

professedly orthodox, Biblical criticism began a new life.

The first drastic attacks of a businesslike kind on orthodoxy were those of the English Deists of the early years of the eighteenth century, typified in the works of Anthony Collins, who soberly and amiably called in question alike revelation, prophecy, and miracles. Soon such criticism was reinforced by the enquiry of Middleton into Roman Catholic miracles, on lines which implicitly called in question those of the gospels; and the essay of Hume on miracles in general put the case against them on grounds which could be turned only by arguments that evaded them. The polemic of the whole French school of Freethinkers, headed by Voltaire, thereafter attacked every aspect of Jewish and Christian supernaturalism and of Jewish and Christian history considered as a moral dispensation; the English Unitarians, represented by Priestley, made a number of converts to their compromise; and when Gibbon came to deal with the rise of Christianity in his great work (1776-88), he set forth on naturalistic grounds a tentative sociological explanation which could not be overthrown by orthodox methods, and is to be superseded only by a more searching analysis on the same lines. So decisive was the total effect of the critical attack that in the last quarter of the century many German theologians within the Church had begun to deal with the supernatural elements in the Old Testament on rationalistic though temporising methods, and some had even begun to apply the same treatment to the New. Finally came, in England, the powerful common-sense attack of Thomas Paine (1793), which at once set up a movement of popular rationalism that has never since ceased.

To all such rationalism, however, a strong check was set up for a whole generation, especially in England, by the universal reaction against the French Revolution. Hitherto the upper classes, there as in France, had been noted mainly for unbelief in religious matters; but when it was seen from the course of the Revolution that heterodoxy could join hands with democracy, there was a rapid change of front, on the simple ground of class interest. During the first generation of the nineteenth century, accordingly, all English freethinking was driven under the social surface, and classed as disreputable, so that it was possible to assume a great revival of faith. In France, similarly, the literary pietism of Chateaubriand seemed to have crowned with success the official restoration of the Church's authority; and even the intellectual revival was associated with Christian zeal on the part of such energetic personalities as Guizot. Even in Germany, though there the work of Biblical criticism on rationalist lines went steadily on, there was a pietist revival. Before the middle of the century was reached, however, it was clear that in France and Germany rationalism was in full renaissance; and in England, where such facts are less readily avowed, scholarly writings even in the fourth decade had begun to prove the solidarity of European culture.

As regards Biblical criticism, there appears to be a certain periodicity of action. In the eighteenth century, when the work done was mainly of the common-sense order, the French physician Jean Astruc laid down a basis for exact documentary analysis by pointing to the two elements of Yahwist (Jehovist) and Elohist narrative as indicating two distinct sources.

On such lines the earlier German scholars of the nineteenth century long laboured, till the common-sense criticism was lost sight of. In the meantime, however, a long line of partially rationalist criticism of the New Testament culminated in the *Life of Jesus* by Strauss; and educated Christendom was shaken to its foundations, insofar as it ventured to read. Side by side with that of Strauss, there proceeded in Germany a great movement of documentary and historical analysis, till professional theology there became almost identified with the surrender of Christian supernaturalism.

As the critical movement proceeded in England, it came about that an admired dignitary of its Church, Bishop Colenso, was convinced on common-sense lines of the utterly unhistorical character of the main Pentateuchal narrative, and courageously published his views (1862). From that point the European criticism of the Old Testament, which had been proceeding on the assumption of the genuineness of the narrative, took a new course with such rapid success that within a generation the whole mass of the Old Testament had been either decisively or provisionally reduced, chiefly by Dutch and German scholars, to a variety of sources never wholly in accordance with the traditional ascription, and representing collectively a vast historical process of fabrication. In the face of the facts, the claim of "inspiration" still made for the books, by some of the scholars who expound the process of their composition, is naturally treated with indifference by educated men not professionally committed to such a position.

With whatever bias the problem be approached, all really critical study of the documents latterly tells

against the Christian position. Writers who, like Renan, have treated Christian origins in a spirit of literary sympathy with that of belief, none the less undo faith, and offer at best a sentimental historical construction in place of the destroyed tradition. The orthodox defence, on the other hand, grows rapidly less confident in the hands of scholarly men. The latest development of professional study, as set forth in the English *Encyclopædia Biblica*, shows a progressive collapse of the traditional belief on almost every detail, some continental theologians now going further in their rejection of it than many professed rationalists.

CHAPTER III.

POPULAR ACCEPTANCE.

§ 1. *Catholic Christianity.*

ALL through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and till near the end of the nineteenth, the masses of Europe remained attached to their respective churches in despite of the play of criticism among the more instructed. Whether popular religion be regarded as a matter of habit and superstition or as the expression of a higher happiness in religious rites, it has unquestionably numbered the great majority down till recent times. How the Catholic Church recovered large parts of Germany, practically all Poland and Bohemia, and for a time the complete control of France, we have seen. Within her sphere, popular conduct was certainly no worse than in the age of her undivided power; and where she could number within her fold minds like Paolo Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century; like Pascal and Fénelon and Bossuet in the seventeenth; and like Vico in the eighteenth, though in hardly any case are such leading spirits found to be in thorough harmony with the papal system, she could not but hold the respect of a great body even of educated people.

Her swarms of missionaries, too, seemed for a time to have begun a new era of Catholic expansion in Asia and America, finding footing in the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries in Japan, China, India, Siam, Tonkin, as well as in North and South America. Sent forth by the College of Propaganda (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) founded in 1622, they displayed a zeal never surpassed in the Church's history. In Japan and China, in particular, they had for a time a dazzling success, largely through the address of the Jesuits—whose policy was to win converts by identifying native rites and beliefs with Christian, never openly assailing but always seeking to assimilate them. As early as 1549, Francis Xavier had preached the faith in Japan, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century it seemed likely to become the religion of the State. But Christians undid the Christian cause. Between the various orders of Catholic missionaries there were always deadly jealousies, all the others denouncing the Jesuits, who in turn charged incompetence and malevolence on all; and the visible prosperity of the propagandists in Japan gave colour to the hints of the Protestant traders, Dutch and English, that Catholic missions were a prelude to Catholic conquest. The Japanese emperor, accordingly, began a great persecution in 1587, and during a number of years the Christian converts were slaughtered by tens of thousands. Still the Jesuits persevered; but in the next generation persecution began afresh. At length, in 1637, by a supreme effort, the weakened Catholic flock were wholly destroyed or expelled. Once more it had been demonstrated that really determined and rigorous persecution by a majority in power can eradicate the Christian or any other religion in a given sphere.

In Siam in the next century a slight success was similarly followed by expulsion; and in China, where

an outward success had been won as a sequel to the expansion in Japan, and where the Christian cause subsisted longer, despite some persecution and despite the fierce dissensions of the different orders on points both of doctrine and corporate conduct, it dwindled in the eighteenth century. The success, indeed, had been all along illusory, as the Chinese had adapted rather than adopted Christian forms, and merely carried on their usual rites under Christian auspices. When, accordingly, the rival orders at length forced on the papacy, in the teeth of the Jesuits, a decision as to whether Chinese Christians should or should not truly conform to Christian doctrine, and a decision against the Jesuits was given, the semblance of conversion melted away, and a reversion to Jesuit methods could not restore it. A similar decision made an end of a rather flourishing movement of Jesuit Brahmanism in India about the middle of the eighteenth century; and the other labours of the Catholic missionaries in India were undone by the cruelties of their own Inquisition.

Jesuitism had by this time been convicted of aiming in the old fashion at its own worldly wealth, of troubling by its political plottings the peace of every country it could enter, and of setting up its own ambitions against the papal authority. In the East it had become a great wealth-hunting corporation; in South America it was the same, contriving for some generations to govern Paraguay in particular wholly for its own enrichment; in Europe it provoked every Catholic government in turn by its audacious attempts to control them. Thus it was expelled from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1762, from Bohemia in 1766; from Spain, Genoa, and Venice in 1767; and from

Naples, Malta, and Parma in 1768. At length, in 1773, the Society was suppressed by a papal bull, and though it was revived in the nineteenth century it has never since been the power it was, whether for evil or for good.

