infallible authority of His Church, a firm will to submit to it, and even to incur grave political embarrassment and real peril, an efficient and deep admiration for the truth—if all these sentiments, that do not, indeed, suffice to save a soul, yet deserve consideration as guarantees of conscientious conviction, then there can be no reason to doubt the sincerity of Constantine. No motive of self-interest could have urged him to alienate, by the sudden profession of a new religion, more than one-half of his subjects, and to break thereby with all the reminiscences and traditions of his empire. Once a Christian, had he cared for power only he would not have shared in the domestic quarrels of the Church with that peculiar mixture of indecision and ardor; he would have issued his orders without discussion. Given his strength of character and his irresistible power, this



very hesitancy, the offspring of scruples only, is a pure proof of his good faith.—*De Broglie*, "*L'Eglise et l'Etat au quatrieme siècle*," vol. i., p. 381.

[13] *The Pagan Restoration Under Julian*.—Although Julian pretends that in all things he desires to avoid "novelties," yet on the aged trunk of paganism he grafted many new ideas and practices. The loans made from Christianity demand especial attention, as they show that the time was ripe for its operation, that it fitted in with the desires and needs of this society, and was made for it, since Julian, who detested Christianity, felt that he could successfully oppose it only by imitating it. But the imitation was a lame one; it undertook to combine mutually destructive principles. Neither party recognized its own in this incoherent system. It was scarcely worth the while to suppress Christianity if its best elements were to be retained. If the world could profit by the Christian life, what better interpreter of it than Christianity? Julian was anxious to save from complete ruin the remnants of ancient civilization, and his intention was praiseworthy. They contained more than one element that deserved survival and engrafting into our modern society. But those very elements were already in process of assimilation by Christianity. They were infiltrating into it from all sides, since it had put off so much of its severity, and come down into the world of everyday life. Soon the amalgam would be complete. The enterprise of Julian was utterly useless; his purpose was being worked out in another manner and under better auspices. His work might well perish; the world had nothing to lose by his failure.—*Gaston Boissier*, "*La Fin du Paganisme*," I., p. 167.

[14] *Did Decaying Heathenism Corrupt Christianity?*—If we are forced to admit that religious assimilation played a gravely important rôle in the breaking up of the old heathen life, we must at the same time acknowledge that, all circumstances considered, the new religion owed its victory to itself alone. Compromise in some points between the new faith and the old, the solid and prudent organization of the Church, her beneficent activity, the coöperation of the state, may have been important subsidiary factors in hastening the process of dissolution—they were not the great central force that overthrew paganism. The fourth century merely witnesses the happy termination of the warfare between the superior religious energies of Christianity and the cults of heathenism that had raged in the pre-Constantinian period, and laid bare the helplessness of the ancient state during the last phases of the secular struggle. Perhaps in following centuries the Christian ideal was neither so sublime nor so pure. It remains true that the heathen world was very far

from offering anything like it. Indeed, in spite of whatsoever contact may have happened with heathenism, Christianity stood over against it as something absolutely new. The humankind of the time was deeply religious in temperament, and could not therefore long escape the conviction that it had entered into the possession of the very highest religious ideal. And the victory of Christianity could not fail to be final and thorough, as soon as it won over the middle classes, in which lingered, as a domestic spiritual heirloom, the ancient spirit of veneration and submissiveness towards a higher power. Once they were won over, the unthinking multitudes, to whom religion was a mechanical custom, followed without difficulty.—Schultze, "*Untergang des Griechisch-romischen Heidentums*," p. 384.

[15] *Christian Morality and Roman Civilization*.—In this great restoration of civilization which is due mainly to the impulse and the power of Christian morality, a great place must be given to the direct influence of Christian aspects of life and ideas of duty. Christian ideas of purity acted directly on all that was connected with family and domestic life. They forbade, with intense and terrible severity, before which even passion quailed, the frightful liberty in the relations of the sexes which in Greece, and at last in Rome, had been thought so natural. Here was one great point fixed; the purification of the home, the sanctity thrown round the wife and the mother, the rescuing of the unmarried from the assumed license of nature, the protection given to the honor of the female slave and then of the female servant, were social victories well worth the unrelenting and often extravagant asceticism which was, perhaps, their inevitable price at first. . . . So with the fiercer tempers and habits of men; against cruelty; against high-minded oppression and abuse of strength there was a constant unyielding protest in the Christian law of justice and charity, continually unheeded, never unfelt; even war and vengeance were uneasy under the unceasing though unavailing rebuke of the Gospel law, and made concessions to it, though too strong, too fatally necessary, to submit to it.—Dean Church, "*Civilization Before and After Christianity*," p. 140.

[16] *Modifications of Latin Character*.—Whence, in these races sprung from the subjects of the sternest of emperors and moulded under its influence, this reversal of the capital and leading marks by which they are popularly known and characterized; this development of the emotional part of their nature, this craving after the beautiful in art? Whence the inexhaustible fertility and inventiveness, the unfailling taste and tact and measure, the inexpressible charm of delicacy and considerate forethought and exuberant sympathy, which are so distinctly

French, and which mark what is best in French character and French writings? Whence that Italian splendor of imagination and profound insight into those subtle connections by which objects of the outward senses stir and charm and ennoble the inward soul? Who was it who in the ages of confusion which followed the fall of the empire, sowed and ripened the seeds which were to blossom into such wondrous poetry in the fourteenth century, into such a matchless burst of art in the fifteenth and sixteenth? Who touched in these Latin races the hidden vein of tenderness, "the fount of tears," the delicacies and courtesies of mutual kindness, the riches of art and the artist's earnestness?.....It was the conversion of these races to the faith of Christ.—Dean Church, "*The Gifts of Civilization*," p. 203.

[17] *The Evolution of the Church*.—In this time the Church has, indeed, reached the measure of a world-power, a mighty kingdom of the Lord, embracing in a higher unity both Hellene and barbarian, sharing with each higher dignity, and destined to outlive both the one and the other. Equipped with few earthly helps, working through weak human organs, subject to conflict at every step, she still wrests from unwilling hands her independence; in time she forges new weapons, spiritual and temporal, to protect it against new attacks, and to permit her unceasingly to interpenetrate and saturate with her spirit the popular life. In place of the lovable but artless ingenuousness and simplicity of worship, doctrinal technology, and discipline, we have the riper charm and witchery of the beautiful, the radiant and mature perfection of form, without quite sacrificing the unassuming naturalness of an earlier phase of Christian life. The inner life of the Church could not but exhibit itself in her exterior, and in manifold shapes. All dormant forces had to be aroused; Popes and councils vie with one another in rooting out the tares of evil and in planting the germs of good. From mean beginnings sprang the great corporations of the Orders. On a few simple words of the New Testament were built up marvelous institutions of charity, masterpieces of literature, lives that acted as magnets of attraction, as inspirations to similar perfection. Over the narrow corridors and chambers of the Catacombs the splendid basilicas lifted their vast, reposeful lines. On all sides the supernatural suffuses with its light the natural, but without doing violence to the latter's intrinsic bent or trend. The peoples of Greek and Roman culture were in the eventide of their vocation; strong and youthful races move up into the foreground of history. They are the chosen material with which the Church is to work out more successfully her mission to humanity.—Hergenroether, "*Kirchengeschichte*," vol. i., p. 653.