Of her extensions beyond Europe there thus remained substantially to the Church of Rome at the end of the eighteenth century only the Catholic populations of Central and South America and Canada; and at the outbreak of the French Revolution, marked as it was by the wholesale abjurations of Catholic priests and populace, it might have seemed as if the reign of Rome in Europe were coming to an end. The political movement, however, had outrun the educational; and as we have seen, there was even a literary reaction at the Restoration. In Italy, where the revolutionary movement had been hostile to the Church, the reaction after 1815 was very marked. All criticism of Catholicism was made a penal offence, and in the Kingdom of Naples alone, in 1825, there were twenty-seven thousand priests, eight thousand nuns, as many monks, twenty archbishops, and seventy-three bishops. In Spain and France, too, the clergy worked hard to recover authority over the people; and in Catholic Ireland they had never lost it, despite all the efforts of Protestantism.

Everywhere, however, save in America, the struggle for existence has gone against Catholicism in the nineteenth century. Catholic Ireland has been in large measure depopulated through the failure of Protestant England to solve its economic problems; and though this means a gain to Romanism in the United States, there is no great likelihood that that is permanent, or that Catholicism there will ever be very

docile to the papacy. France has become gradually more rationalistic, so much so that the municipal government of Paris is usually in the hands of free-thinkers; and the recent expulsion of the recalcitrant religious orders has proved the determination of the republican majority to put down clerical influence. The movement of anti-theological Positivism, founded by the teaching of Auguste Comte (d. 1857) on bases laid by Saint-Simon, has never been numerically strong, but has affected all French thought; and to-day there is scarcely one eminent French writer who professes religious opinions. Even in Spain, so long the stronghold of the faith, and still more generally in Italy, educated men are as a rule either indifferent or hostile to the Church; and the common people, especially the Socialists in the towns, have gone the same way. Both in Spain and Portugal, there are journals zealously devoted to a propaganda of freethought. National union in Italy, accomplished in the middle of the century, has been fatal to ecclesiastical supremacy. The Papacy is unable to recover its temporal power at Rome; and its impotent complaints have ceased to be dignified. In Catholic Belgium, the action of the clergy is constantly fought by a ubiquitous freethought propaganda; and Dutch Catholicism does not gain ground.

Some appearance of Catholic revival occurred in England in the second and third generations of the nineteenth century, the "Oxford movement" preparing the ground; but though John Henry Newman was followed into the Catholic Church by a number of clergymen and rich laymen, the movement soon ceased to be intellectually important, and the popular success seems to have reached its limits. Though there is

much leaning to Rome in the High Church section of the heterogeneous Anglican body, it is certain that while the economic basis remains Protestant there will be no great secession. Economic considerations, again, have latterly set up even in Catholic Austria—which with Southern Germany is perhaps the most believing section of the Catholic world—a movement with the watchword “Loose from Rome.” In Brazil, finally, there has been a quite extraordinary development of Positivism among the educated class; and the revolution which peacefully expelled the last emperor—himself personally estimable, and not an orthodox Catholic—was ostensibly wrought by the Positivist party.

Thus the generation which saw the promulgation of the formal decree of Papal Infallibility (1870) has seen the most vital decline that has ever taken place in the total life and power of the Church of Rome. It preserves its full hold to-day only on (1) the most ignorant or most rural sections of the population of Catholic countries, (2) the unintellectual sections of their middle and upper classes, and (3) the emotionally religious or pietistic types, who are still, by reason of the total circumstances, more numerous among women than among men. Hence in the Catholic countries, female education being there specially backward, the church depends relatively even more on women than do the churches of the Protestant countries. But among women in the Catholic countries also there goes on a process of rationalisation, Socialism doing some of the work of education where the other machinery is inadequate.

§ 2. *Protestant Christianity.*

The failure of Protestantism to gain any ground in Europe after the sixteenth century had naturally the effect of increasing the zeal of its adherents within their own sphere; and though nowhere did Protestant organisation compare in energy with that shown by the Society of Jesus and the Roman College of Propaganda, the system of popular education in several countries—as Switzerland, Scotland, and parts of Germany—was raised much above the popular Catholic level. Presbyterians in particular felt the need of popular schools for the maintenance of their polity. The result was, after a time, a certain improvement in the capacity and conditions of the common people where other causes did not interfere. Thus the Protestant cantons of Switzerland have in general been noted for greater material prosperity than the Catholic; and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Presbyterian Scotland, though naturally much the poorer country, admittedly turned out a larger proportion of men qualified for responsible positions than did episcopalian England.

All the while, the influence of a Presbyterian clergy, in touch with the people and able to ostracise socially those who avowed unbelief, maintained in the Calvinistic countries a higher average of orthodoxy, the normal effect of higher education being thus checked on the side of religion. Scotland contributed little to the earlier deistic movement of the eighteenth century, Smith and Hume having taken it up after it had flourished for a generation in England; and at no time was rationalism socially avowed to the same

extent in the north as in the south, the enlightenment of the lay authors being confined to a small town circle.

On the moral and æsthetic side, however, popular Presbyterianism tended to be hard and joyless, with the natural result, seen alike in Geneva and in Scotland, of breeding much licence. On the other hand there arose a higher reaction, towards intellectual interests; and the Switzerland of the eighteenth century produced a remarkably large proportion of scientific men; while in Scotland, where centuries of theological life and strife set up even in the Church a notable spirit of "moderation," both the physical and the moral or social sciences were conspicuously cultivated. Popular freethinking was beginning to follow in both cases, when the reaction against the French Revolution arose to arrest it. When in the next generation there began in Scotland the ecclesiastical struggle which ended in the formation of the Free Church (1842) a new impulse was given to doctrinal fanaticism, which the competition of three rival Presbyterian churches was well fitted to maintain.

Thus, though Scottish scholars have contributed largely to the "higher criticism," the middle and working classes of Scotland all through the nineteenth century have been at least outwardly more orthodox than even those of England. They, too, however, have begun to exhibit the common critical tendencies. As the results of Biblical criticism become more generally known, church attendance tends to fall off, despite the economic pressure churchmen are able to use in small communities. It is perhaps as much on account of the common need as by reason of the growth of liberality that the two chief dissenting Scottish Churches, the

Free and the United Presbyterian (Voluntary), have recently amalgamated. Were it not that a large proportion of the more energetic and stirring youth of the country leave it for England and the colonies, the more conservative staying, the process of change would probably be more rapid.

In the small communities of Protestant Switzerland, a democratic church polity has equally served to maintain a greater stress of orthodox belief and practice than is seen in surrounding countries; and the appointment of Strauss to a chair of theology at Zurich by a Radical Government in 1839 led to an actual insurrection, set up and led by fanatical clergymen. Catholic cantons later showed themselves no less medieval. Nothing, however, avails to shut out critical thought; Zeller received a chair at Berne in 1847; rationalism has ever since steadily progressed; the number of theological students as steadily falls off; and among the Swiss theologians of to-day are some of the most "subversive" of the professional writers on Christian origins. Popular rationalism necessarily begins to follow, though less rapidly than in countries where the people and the clergy do not ecclesiastically govern themselves.

In Protestant Holland and the Scandinavian States, of late years, the decline of Christian faith has been still more marked. All are considerably influenced by German culture; and in Protestant Germany orthodoxy is gradually disappearing. There the long depression of civilisation begun by the troubles of the Reformation, and clinched by the vast calamity of the Thirty Years War, was favourable to a sombre religious feeling; and this actually prevailed in the latter part of the seventeenth century, triumphing

over a movement of spontaneous freethinking. Peace and the development of universities thereafter built up a learned class, who especially cultivated ecclesiastical history; and as we have seen, German theology had become in the primary sense rationalistic by the end of the eighteenth century. After the fall of Napoleon there began in earnest the education of the Prussian common people; and though to this day the learned class are more apart from the general public in Germany than in most other countries, the latter half of the nineteenth century has seen a great development of popular secularism.