[18] *Causes of Byzantine Decay.*—The history of Constant. nople is little more than the record of a despotic power. So far from presenting the interest and advantage which must always attach to the history of the most insignificant of free peoples, it is hardly the history of a people at all. It is the story of a government, not of a nation; of a government indeed, which, with all its faults, for many centuries discharged its functions better than any contemporary government in the world, but which never called forth that warmth of patriotic affection which gathers round the vilest despotism, if the tyrant is still felt to be the chief of his people. But the emperor of the Romans never became a national sovereign to the Egyptian or the Syrian, or even to the Sicilian or Peloponnesian Greek.—*Freeman, "Historical and Political Essays," vol. iii., p. 241.*

[19] *Venerable Bede on Pope Gregory.*—At this time, that is, in the year of Our Lord 605, the blessed Pope Gregory, after having most gloriously governed the Roman apostolic see thirteen years six months and ten days, died, and was translated to the eternal see of the heavenly kingdom. Of whom, in regard that he by his zeal converted our nation, the English, from the power of Satan to the faith of Christ, it behooves us to discourse more at large in our ecclesiastical history, for we may and ought rightly to call him our Apostle; because, whereas he bore the pontifical power over all the world, and was placed over the churches already reduced to the faith of truth, he made our nation, till then given up to idols, the Church of Christ, so that we may be allowed thus to attribute to him the character of an apostle; for though he is not an apostle to others, yet he is so to us; for we are the seal of his apostleship in the Lord.—*"Ecclesiastical History of the English People," Book II., c. 1.*

[20] *The Elevation of Civil Authority.*—The most august thing on earth is the royal dignity; but it is full of danger, solicitude, and fatigue. All power comes from God, but human kings reign, and legislatures fix the laws. You will therefore be obliged to give an account to God of the flock which is confided to you. Above all, observe the duties of piety, and serve the Lord your God with all your soul, and with a pure heart. Maintain with firmness before the whole world justice, without which no society can last, and distribute to the good their proper reward, and to the wicked their proper punishment. Protect the widows and orphans, the poor and the weak, against all oppression. Be gracious to all who seek to approach you, mild and affable, for that becometh the royal dignity. Fulfill your functions in life, so that men may say that you governed not in your own interest, but in that of the people, and expect the recompense of your

good actions not on this earth, but in heaven.—The “*Roman Pontifical*” on the Consecration of Kings.

[21] *Civilization and the Christian Missionaries*.—The crowd of unknown saints whose names fill the calendars and live, some of them, only in the titles of our churches, mainly represent the age of heroic spiritual ventures, of which we see glimpses in the story of St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany; of St. Columban and St. Gall wandering from Ireland to reclaim the barbarians of the Burgundian deserts, and of the shores of the Swiss lakes. It was among men like these—men who were termed emphatically “men of religion”—that the new races first saw the example of life ruled by a great and serious purpose, which yet was not one of ambition or the excitement of war; a life of deliberate and steady industry, of hard and uncomplaining labor; a life as full of activity in peace, of stout and brave work as a warrior’s was wont to be in the camp, on the march, in the battle. It was in these men, and in the Christianity which they taught, and which inspired and governed them, that the fathers of our modern nations first saw exemplified the sense of human responsibility; first learned the nobleness of a ruled and disciplined life; first enlarged their thoughts of the uses of existence; first were taught the dignity and sacredness of honest toil. These great axioms of modern life passed silently from the special homes of religious employment to those of civil; from the cloisters and cells of men, who, when they were not engaged in worship, were engaged in field work or book work—clearing the forest, extending cultivation, multiplying manuscripts—to the guild of the craftsman, the shop of the trader, the study of the scholar. Religion generated and fed these ideas of what was manly and worthy in man. Once started, they were reënforced from other sources; thought and experience enriched, corrected, and coördinated them. But it was the power and sanction of a religion and a creed which first broke men into their yoke that now seems so easy, gradually wrought their charm over human restlessness, and indolence, and pride, gradually reconciled mankind to the ideas and the ideas to mankind, gradually impressed them on that vague but yet real thing which we call the general thought and mind of a nation.—*Dean Church, “Christianity and the Teutonic Races,”* p. 241.

[22] *Rome and the Anglo-Saxons*.—Henceforth the Saxon was no longer the Red Indian of the classic peoples, but a member of the world-wide Church. Quicker than Frank or Lombard, he caught the spirit of Rome, and as long as he held the soil of England was unswervingly faithful to her. Through her came all his culture—the fine arts and music, and the love of

letters. His books came from her libraries, and she sent him his first architects and masons. From her, too, he received with the faith the principles of Roman law and procedure. When he went abroad it was to her that he turned his footsteps, and when he wearied of life in his pleasant island home he betook himself to Rome to end his days beneath the shadow of St. Peter. In the long history of Christian Rome she never knew a more romantic and deep-set attachment on the part of any people than that of the Angles and Saxons, who for centuries cast at her feet not only their faith and their hearts, but their lives, their crowns, and their very home itself. Surely there must have been something extraordinary in the character of their first apostle, a great well-spring of affections, a happy and sympathetic estimate of the national character, to call forth such an outpouring of gratitude, and such a devotion, not only to the Church of Rome, but to the civilization that she represented. To-day the English-speaking peoples are in the van of all human progress and culture, and the English tongue is likely to become at no distant date the chief vehicle of human thought and hope. Both these peoples and their tongues are to-day great composites, whose elements it would not be easy to segregate. But away back at their fountainhead, where they issue from the twilight of their history, there stands a great and noble figure who gave them their first impetus on the path of religion and refinement, and to whom must always belong a large share of the credit which they enjoy.—*T. J. Shahan, "Gregory the Great," The Catholic World, Jan., 1895, p. 516.*

*The Old Anglo-Saxon Monasteries.*—Yet it was in these retreats that all the literature the age possessed was written, preserved, and handed down to posterity. Literature, indeed, was but one of the several industries continually practised by those communities; for it was only by small societies living in seclusion that the arts of peace and civilization could make any progress in days of violence and barbarism. Hard labor was the essential principle of their discipline; nor would it have been possible for the young communities to subsist without it. Each brother had his appointed work, whether it were in the field, in the garden, in the kitchen, or in the library. The very buildings of the monastery were the work of the monks' own hands; nor was there any kind of drudgery needful to the general weal that was held in disrepute. The "dignity of labor" did not require to be vindicated to men who felt its holiness. The architect and the mason were not divided; and we have it on record that St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, carried a hod, and labored with his own hands at the building of his own cathedral.—*James Gairdner, "England in Early Chronicles of Europe," p. 58.*

[23] *Theory of the Mediæval Empire.*—It is that of an universal Christian monarchy. The Roman Empire and the Catholic Church are two aspects of one society, a society ordained by the divine will to spread itself over the whole world. Of this society Rome is marked out by divine decree as the predestined capital, the chief seat alike of spiritual and of temporal rule. At the head of this society, in its temporal character as an empire, stands the temporal chief of Roman Christendom, the Roman Cæsar, At its head, in its spiritual character as a Church, stands the spiritual chief of Christendom, the Roman Pontiff. Cæsar and Pontiff alike rule by divine right, each as God's immediate Vicar within his own sphere. Each ruler is bound to the other by the closest ties. The Cæsar is the Advocate of the Roman Church, bound to defend her by the temporal arm against all temporal enemies. The Pontiff, on the other hand, though the Cæsar holds his rank, not of him, but by an independent divine commission, has the lofty privilege of admitting the Lord of the World to his high office, of hallowing the Lord's Anointed, and of making him in some sort a partaker in the mysterious privileges of the priesthood.—*Freeman, "The Holy Roman Empire." Essays (I). p. 138.*