In 1881, the church accommodation in Berlin sufficed for only 2 per cent. of the population, and even that was not at all fully used. This is the social aspect of Protestant Germany; and it effectively confutes the periodic statements as to revivals of orthodoxy in the universities. Such revivals are officially engineered and financially stimulated: the mass of the people of Protestant Germany, at least in the towns, have practically given up the Christian creed, even when they do not renounce their nominal membership in the State church; and the great Socialistic party, which contains over two millions of adult males, is pronouncedly rationalistic. In Scandinavia, the literary influence of such masters of drama and fiction as Ibsen and Björnson creates a freethinking spirit on a very wide scale among the middle classes, though the clergy are illiberal; and in Holland, where the churches are increasingly latitudinarian, there is a more competent journalistic propaganda of rationalism than in perhaps any other country.

That the same general movement of things goes on in England may be proved by reference to the almost

daily complaints of the clergy. Rationalism and secularism have advanced in all classes during half a century, until their propaganda is accepted as a quite normal activity; such writers as Spencer, Darwin, Huxley, and Clifford being read by the more studious of all ranks. Churchgoing constantly declines in the towns; agnosticism becomes more and more common among the educated classes; the average of the workers in the large towns are fixedly alienated from the Church; and the latter-day propaganda of the Salvation Army affects only the less intelligent types even since, after refusing for twenty years to deal with material problems, it has sought to establish itself as a charitable organisation for dealing with the "lapsed masses." As regards the general influence of the churches it is observable that whereas fifty years ago there were many clergymen and prelates noted as important writers on non-theological matters, and whereas even a few years ago there were still several bishops distinguished as scholars and historians, there are now none so describable. So, in the department of fine letters, there is scarcely a poet or novelist of high standing who can be called a believing Christian. In the last generation some distinguished men who were openly heterodox, as the late Mr. Matthew Arnold, or very dubiously orthodox, as Mr. Lecky, were wont to profess themselves good members of the Church of England; but the normal tendency of rationalists is now to give the churches up. The leading names in serious and even imaginative literature, with a few exceptions which stand for popularity rather than weight, are those of known unbelievers.

Of the state of thought in the United States it is

difficult to speak with precision. The latitude allowed to or taken by the majority of the clergy keeps within the ostensible pale of the numerous churches much opinion that elsewhere would rank as extremely heterodox; and it is from American churchmen that there has come the project of the so-called "Rainbow Bible," in which the heterogeneous sources of the Old Testament books are indicated by printing in variously coloured inks. As in all countries where the clergy are democratically in touch with the people, the breach between authority and modern thought is thus less marked than in the sphere of the Catholic and Anglican churches. But in such a civilisation, development is inevitably continuous.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the prevailing creed of New England, then noted for "plain living and high thinking," was Unitarianism. This seems to have grown rapidly after the Revolution, partly from seed sown by Priestley, who made New England his home, partly from the Deism of the educated class. Nearly all the leaders of the Revolution — Washington, Paine, Franklin, Jefferson, Adams—had been Deists. But Deism is an inconvenient creed for public men in a church-going or clerically-influenced world; and Unitarianism, with its decorous worship and use of the Bible, was a convenient compromise. Later "transcendental" teaching, such as the movement around Emerson, led men in the same direction. Latterly, however, the Unitarian congregations relatively dwindle; and while some of the defection stands for the relapse of the children from the strenuous thought of their fathers, some stands for complete abandonment of the habit of worship.

At the same time, popular rationalism has been greatly diffused in the United States by the lecturing of the late Colonel Ingersoll, one of the greatest orators of his time, as was his contemporary Charles Bradlaugh in England. Each of those men probably convinced more of his fellow countrymen of the untruth of the Christian creed than were ever rationally persuaded of its truth by any preacher or teacher of modern times. What preserves the form of faith in the States is probably less the socio-economic pressure seen so commonly in England and Scotland (since all life is franker and freer in the New World, especially in the West) than the simple lack of leisure for study in a community where competition for income drives all men at a pace that almost seems to belie prosperity. A shrewd and pliable clergy keeps itself rather better abreast of new scholarship and criticism than does the mass of the flock; and men and women who first learn from the pulpit something of the change of view passing over Biblical study are not apt to turn away from the teacher as Europeans do from an unteachable priest. But despite all accommodation the sense of an absolute change is diffused, and there is record of western preachers bidding farewell to the pulpit and being chorussed by laymen forsaking the pew.

In strict keeping with the shrinkage of faith among the "higher" races is the expenditure of effort to spread it among the "lower." Faith naturally seeks the comfort of converts at lower intellectual levels; and it is in some quarters able to report a certain expansion of territory by such means. But the total statistics of Protestant missions tell only of handfuls of converts scattered among the yellow and brown

and black races, a number grotesquely disproportionate to the immense outlay. This goes on in virtue of the still sufficient wealth of the churches, which are in consistency bound to respond to missionary appeals while they profess belief in the Christian doctrine of salvation. It is found, however, that the missionary system needs, to maintain it, either an ever more substantial stipend or some other opportunity of gain to the individual missionary; and the triviality of the results becomes increasingly discouraging to all save the most fervent faith. Disparagement of missionary labours on both moral and political grounds is probably more common among professed churchmen than among unbelievers, who sometimes, as in the case of Darwin, bear cordial testimony to the merits and the success of some missionaries as against the egoism of the normal trader in his relations with the undeveloped races.

The final problem of Protestantism is its collective relation to Catholicism; and in the first half of the nineteenth century many Protestants still hoped to gain ground at the expense of the Church of Rome, now that propaganda was free. No such success, however, has taken place. It is found on the contrary that the devotional types tend to revert from Protestantism to Rome, while those who reject Catholicism rarely become Protestants. In France this is peculiarly apparent. At the Revolution, it was found that proportionally as many Protestant pastors as Catholic priests were ready to abjure their creed. In the religious reaction both churches alike regained ground; and the Protestant Church in France has always had adherents distinguished for learning and moral earnestness. To-day, however, though its

members are relatively numerous in places of political power, by reason doubtless of their serious and practical education, their Church does not make any corresponding gains. Its numbers dwindle as steadily as those of the Catholic mass ; and there is no prospect that it will recover strength through Catholic defections. In Austria, the anti-Roman movement already mentioned may conceivably give rise to a non-Romish Church ; but it is impossible to forecast the issue.

§ 3. *Greek Christianity.*

It is the pride of the Greek Church to call itself Orthodox ; and in no part of Christendom has the faith had less to fear from unbelief. Mere sectarian strife, indeed, has never been lacking ; and at the very moment of the fall of Constantinople there was deadly schism between the orthodox and those who were politically willing to unite with the Latin Church. But vital heresy never throve. Political vicissitude in the Eastern empire, from Constantine onwards, seems always to have thrown the balance of force on the side of religious conservatism ; and so devoid is Greek ecclesiastical history since the Middle Ages of any element of innovating life that the student is tempted almost to surmise a national loss of faculty. Greek intellectual life since the fall of Constantinople, however, is only a steady sequence from that which went before. After the overthrow of the Latin kingdom set up by the Crusaders, and the restoration of Greek rule, the whole nation was very naturally thrown back on its traditions, recoiling from further contact with the West ; and the process

of fixation was repeated for what of Greek life was left after the Turkish conquest. The extraordinary gift for despotic government shown by the first race of Ottoman Turks brought about a resigned degradation on the Christian side. Allowed a sufficient measure of toleration to make them "prefer the domination of the Sultan to that of any Christian potentate," they paid to him not only their taxes but, for a time, a large annual tribute of children, with perfect submission, and thus, in the words of the British historian of modern Greece, "sank with wonderful rapidity, and without an effort, into the most abject slavery." Many indeed became Mohammedans to escape the tribute of children, which after a time ceased to be exacted, becoming rare in the seventeenth century.