[24] *The Papacy and Royal Divorces.*—The Popes never rendered greater service to humanity than when they repressed in the person of princes the excesses of that passion which is terrible even in mild men, but which is beyond description in the case of violent natures, and which will forever laugh at the holiest laws of marriage, once it knows no fear. . . . The holiness of marriage, that basis of the public weal, is of the highest importance in royal families where certain disorders have an unsuspected and incalculable effect. Unless the Popes were in a condition to control the great passions of the chiefs of the northern nations, these princes would have gone from one abuse, from one caprice to another, and ended by legalizing divorce and perhaps polygamy. Their example would surely find imitators in every class of society. What eye could fathom the limits of such a relaxation of law and order?—*De Maistre, "Du Pape." Book II., c. vii.*

[25] *The Mediæval Popes and Public Order.*—During the Middle Ages, when there was no social order, the Papacy, alone perhaps, saved Europe from total barbarism. It created bonds of connection between the most distant nations; it was a common centre, a rallying for isolated States. . . . It was a supreme tribunal, established in the midst of universal anarchy, and its decrees were sometimes as respectable as they were respected. It prevented and arrested the despotism of the Emperors, com-

pensated for the want of equilibrium and diminished the inconveniences of the feudal system.—*Ancillon*, “*Tableau des Révolutions*,” i., p. 79, 106.

[26] *Idea of the Monastic Life*.—The impulse which led men to join it was the desire to overcome the world and to make themselves ready for immortal experiences. Their daily life kept before them the eternity for which they were preparing. The earth was to perish, and the things of the earth to be burned and to vanish. . . . A century hence, what would it matter to any man whether he had to spend a few years in a palace or in a hut; had eaten dainties and slept in state, or had eaten coarse food and slept on the hard pallet of the monk?—*Storrs*, “*Life of St. Bernard*,” p. 236.

[27] *The Benedictines and the Soil of Europe*.—The extraordinary benefit which they conferred on society by colonizing waste places—places chosen *because* they were waste and solitary, and such as could be reclaimed only by the incessant labors of those who were willing to work hard and live hard—lands often given because they were not worth keeping—lands, which, for a long while, left their cultivators half starved, and dependent on the charity of those who admired what we must too often call a fanatical (!) zeal—even the extraordinary benefit, I say, which they conferred on mankind by thus clearing and cultivating, was small in comparison with the advantages derived from them by society, after they had become large proprietors, landlords with more benevolence, and farmers with more intelligence and capital, than any others.—*Maitland*, “*The Dark Ages*,” p. 431.

[28] *The Church as Teacher of Religion*.—The Primers which were in the hands of every educated man and woman in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, answered to no small extent to our present book of Common Prayer. They contained the offices said daily in the Church, the seven penitential Psalms, the fifteen gradual Psalms, the litany, and the offices for the departed, as well as the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the seven deadly sins. Thus the Church, in the Middle Ages, teaching her children either orally or by book, put them in possession of the seed plot from which might grow the fairest forms of devotional life. By the creeds she taught them the faith. In Holy Scripture she pointed them to the true basis of all meditation. By the commandments and the list of the seven deadly sins, she led them to self-examination and penitence. By her public offices she taught them due harmony of praise, of intercession and of prayer. Finally, in the daily Eucharist she brought them to renewed self-consecration in the fullness of



corporate worship. Mediæval religion, with all its faults, set before every man a definite scheme of Christian life and duty, and showed him how he might accomplish it.—*Wakeman*, "*An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*" (1897), p. 184.

[29] *The Function of Mediæval Latin*.—Just think now what this common familiarity with mediæval Latin implies. It implies almost as the power of reading English at the present day implies with respect to our national classics. . . . This facility of learning was limited only by the scarcity of books; a very fatal limitation, but not half so fatal as the common fault of these days when there are so many more books than there are readers with a will to read them.—*Bishop Stubbs*, "*Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediæval and Modern History*," p. 176.

[30] *The Share of Photius in the Greek Schism*.—The influence of Photius has never ceased to make itself felt. Since his days discipline, theology, and ecclesiastical life among the Greeks have moved in ever-deepening antithesis to the Latins. The work of Photius entered into the very marrow of the Greek Church. He was the first to affix the stigma of heresy to the Latins; his doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit was quietly handed down during the tenth century; his polemical circular borrowed a new life from the use made of it by Cæciliarius, who enriched it with new causes of complaint. In the twelfth century his writings became still more popular; he is cited as an authority; the points of difference are multiplied; the primacy of Rome attacked with increasing bitterness, and an ever-deepening hate is roused against "the heretical West." Henceforth few attempted to defend the cause of union, and even these did so with many restrictions. The crusades and their consequences, the Latin empire of Constantinople, the violence of Western princes, deepened still more the chasm, and fed the savage fanaticism of the clergy, the monks, and the people. In vain did the imperial policy attempt to set a limit to this movement. The intellectual author of this schism was canonized, deified. The doctrines and system of Photius won so great an influence that no human might and strength sufficed to check them.—*Cardinal Herkenroether*, "*Photius*," vol. iii., p. 876.

[31] *Rome and the Oriental Churches*.—Among the many means by which the Popes endeavored to heal this great schism, or to prevent a prescription, may be enumerated the following: the preservation of Oriental rites intact, the sending of missionaries to invite the schismatics to return, the frequent publication of solemn invitations of bulls, encyclicals, etc., the invitation

to Oriental prelates to take part in the general councils, the occasional incorporation into the Roman Church of Oriental communities, special epistles to the Oriental clergy, the publication of suitable literature, the establishment at Rome of special commissions for Oriental religious matters, the acknowledgment of the Oriental rite whenever the Pope celebrates a Pontifical Mass as Head of the Church, the habit of naming a patriarch of Constantinople, and the similar one of naming bishops for the patriarches of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.—*Pitzipios, "L'Eglise Orientale," Book IV., p. 85.*

[32] *The Religious German Humanism.*—The period of German Reform which began in the middle of the fifteenth century, produced the most splendid results. It was a time when culture penetrated to all classes of society, spreading its ramifications deep and wide, a time of extraordinary activity in art and learning. By catechetical teaching, by sermons, by the translations of the Holy Scriptures, by instructional and devotional publication of all sorts, religious knowledge was zealously diffused, and the development of religious life abundantly fostered. In the lower elementary schools and the advanced middle schools, a sound basis of popular education was established; the universities attained a height of excellence and distinction undreamed of before, and became the luminous centres of all intellectual activity. And more even than learning, art was seen to blossom and develop on the soil of national and religious life, beautifying all departments of life, public and private, secular and ecclesiastical, in the worthiest manner, while in its many grand and comprehensive works, inspired by the then prevailing sense of Christian brotherhood, it manifested the real core of the German genius and character.—*Janssen, "History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages," vol. i., p. 283 (English translation).*

[33] *The Personalities of Luther.*—The manner in which he treats the persons of his enemies is positively unexampled. We never meet in him that sorrowing love which hates only the error and tries to win over the erring person; on the contrary, his weapons are contemptuous scorn, violence, mockery, and an overwhelming rush of invective, of personally offensive epithets—at times, even, of the most vile and common character. They flow from his pen as a stream from some inexhaustible spring. It is thoroughly false that in these matters Luther was no worse than his time. Whoever is acquainted with the contemporary and the immediately earlier literature knows that the contrary is true. Indeed, Luther's writings caused a universal astonishment by their intense personalism. Those who were not his immedi-

ate followers expressed their surprise, reprov'd him sharply, or called attention to the dangerous consequences of these uncontrolled attacks. But his disciples consoled themselves by speaking of the "heroic spirit" of the man, to which no one dared to prescribe either limit or measure.