In such circumstances the Christian priesthood and remaining laity were thrown very closely together, somewhat as happened in Ireland under English rule, and the result was a perfect devotion on the part of the Greek peasantry to their creed. It is accordingly claimed as the force which preserved their nationality. But the nationality so preserved could not well do much credit to the creed, which, in turn, gave Greeks a ground of differentiation from their conquerors without supplying any force of retrieval or progress. What was secured was not moral union but merely doctrinal persistence in the state of subjection; and the conqueror "availed himself of the hoary bigotry and infantine vanity of Hellenic dotage to use the Greek church as a means of enslaving the nation." The first Sultan sagaciously appointed a conservative Patriarch, and left Christian disputes alone. The result was that the Church was kept

impotent by its own quarrels and corruptions. Unity of forms alone remained; simony "became a part of the constitution of the Orthodox Church," the women of the Sultan's harem selling Christian ecclesiastical offices; and Christian life as such set up in the Moslem onlookers an immovable contempt. "No more selfish and degraded class of men has ever held power," says Finlay, "than the archonts of modern Greece and the Phanariots of Constantinople." Greek life remained at its best in the rural districts, where the old village governments were allowed to subsist, and where accordingly the people kept apart from the corrupt and oppressive Turkish law courts.

The Church in particular exhibited in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in a worse degree, all the corruption and backwardness of that of the west in the pre-Reformation period. Greek monasteries, despite attempts at reform by single emperors, had long been in large measure places of comfortable retreat for members of the upper classes; and under Turkish rule they became still more so, acting however as centres of political intrigue in addition. The result was that, with every facility for such study as the Benedictines carried on in the west, the Greek monks as a rule left learning alone, and were active chiefly as Turkish political agents, in the manner of the western Jesuits. The secular clergy at the same time became so depressed economically that they were commonly obliged to work with their hands for a living; and though those of the country districts were as a rule morally much superior to those of the towns, all alike were necessarily very ignorant. In the towns, where many of the aristocracy had become Moslems at the conquest, both clergy and monks

frequently apostatised to Islam, three cases being recorded in the year 1675; and about that time there is a curious record of the Turks putting a Christian renegade to death for cursing his own religion in the divan.

It is needless to say that Greek Christianity never had the slightest countervailing success in converting Moslems. In addition to the spectacle of Christian degradation constantly under their eyes, the Turks were in a position to say that no trust could ever be put in the good faith of a Christian State which made a treaty with them. Thus even when the usual diseases of despotism and dogmatism corroded the Turkish polity, the Christians counted for nothing as an element either of regeneration or of criticism; and no Turk ever looked to their creed as a possible force of reform, though in the period of energy the ablest Turkish statesman always saw the wisdom of ruling them tolerantly, in the Turkish interest, and sought to win them to Islam. Outside of Greece proper, accordingly, the Greek Church never regained any ground in the Turkish empire; and in the age of the conquest, when the expulsion of Jews from Spain drove many of that race to Turkey, they were everywhere preferred to Christians, whom they ousted, further, from many industrial and commercial positions in the towns, becoming the chief bankers, physicians, and merchants, and so helping to depress the Christians.

No race could under such conditions maintain a high intellectual life; and among Greek Christians orthodoxy was a matter of course. While Venice held the Morea at the end of the seventeenth century, and while Genoa ruled some of the islands, the same state

of things prevailed under Catholic rule. When accordingly the sense of nationality began to grow in the eighteenth century, it was from the first associated with the national religion. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Catholic propaganda was carried on in Chios and elsewhere under French auspices, and the Greek Church persuaded the Turkish Government to prohibit proselytism. At no period does the strife between easterns and westerns at the Holy Sepulchre seem to have ceased; and it now began to worsen. The wars between Austria and Turkey, however, began the gradual emancipation of the Greek people from servitude, by putting an outside pressure on the Turkish Government; the Russians continued the process; and the new friendly relations now set up between Greek and other Christians developed a new Greek sentiment of racial hostility to the Turks. At the same time, the hostility of the Christian powers made the Porte inclined to attach the Greek upper class by giving them privileges as Turkish officials, and thus the national self-respect was on that side further encouraged, despite the corruption of the favoured class. Probably Russian influence in the eighteenth century did most to arouse national aspirations, Russia being specially welcome as holding the Greek form of Christianity; but the Russian attempt to secure sovereignty as the price of military help checked the movement for independence; and it needed the contagion of the French revolutionary movement to cause a vigorous revival. Then Russia on political grounds combined with the Porte to resist French influence from the Levant and the Ionian islands; and when in 1815 the revived Ionian Republic was placed under British protection, Russia

and Turkey continued to combine in jealousy of western influence.

English rule in the Ionian Islands in turn was "neither wise nor liberal," and while it subsisted did nothing for Greek development; but it remains the fact that Russia, holding the Greek creed, never aimed sympathetically at Greek liberation. That came about at length through the fervour of national feeling set up at the French Revolution, and encouraged by a common European sympathy, grounded not on religion but on admiration for ancient and pagan Greece as the great exemplar of civilisation and intellectual life. The same admiration for their ancestors was naturally aroused among the Greeks themselves, and was their strongest political impulse. "Ecclesiastical ties greatly facilitated union, but they neither created the impulse towards independence, nor infused the enthusiasm which secured success."

Since the achievement of Greek independence, however, the people have remained substantially orthodox. Though they are no longer withheld from intercourse with the west, but have on the contrary shown a large measure of cosmopolitanism, their intellectual life remains relatively fixed, and the new complacency of independence backs the old complacency of orthodoxy. An excessive devotion to politics and political intrigue continues to absorb the mental activity of the people; and literary veneration for the classic past hampers the free play of intelligence on higher problems. The recent "Gospel Riots" at Athens exhibit the state of real culture. Some years ago, on the urging of the Queen, there was made a translation of the New Testament into the living language of the people, or into one midway

between that and the artificial academic tongue which has been developed among the literary class. Recently, however, what appears to be a more truly vernacular version began to be published in an Athenian journal; and it was against this that the students and others concerned directed their indignation, bringing about by their disturbances an actual change of ministry. Orthodox sentiment and orthodox ignorance appear to be the moving forces; so that at the beginning of the twentieth century Greece can claim to be the most bigoted of Christian countries. Doubtless the consciousness of possessing the continuous apostolic tradition is an important psychological factor in the special conservatism of belief, as is literary past-worship in the conservatism of speech.

When we turn to Russia, where the creed of the Greek Church, though under an independent Patriarch, is that of the State, we find the usual phenomena of European intellectual life specially marked. In no other country, perhaps, is rationalism or indifference more nearly universal among the educated class; and nowhere is faith more uncritical among the mass. Among them the use and adoration of icons—pictures of Jesus or the Madonna or of the saints, embellished in various ways—is universal in both private and public devotion; and a certain number of images, credited with miraculous virtue, earn great revenues for the monasteries or churches which possess them. The mass of the parish clergy (who like those of Greece may marry before ordination, but not a second time) are so ignorant as to be unconcerned about educated unbelief; and the Church as a whole has little or no political influence, being thoroughly subject to the political administration, or at least to the authority of the Tsar.

In the medieval period, monasteries in Russia underwent the same evolution as elsewhere, the monks passing from poverty to corporate wealth, and owning in particular multitudes of serfs. Their lands and serfs, however, were secularised in the eighteenth century; and since then, though some five hundred monasteries continue to exist, they have counted for little in the national life. Ecclesiastical discipline has in general been always rigorous under the autocracy; and in the eighteenth century it was common to flog priests cruelly for almost any breach of discipline. And though Russia has for ages abounded in dissenting sects, at no time has any movement of reform come from the clergy. No church has been more steadily unintellectual. All progress in Russia has come from the stimulus of western culture, beginning under Peter the Great, and continuing throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and though some men of genius, as the great novelist, Dostoyevsky, who was anti-rationalist, and Count Tolstoy, who is heretically religious, have been exceptions to the rule, the higher Russian culture is predominantly rationalistic.