They often claimed for him a sort of an inspiration, and freedom from the observance of the ordinary laws of morality, saying that what would be immoral and reproachable in others was permissible in him.—*Dallinger, "Luther," p. 59.*

Of Luther, the reformer Ulrich Zasius said:

Luther has shamelessly turned the entire Scripture of the Old and New Testaments, from the first chapter of Genesis to the very last words, into a series of threats and maledictions against the Pope, bishops and priests, as though through all these long centuries God had no other business on hand except to thunder against priests. This conduct of Luther has begotten enmity, quarrels, factions, sects, hatefulness and murder.—*Janssen, "History of the German People," vol. ii., p. 135.*

[34] *The Reformers and Ecclesiastical Property.*—Luther drew up for the use of those who coveted their neighbors' goods a code consisting of eight articles, in which legal theft became a commandment of God. . . . .

The princes were not mentioned in this plan of division; but, as Luther in his *Argyrophylax* said to them, "in a short while you will see what tons of gold are concealed in the monasteries," threatening the vengeance of heaven if they did not seize on them, the princes considered themselves authorized to regulate the partition of the booty.

They thoroughly comprehend the lion's share; from compassion they gave to the obstinate monks some clothing that they might beg on the highway—a little money to those that had been obedient to Luther, and by singular generosity the sacred vessels of the secular monasteries to the curate of the parish, if he consented to embrace Lutheranism; all the rest went to their mistresses and courtiers; and when they were as greedy as the landgrave of Hesse they kept to themselves the sacerdotal robes, tapestries and vessels of the sanctuary.—*Audin, "Life of Luther," vol. ii., p. 189.*

[35] *Variations of the English Reformers.*—Thus indeed this reign of reformation was one of plunder, wretchedness and disgrace. Three times the form of the new worship was changed; and yet those who adhered to the old worship or went beyond the new were punished with the utmost severity. The nation became every day more distracted and miserable at home.

The Church, "as by law established," arose, and was enforced

under two protectors or ministers, both of whom deservedly suffered death as traitors. Its principal author (Cranmer) was a man who had sent both Protestants and Catholics to the stake, who had burned people for adhering to the Pope, others for not believing in Transubstantiation, others for believing in it, and who now burned others for disbelieving in it for reasons different from his own. A man who openly professed to disbelieve in that, for not believing in which he had burned many of his fellow creatures, and who after this most solemnly declared that his own belief was that of those very persons! As this church "by the law established" advanced, all the remains of Christian charity vanished before it. The indigent, whom the Catholic Church had so tenderly gathered under her wing, were now merely for asking for alms, branded with red-hot irons, though no provision was made to prevent them from perishing with hunger and cold. And England, so long famed as the land of hospitality, generosity, ease, plenty and security to persons and property became under a Protestant Church the scene of repulsive selfishness, of pack-house toil, of pinching want, of rapacity, plunder, tyranny, that made the very name of law and justice a mockery.—Cobbett, "*The History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland*" (1896), p. 179.

[36] *Decay of Schools after the Reformation.*—Under the Popes not a child could escape the devil's broad nets, barring a rare wonder, so many monasteries and schools were there, but now that the priests are gone good studies are packed off with them. . . . . When I was a child there was a proverb that it was no less an evil to neglect a student than to mislead a virgin. . . . . This was said to frighten the teachers.—*Martin Luther in 1524, "Complete Works" (Frankfort), XXII., pp. 172-195, cited in Janssen (l. c.), XII., p. 11.*

The devil has misled the people into the belief that schooling is useless since the exit of the monks, nuns and priests. . . . . As long as the people were caught in the abominations of the Papacy, every purse was open for churches and schools, and the doors of these latter were widespread for the free reception of children who could almost be forced to receive the expensive training given within their walls.—*Luther in a Sermon of 1530 (Ibid.).*

In the "darkness of the Papacy," wrote Conrad Porta of Eisleben, toward the end of the sixteenth century, "everyone from the highest to the lowest, even servants and day-laborers, contributed to churches and schools; but now, in the clear light of the Gospel, even the rich grow impatient, if ever so little be asked, even for the repairing and maintenance of those on hand."—*Janssen (l. c.), p. 73.*

[37] *Von Ranke on the Council of Trent.*—The council that had been so vehemently demanded, and so long evaded, that had been twice dissolved, had been shaken by so many political storms, and whose third convocation had even been beset with danger, closed amid the general harmony of the Catholic world. It may be readily understood how the prelates, as they met together for the last time on the 4th of December, 1563, were all emotion and joy. Even those who had hitherto been antagonists congratulated each other, and tears were seen to start into the eyes of many of those aged men. . . . The faithful were again subjected to the uncompromising discipline of the Church, and in urgent cases to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were founded where young ecclesiastics were carefully brought up under strict discipline and in the fear of God. The parishes were regulated anew, the administration of the sacraments and preaching subjected to fixed ordinances, and the coöperation of the regular clergy subjected to determined laws. The bishops were held rigidly to the duties of their office, especially to the superintendence of the clergy, according to their various grades of consecration. It was a regulation attended with weighty results, that the bishops solemnly bound themselves by a special confession of faith, signed and sworn to by them, to observance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and to submissiveness to the Pope.—*Von Ranke, "A History of the Popes, their Church and State, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," Book III., p. 91.*

[38] *Bossuet as a Historian of Protestantism.*—From this separate internal analysis the *History of the Variations of Protestantism* is seen to be the result of extensive reading of the original authorities, and of exact research, a labor that may easily have consumed four years. Whoever will place himself in the same circumstances, with the intention of doing what Bossuet did, will at once see that the latter has collected almost all available information and has judiciously sifted his materials, among which are certain pieces more rare and useful than one would have suspected. As to this method, there is in it a severity, a prudence, a minute and scrupulous carefulness which no one would, at first blush, attribute to an oratorical and synthetic character. In formulating his conclusions he dares at times to differ from the views commonly held in his day; modern science, with its wider range and its surer method, has sustained him.—*Rebellion, "Bossuet Historien du Protestantisme" (1891), p. 520.*

[39] *The Unity and Organization of Catholicism.*—As the Catholics in zeal and union had a great advantage over the Prot-

estants, so they had also an infinitely superior organization. In truth, Protestantism for aggressive purposes, had no organization at all. The Reformed Churches were mere national churches. The Church of England existed for England alone. It was an institution as purely local as the Court of Common Pleas, and was utterly without any machinery for foreign operation. The Church of Scotland, in the same manner, existed for Scotland alone. The operations of the Catholic Church, on the contrary, took in the whole world. Nobody at Lambeth or at Edinburgh troubled himself about what was doing in Poland or Bavaria. But Cracow and Munich were at Rome objects of as much interest as the purlieus of St. John Lateran. Our island, at the head of the Protestant interest, did not send out a single missionary or a single instructor to the scene of the great spiritual war. Not a single seminary was established here for the purpose of furnishing such a supply to foreign countries. On the other hand, Germany, Hungary, and Poland were filled with able and active Catholic emissaries of Spanish or Italian birth; and colleges for the instruction of the northern youth were founded at Rome. The spiritual force of Protestantism was a mere local militia, which might be useful in case of an invasion, but could not be sent abroad and could therefore make no conquests. Rome had such a local militia, but she had also a force disposable at a moment's notice for foreign service, however dangerous and disagreeable. If it was thought at headquarters that a Jesuit at Palermo was qualified by his talents and his character to withstand the Reformers in Lithuania, the order was instantly given and instantly obeyed. In a month, the faithful servant of the Church was preaching, catechising, confessing beyond the Niemen.—Macaulay, *“Essay on Von Ranke's History of the Popes,”* vol. ii., p. 486.

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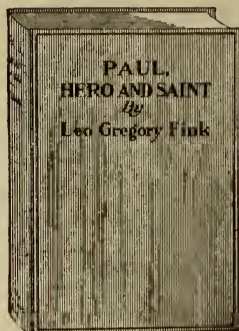
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