The numerous dissident sects of Russia, which represent in general unorganised developments of the spirit of Bible-worshipping Protestantism, have been broadly classed as follows:—1. Sects such as the Molokani and Stundists, which found on the Scriptures, but are not literalists, and resort at times to inward light for interpretation. 2. Sects which disregard Scripture, and follow the doctrine of special leaders. 3. Sects which believe in the re-incarnation of Christ. 4. Sects given to the religion of physical excitement; some being erotic, as the Jumpers; some

flagellant, as the Khlysti ; some fanatically ascetic, as the Skoptsi or Eunuchs. All alike, however near they may be to orthodoxy, are liable to official persecution equally with the members of the recent sect of Dukhobortsi, associated with Count Tolstoy, whose doctrine is non-resistance and refusal to bear arms. Thus Christianity in Russia is variously identified with the most medieval formalism and bigotry and the most exalted enthusiasm for concord ; while the march of intelligence proceeds as far as it may in disregard of all supernaturalist creeds. But the vast mass of the Russian peasantry stands for the faith of the Middle Ages, and may now be said to constitute the most religious section of total Christendom.

Between eastern and western Christianity, finally, there seems no prospect of fraternisation, though hopes of that kind have been sometimes floated in the Anglican Church. At the church of the Holy Sepulchre the Greeks and the Latins are in chronic strife ; it was one of their squabbles that brought about the Crimean War ; and in the present year they have shed blood in one of their scuffles. The visitor to Jerusalem thus witnesses the standing spectacle of an impassive Turkish soldier keeping the peace between mobs of Christian devotees, eager to fly at each other's throats.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELATION TO PROGRESS.

§ 1. *Moral Influence.*

It is a deeply significant fact that in recent times the defence of Christianity takes much more often the form of a claim that it is socially useful than that of an attempt to prove it true. The argument from utility is indeed an old one: it is an error to say, as did J. S. Mill, that men have been little concerned to urge it in comparison with the argument from truth; but the former is now in special favour. Insofar as it proceeds upon a survey of Christian history it may here be left to the test of confrontation with the facts; but as it is constantly urged with regard to the actual state of life and faith, it is necessary to consider it in conclusion.

The chief difficulty in such an inquiry is that the most irreconcilable formulas are put forth on the side and in the name of belief. Commonly it is claimed that all that is good in current morality is derived from Christian sources; that morally scrupulous unbelievers are so because of their religious training or environment; and that a removal of the scaffolding of creed will bring to ruin the edifice of conduct that is held to have been reared by its means. It is not usually realised that such an argument ends in crediting to paganism and Judaism the alleged moral

merits of the first Christians. It might indeed be suggested, as against the traditional account of their pre-eminent goodness, that either they, in turn, owed their character to their antecedents, or their creed lost its efficacy after the first generation. But the historic answer to the claim is that there has never been any such moralising virtue in the Christian or any other creed in historically familiar times as need alarm any one for the moral consequences of its gradual disappearance. All sudden and revolutionary changes in popular moral standards certainly appear to be harmful; but the great majority of such changes in the Christian era have been worked under the auspices of faith, having consisted not in the abandonment of belief, but in the restatement of ethics in terms of "inspiration." Unbelief proceeds with no such cataclysmic speed. It is not conceivable that the gradual dissolution of supernaturalist notions will ever of itself work such evil as is told of in the story of the military evangel of Christianity in the Dark Ages, the Crusades, the Albigensian massacres, the conquests of Mexico and Peru, the Anabaptist movement at the outset of the Reformation, or the massacre of St. Bartholomew, to say nothing of the death-roll of the Inquisition and the mania against witchcraft. Even the bloodshed of the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution, wrought under peculiar political perturbation, was under the auspices not of atheists but of theists.

If it be asked wherein lies the specific value of dogma as a moral restraint, in terms of actual observation, there are to be found no facts that can induce a scientific inquirer to struggle for the maintenance of a creed believed to be untrue in the hope that it will

prove morally useful. Moral evils may for the purposes of such an inquiry be broadly classed under the heads of vice, crime, poverty, and war; and only in regard to the first is there even a plausible pretence that supernaturalist belief is a preventive. It might indeed seem likely, on first thought, that a cancelling of supernaturalist vetoes on the pleasures of the senses may lead to increased indulgence; but those vetoes apply to all sensual indulgence alike, and no one now pretends that unbelievers are more given to gluttony and drunkenness than believers; though the latter may doubtless claim, in respect of the Catholic Church, to include a larger number of extreme ascetics, as do the votaries of faiths pronounced by Catholics to be false. While, then, there may and do arise modifications of the religious formulas of ethics, there is absolutely no reason to apprehend that any form of conduct will be less considerate on naturalist than on supernaturalist principles. The Christian doctrine of forgiveness for sins must do more to encourage licence than can be done by any rationalistic ethic. Even where naturalism might give a sanction which Christian dogma withholds, as in the case of suicides, it is not found that any statistical change is set up by unbelief. Poverty, again, has probably been normally worse in Christian Europe throughout the whole Christian era than in any previous or non-Christian civilisation; and the most systematic schemes for its extinction in recent times are of non-Christian origin, though a personal and habitual effort to modify the stress of poverty is one of the more creditable features of organised Christian work. As regards crime, the case is much the same. The vast majority of criminals hold supernaturalist

true | beliefs, atheism being extremely rare among them; and while many Christians have in the past done good and zealous work towards a humane and rational treatment of criminals, the only scientific and comprehensive schemes now on foot are framed on naturalist lines, and are denounced by professed Christians on theological lines, as being sinfully lenient to wrongdoing. Thus supernaturalism remains prone to a cruel and irrational ideal of retribution.

It is in regard to the influence of religious teaching on international relations, however, that the saddest conclusions are forced upon the student of Christian history. The foregoing pages have shown how potent has been organised Christianity to promote strife and slaughter, how impotent to restrain them. If any instance could be found in history of a definite prevention of war on grounds of Christian as distinguished from prudential motive, it would have been there recorded. So flagrant is the record that when it is cited the Christian defence veers round from the position above viewed to one which unconsciously places the source of civilisation in human reason. Yet even thus the historic facts are misstated. The enormity of Christian strifes in the past is now apologetically accounted for by the fantastic theorem that hitherto men have not "understood" Christianity, and that only in modern times have its founder's teachings been properly comprehended. Obviously there has been no such development: the gospel's inculcations of love and concord are as simple as may be, and have at all times been perfectly intelligible: what has been lacking is the habit of mind and will that secures the fulfilment of such precepts. And recent experience has painfully proved, once for

all, that the religious or "believer's" temper, instead of being normally conducive to such action, is normally the worst hindrance to it.

An explanation is to be found in a study of the normal results of guiding conduct by emotional leanings rather than by critical reflection. The former is peculiarly the process of evangelical religion. Hence comes the practical inefficacy of a love of peace derived either inertly through acceptance of a form of words declared to be sacred, or through an emotional assent to such words emotionally propounded. Emotions so evolved are of the surface, and are erased as easily as they are induced, by stronger emotions proceeding from the animal nature. Only a small minority of Christians, accordingly, are found to resist the rush of warlike passions; and some who call most excitedly for peace when there is no war are found among those most excited by the war passion as soon as the contagion stirs. It may be noted as a decisive fact in religious history that in regard to the war which rages while these pages are being written, the movement of critical opposition and expostulation succeeds almost in the ratio of men's remoteness from the Christian faith. Among the Quaker sect, so long honorably distinguished by its testimony against war, there has been a considerable reversion to the normal temper, as if the old conviction had been in many cases lost in the process of merely hereditary transmission. Among the Christian Churches so called, by far the most peace-loving is the Unitarian, which rejects the central Christian dogma. And among the public men associated with the protest against the war, the number known to be rationalists is proportionally as large as that of the

supernaturalists is small. The personal excellence and elevation of moral feeling shown among the latter group is thus no warrant for seeing the cause in their creed. In such matters there is no invariable rule, every section exhibiting psychical divergence within itself; but it is now statistically clear that the standing claim for the conventional creed as being peculiarly helpful to the cause of peace is false.

Such tests are of course not those that will be first put by a scrupulous mind seeking to know whether the Christian creed be true. Rather they are forced on such a mind by the tactics of believers who as a rule seek to evade the fundamental issue. It is not unlikely, therefore, in view of present painful experience, that for some time to come the stress of defence will shift to the attempt, never entirely abandoned, to defend the faith on evidential or philosophic grounds. We have thus to consider finally the apparent effects of Christian credences and institutions on the intellectual life of the time.

§ 2. *Intellectual Influence.*

So far as it can be historically traced, the intellectual influence of Christianity was relatively at its best when it began to be propounded as a creed in critical relation to Judaism. Intellectual gain was checked as soon as it became a substantive creed, demanding submissive acceptance. From that point forward, it becomes a restraint on intellectual freedom, save in so far as it stirred believers to a one-sided criticism of pagan beliefs, a process of which the educational effect was promptly annulled by a

veto on its extension to the beliefs of the critics. It has been argued indeed that modern science has been signally advanced by the mental bias that goes with monotheism; but the historical fact is that Jewish monotheism was much less friendly to science than Babylonian polytheism; that the beginnings of Greek science were among polytheists and, perhaps, atheists; that Saracen monotheism owed its scientific stimulus to the recovered thought of polytheistic Greece; and that, whatever impulse a truly monotheistic philosophy may have given to modern science, the usual influence of Christian belief has been to override the idea of invariable causation in nature. Even after the belief in recurrent miracles is disavowed, the doctrine and practice of prayer remain to represent the old concept.

On the other hand, the kind of violence done to the instinct for concrete or historical truth by the frauds and delusions of the early and medieval Church, though greatly attenuated in modern times, has never ended. Critical judgment has only slowly recovered the strength and stature it had in the pre-Christian world; and wherever faith has plenary rule such judgment is liable to arbitrary interdict. It is true that even in the nineteenth century some great servants of science have been either orthodox Christians or devout theists. Faraday and Joule, Pasteur and Kelvin, are cases in point. But instead of the religious creed having in such cases furnished the cue or the motive to the scientific work done, it is found to be out of all logical relation to it, and to be a mere obstruction to the scientific use of the reason on the religious problem itself.

To a considerable extent, the rigid adherence to

religious beliefs or professions in defiance of evidence is on all fours with any other form of conservatism, as the social and the political. Inasmuch, however, as religion proffers both a specific comfort in this life and a specific reward in another, it has a power of intellectual fixation with which no other can compare; and there is something unique in the spectacle of religious doctrines kept in an unchanged form by means of an economic basis consecrated to them. It has been seen in the foregoing history that for two thousand years no creed with such a basis has been overthrown either wholly or locally save by a force which confiscated its endowments or suppressed its worship. Thus, and thus only, did Christianity triumph over southern and northern paganism; thus did Islam triumph over Christianity in parts of its world, and fall again before it in others; and thus did Protestantism expel Catholicism from many countries and suffer expulsion in turn from some of them. Where endowments can subsist, with freedom of worship, no form of doctrine that is wedded to the endowments ever yields directly to criticism.

Christianity has thus had in the modern world a more sinister influence on the intellectual life than was wrought by any phase of paganism even in periods when the intelligence of the ancient world was divorced from its established religion. The divorce is now more complete than ever before; but the bribe to conformity is greater than ever, relatively at least to the light of the time. The result is a maximum of insincerity, whether or not the bribe is given by a standing endowment. Dissenting or voluntary churches in the Protestant countries offer an income to more or less educated men on

condition of propounding the creed of the past ; and the more intelligent minority within the churches are weighed down in every effort at a modification of doctrine by the orthodoxy of the uncritical or fanatical many, who control the endowments. Social and commercial life conform to the conditions, and everywhere the profession of belief is far in excess of the actuality—a state of things unfavourable to all morality.

It is not only in religion and ethics that the influence of endowed and organised Christianity is thus intellectually baneful. Every science in turn, from the days of Galileo, has had to fight for its life against the sanctified ignorance of all the churches ; and while the physical sciences, which can be taught without open reference to traditional error, have carried their point and received endowment in turn, happily without being tied down to any documents, the moral sciences are either kept in tutelage to theology in the universities of many countries, our own included, or forced to leave out of their scope the phenomena of religion itself, and in particular the sociological problem of Christian history. There is to this day not a single chair of sociology in a British university ; and even in the United States, where such chairs are common, they and the historical chairs alike are barred from any free treatment of religious evolution. Ethical teaching is similarly limited ; and a science which on that side threatened to turn the flank of religious doctrine—to wit, phrenology—was at an early stage of its progress in the first half of the nineteenth century successfully ostracised, so that, lacking the expert handling without which no science can be kept sound, it has been relegated even for

most naturalists to the limbo of exploded error, without ever having been scientifically confuted.

In fine, the science of society, the most momentous of all, is by reason of the very nature of organised religion kept in trammels, lest it should undermine the reign of faith. It makes its way in virtue of the whole scientific movement of the age, and is perhaps most progressive in the countries where, as in France and Italy, an official Catholicism has prevented the academic compromise between faith and science which is effected in the Protestant world, but is powerless to keep independent science out of the universities. In those countries, however, there are compromises of other kinds; and in France there has recently been seen, in the case of Captain Dreyfus, the spectacle of the clerical influence combining with that of the army to enforce an insensate act of injustice, less from any intelligent motive of a direct bearing than for the sake of a general alliance in which each of the two great conservative and anti-progressive institutions backs the other for general reactionary ends. Thus religious feeling abets social and political malice; and such movements as that of anti-Semitism, fostered by Christian organisations, can secure support from others as the price of clerical support.

As a result of its autocratic and centralised system, further, Catholicism is a special force of political conservatism in Catholic countries, with the single exception of Ireland, where its dependence on the mass of the people keeps it in close alliance with their nationalist movement in despite of any papal restrictions. Such an alliance is of course unfavourable to intellectual progress on other lines; and English Protestant policy, largely directed by sectarian feeling,

thus preserves in Ireland the type of Catholicism it fears. Such Catholicism retards popular education wherever it can; and the one general advantage the Protestant countries can claim over the Catholic is their lower degree of illiteracy. On the other hand the rationalism of the more enlightened Catholic countries, where the Church lacks official power, is as a rule more explicit, more awake to the nature of the force opposed to it; while in Protestant Germany it is little concerned to oppose a church with small organised or academic influence, and attempts singularly little popular criticism of faith. Every country thus presents some special type of intellectual harm or dissimulation resulting from the presence of organised Christianity; and in all alike it makes in varying degrees an obstacle to light.

In the highest degree does this seem to be true of the land where it has had the longest continuous life. Alone among the nations Greece contributes nothing to the world's renovation. Italy, despite the papacy, has a swarm of eager and questioning thinkers, working at the human sciences; Spain stirs under all the leaden folds of clericalism; but Greece, where the faith has never undergone eclipse since Justinian's day, remains intellectually Byzantine, vainly divided between Christian dogma and an external classic tradition, neither ancient nor modern. Yet this is the one European country where belief is ostensibly untroubled by its enemy. It is hard to say how far the surface of orthodoxy conforms to the mental life underneath; but there is no escape from the conclusion that a new mental life can return to the land of Aristotle only in the measure in which it readmits from the west the spirit of search and

challenge which he and Socrates left to re-inspire a world growing moribund under the spell of faith.

§ 3. *Conclusion and Prognosis.*

It follows from the foregoing history and survey that Christianity, regarded by its adherents as either the one progressive and civilising religion or the one most helpful to progress and civilisation, is in no way vitally different from the others which have a theistic basis, and is in itself neither more nor less a force of amelioration than any other founding on sacred books and supernaturalist dogmas. Enlightened Christians with progressive instincts have justified them in terms of Christian doctrine, even as enlightened Moslems, Brahmans, and Buddhists have justified their higher ideals in terms of their doctrine; and the special fortune of Christianity has lain in this, that after nearly a thousand years in which it was relatively retrograde as compared with Islam, which in the latter half of the time was progressive, both being what they were in virtue of institutions and environment, the environment was so far politically changed that the Christian countries gradually progressed, while the Moslem countries lost ground. To-day it is becoming clear to instructed eyes that the faiths were not the causal forces; and in Asia the rapid development of Japan in the nineteenth century has vividly demonstrated the fallacy of the Christian view. As there was great progress under ancient paganism, under each one of the great creeds or cults of Asia, under Islam, and under Christianity, so there may be much greater progress in the absence of them all, in virtue

of a wider knowledge, a more scientific polity, and a more diffused culture.

The ultimate problem is to forecast the future. A confident faith in continual progress is one of the commonest states of mind of the present, the consciously scientific age; and in view of the unmistakable decadence of the creeds as such, it is natural to rationalists to expect an early reduction of Christianity to the status now held by "folk-lore," a species of survival dependent on ignorance upon the one hand and antiquarian curiosity on the other. But while this may be called probable, there can be no scientific certainty in the matter. For one thing, the process must for economic reasons be much slower than used to be thought likely, for instance, in the time of Voltaire, who allowed a century for the extinction of the Christian creed. Voltaire was so far right that a century has seen Christianity abandoned, after a reaction, by the best intelligence of our age, as it was by that of his. But there may be more reactions; and there is always a conceivable possibility of a total decadence, such as overtook the civilisation of the old Mediterranean world.

The question is at bottom one of political science. Greek and Roman civilisation failed primarily through the incapacity of the ancient States to set up a polity of international peace, secondarily through the effects of the military despotism which that failure superinduced. As the problem is all of a piece, avoidance of the old error will presumably mean avoidance of the old doom. A similar political failure in the modern world would in all likelihood mean the same sequence of military imperialism, possibly with better economic management, but with the same phenomena

of intellectual decline and reversion to fanaticism and superstition among populations debarred from political activity and free speech. It is indeed dimly conceivable that, as one man of genius has suggested by way of fiction, the mere warfare of capital and labour may end in the degradation of the people, and the consequent reduction of upper-class life to the plane of mere sensuous gratification and "practical" science. In either event, a religion now seen by instructed men to be incredible may be preserved by a community neither instructed nor religious.

The hope of the cause of reason then lies with the political ideals and movements which best promise to save democracy and to elevate the mass. It is hopefully significant that, as we have seen, the most systematic and scientific of these movements are pronouncedly rationalistic; and it is safe to say that their ultimate success depends on their rationalism. All past movements for the social salvation of the mass have failed for lack of social science; and Christianity in its most humane and sympathetic forms remains the negation of such science.

It is essential to a durable advance, however, that it should be pure of violence, and utterly tolerant. When popular education has emptied all or any of the churches, as it has already gone some way towards doing, the spontaneous revenue of those which are voluntary bodies will have ceased; and by that time the majority will be in a position to dispose of national funds and to tax accumulated endowments in the social interest. Such a course will be facile to a society which provides work for all and sustains all; and when the bribe of sectarian endowment is thus made void, the more factitious life of ancient error will be

at an end. But the most speculative construction of the future provides for the widest individual and psychological freedom; and there will have been no true triumph of reason if philosophic and historic error have not a free field. The Utopia of rationalism will be reached when supernaturalism in the present sense of the term shall have passed away as the belief in witchcraft has done, without pressure of pains and penalties. And that Utopia will be the rendezvous, belike, of more than one social ideal—of all, indeed, which trust to reason for the attainment of righteousness.

SYNOPSIS OF LITERATURE.

PART I.—PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER I.—THE BEGINNINGS.

§ 1. *Documentary Clues.*

OF the countless works discussing early Christian literature and the formation of the New Testament "Canon," the following may be consulted with profit:—All relevant articles in the new *Encyclopædia Biblica* (A. & C. Black); *Supernatural Religion: An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation*, 6th ed. revised, 1875, 2 vols.; 3rd vol. 1877; *A Reply to Dr. Lightfoot's Essays*, by the same author, 1889; *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, by Dr. Samuel Davidson, 2nd ed. revised, 1882, 2 vols.; *The Apostolical Fathers*, by Dr. James Donaldson, 1874 and later; Renan's preface to his *Saint Paul*, the Appendix to his *L'Antéchrist*, and his *Les Evangiles*; Mr. E. B. Nicholson's compilation, *The Gospel According to the Hebrews*, 1879; *History of the Canon in the Christian Church*, by Professor Reuss, Eng. tr. 1890; *Apostolical Records of Early Christianity*, by the Rev. Dr. Giles, 1886; Strauss's second *Leben Jesu*, tr. in Eng. (not always accurately) as *A New Life of Jesus*, 2nd ed. 1879, 2 vols.; and the old research of Lardner on *The Credibility of the Gospels* (Part II. ch. i. to xxix. in vol. ii. of *Works*, ed. 1835) which covers the ground pretty fully, indeed diffusely. A conspectus of the early sources is given (Gr. and Lat.) in Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Canons*, 1844 and later; but the most comprehensive work of the kind is Harnack's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (1893) in two great volumes; and the still bulkier *Chronologie* which follows thereon. Of real value is the recent survey of Professor Arnold Meyer. *Die moderne Forschung über die Geschichte des Urchristentums*, 1898. [The writings ascribed to the Apostolical Fathers are translated in the first volume of the "Ante-Nicene Library"; those ascribed to Justin Martyr in the second volume.]

§ 2. *The Earliest Christian Sects.*

The sources as to the Nazarenes and Ebionites are given by Bishop Lightfoot in his ed. of the Epistle to the Galatians, p. 298, ff. (diss. reprinted in *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, 1892, p. 74, ff.); also in W. R. Sorley's *Jewish Christians and Judaism*, 1881, p. 66, ff. Both proceed on the traditional assumptions. Critical discrimination between the Ebionites and "Nazarenes" begins in modern times with Mosheim, *Vindicia Antiquæ Christianorum Disciplinæ contra Tolandî Nazarenum*, 1720. See also his *Commentarium de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum*, 1753, Sæc. II. § xxxix. (Eng. tr. vol. ii, p. 194, ff.). His position was developed by Gieseler (1828), and has become the basis of later ecclesiastical historiography, as in the above-cited writers, and in Weizsäcker's *Apostolic Age*. A new and more searching analysis of the phenomena, on lines previously suggested but not developed, is made by P. Hochart in his *Etudes d'histoire religieuse*, 1890, ch. iv. and v. For the positions of the present section, in so far as they are not there fully reasoned, the grounds will be found in the author's *Christianity and Mythology*, 1900, Part III. 1st Div. § 9, and in the *National Reformer*, 1888, March 18th and 25th, April 1st, 8th, and 15th.

§ 3. *Personality of the Nominal Founder.*

Of the more rationalistic Lives of Jesus, so-called, that of Renan is the most charming and the least scientific; those by Strauss the most systematic and educative; that of Thomas Scott, "The English Life of Jesus," the most compendious view of the conflicts of the Gospel narratives. Evan Meredith's *Prophet of Nazareth* (1864) is rather a stringent criticism of the whole Christian system of ethics, evidences, and theology (rejecting supernaturalism but assuming a historical Christ) than a scientific search for a personality behind the Gospels. It however passes many acute criticisms. Later German Lives of Christ, such as those of Keim and Weiss, are useful in respect of their scholarly comprehensiveness, but have little final critical value. A more advanced stage of documentary criticism than is seen in any of these is reached in the second section of the article *Gospels*, by Professor Schmiedel, in the new *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The grounds on which the present section carries the process of elimination yet further will be found developed in the author's *Christianity and Mythology*, Part III. *The Gospel Myths*, Div. ii.; also in an article in the *Reformer*, July, 1901. Concerning the Talmudic Jesus the documentary data are given by Baring Gould, *The Lost and Hostile Gospels*, 1874; Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte*, Breslau, 1880; Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la Géographie de Palestine*, 1867;

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T. Theodores, essay on *The Talmud* in *Essays and Addresses by Professors and Lecturers of Owen's College* (Macmillan, 1874), pp. 368-370; and Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, on Matt. ii. 14, xxvii. 56, and Luke vii. 2. Compendious views of the process of textual analysis, as applied to the Gospels by students who still hold to the historic actuality of the Gospel Jesus, may be found in *The Synoptic Problem*, by A. J. Jolly (Macmillan, 1893); *The Formation of the Gospels*, by F. P. Badham (Kegan Paul, 2nd ed. 1892); *The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, by Dr. Abbott and W. G. Rushbrooke (Macmillan, 1884); and *The First Three Gospels*, by J. Estlin Carpenter (Sunday School Association, 2nd ed. 1890). Of the extensive continental literature of this subject during the past half-century, typical and important examples are Baur's *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien* (1847), Scholten's *Het oudste Evangelie*, 1868 (tr. in German, 1869); Gustave D'Eichthal's *Les Évangiles*, 1863; H. J. Holtzmann's *Die synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und geschichtliche Charakter*, 1863; and Berthold Weiss's *Text-kritik der vier Evangelien*, 1899. Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (2te. Aufl. 1885) is a good summary of the general discussion.

§ 4. Myth of the Twelve Apostles.

As to the Jewish Twelve Apostles, consult Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, 1850, ii. 159-60; Kitto's *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*, art. *Apostle*; Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, ed. 1716, liv. ii. ch. ii. §§ 7, 8, and liv. iii. ch. ii. §§ 10, 11; Mosheim's *Commentaries* as before cited, Eng. tr. i. 121; and other authorities discussed by the author in the *National Reformer*, 1887, May 8th and 15th, November 20th and 27th, December 4th; also in *Christianity and Mythology*, Pt. III. Div. i. § 19. For recent views on the alleged apostolic epistles see Professor Arnold Meyer's work, cited under § 1. The text of the important *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, first published in 1883, is ably edited and translated by Professors Hitchcock and Brown (London ed. Nimmo), whose version was made the basis of a revised translation, with variorum notes, by the author, published in the *National Reformer*, November 1st and 8th, 1891. The *Teaching* has appeared also in the following translations:—By Dr. Farrar, in the *Contemporary Review*, May, 1884; by the Rev. A. Gordon (tr. sold at Essex Hall, London); by M. Sabatier with text and commentary (Paris, 1885); by Professor Harnack; and by the Rev. Mr. Heron in his *Church of the Apostolic Age*, 1888. As to its obviously Jewish basis compare Dr. Taylor's *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 1886, with Harnack's *Die Apostellehre und die jüdischen beiden Wege*, 1886. On the "Brethren of the Lord"

Note // see Bishop Lightfoot's excursus, reprinted in his *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*. The Judas myth and the characteristics of Peter are discussed in *Christianity and Mythology*, Part III. Div. i. §§ 20, 21. For the Egyptian God Petra see the *Book of the Dead*, Budge's tr., p. 123.

§ 5. Primary Forms of the Cult.

The theory that the gospel narrative of the Last Supper, the Passion, the Betrayal, Trial, Crucifixion, and Resurrection, constitute a mystery-play or plays, is set forth by the author in an article in the *Reformer*, November, 1901. On pre-Christian Semitic "mysteries" see Professor Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, Lect. vi.-xi; and on the ancient conception of sacrifice in general consult that work; also Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, Eng. tr. Pt. I. ch. iii.; the work of Fustel de Coulanges on *La Cité Antique*; and Mr. J. G. Frazer's great treatise, *The Golden Bough* (2nd ed. 3 vols. 1900). Concerning the private religious societies among the Greeks, the standard authority is M. Foucart, *Les Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, 1873; see also ch. xviii. of Renan's *Les Apôtres*. The imitation of pagan institutions in the Christian Church is dealt with by the late Dr. Edwin Hatch, in his *Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, 1890; and some of the relations between the Jewish Passover and coincident pagan feasts are suggested in the valuable old treatise of J. Spencer, *De Legibus Hebræorum* (1685 and later), lib. ii. cap. 4. The part played by the child-image in pagan and Christian mysteries is noted in *Christianity and Mythology*, Pt. II. *Christ and Krishna*, sec. xiii. On other details consult Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Div. II. The question as to the rise of baptism comes up in the *Clementine Homilies and Recognitions*, on which see Baur, *Church History*, Eng. tr., vol. i.; where also will be found the material of the controversy on the date of the Easter sacrament. As to the manner of crucifixion in antiquity see Dr. W. Brandt's *Die evangelische Geschichte und der Ursprung des Christenthums*, 1893, Theil II, § 5, and Pf. Hermann Fulda's treatise, *Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung* (Breslau, 1878).

§ 6. Rise of Gentile Christism.

The early and bitter strife between the Jewish and Gentile parties in the Christist movement was first exhaustively studied by the Tübingen school. See the important works of its founder, F. C. Baur, *Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1853 (Eng. tr. ent. *The Church History of the First Three Centuries*, 1878, 2 vols.) and *Paulus*, 1845 (Eng. tr. 2 vols. 1873);

also the work of Zeller on the *Contents and Origin of the Acts of the Apostles* (Eng. tr. 2 vols. 1875, with Overbeck's Introduction to the Acts, from De Wette's *Handbook*). Compare the somewhat more conservative treatise of Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*, Eng. tr. 2 vols. 1894, and the orthodox Neander's *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles* (Eng. tr. 2 vols. 1851), where however some decisive admissions are made as to the narrative of the Acts. The most comprehensive survey of the documentary discussion down to the present time is J. Jüngst's *Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte* (Gotha, 1895). Some interesting concessions are made by Professor Ramsay in his work on *The Church and the Roman Empire before A.D. 170* (1893). On the Gentile parallels discussed consult Frazer's *Golden Bough*, and Havet's *Le Christianisme et ses origines*. The questions raised by the vogue of the term "Chrēstos" are well set forth and discussed in the brochure of the late Dr. J. Barr Mitchell, *Chrēstos: A Religious Epithet, its Import and Influence* (Williams and Norgate, 1880). Compare Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 363, and refs. Various aspects of the general problem are set forth in the *Monumental Christianity* of J. P. Lundy (New York, 1876). For a good view of Gnosticism see C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, 2nd ed. 1887; and for a survey of Samaritan tenets see J. W. Nutt, *Fragment of a Samaritan Targum*, 1874 (Introduction), and Reland's *Dissertatio de Montē Garizim*, in his *Diss. Misc.*, Pars I, 1706. A view of the ancient practices of cutting and gashing in the presence of the dead, etc., is given in John Spencer's treatise *De Legibus Hebræorum*, lib. ii. cc. 13, 14. The Myth of Simon Magus is discussed by the author in the *National Reformer*, January 29th, February 5th, and February 19th, 1893.

§ 7. Growth of the Christ Myth.

For details and references as to the pagan myths embodied in the Gospels, see the author's *Christianity and Mythology*, Pts. II and III. The evolution of the doctrine of the Logos is discussed by Professor James Drummond, in *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, and *Philo Judæus*, 1888; by M. Nicolas, *Des doctrines religieuses des juifs*, 1860; and in Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Div. II. vol. iii. Mr. Frazer presents the evidence as to the Semitic usage of sacrificing a mock-king in his *Golden Bough*, where however the problem is obscured by the acceptance of the Gospels as historical records. See also the article on *Jesus als Saturnalien-König*, by P. Wendland, in *Hermes*, xxxiii. (1898).

CHAPTER II.—THE ENVIRONMENT.

§ 1. *Social and Mental Conditions in the Roman Empire.*

The sociological forces and tendencies in the Greek and Roman civilisations are discussed in the author's *Introduction to English Politics*, Part I.; also in *A Short History of Freethought*, ch. iii. v. vi. and vii. For the social bearing of ancient religion consult Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*; Boissier, *La Religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins* (2 tom. 4e édit. 1892); Burckhardt, *Griechische Culturgeschichte*, 3 Bde. 1898-1900; Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (vol. i. Oxford, 1896); and Maury, *Histoire des religions de la Grèce antique*, 3 tom. 1857. Renan has many suggestive pages on social conditions, particularly in *Les Apôtres*; but heed must be taken of the frequent contradictions in his generalisations. As to the religious life of the Greek private religious societies, see ch. xvii. of *Les Apôtres*; the treatise of M. Foucart, before cited; Dr. Hatch's Bampton lectures on *The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*; and his Hibbert lectures on *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*.

§ 2. *Jewish Orthodoxy.*

Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Christ* gives the main clues from Josephus, the Talmud, and the O. T. apocrypha. See further M. Friedländer's *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums* (Wien, 1894) for light as to the relations between the Pharisees and the common people. For a good general view see Reuss, *Histoire de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique* (2e édit. 1860), liv. i. Nicolas, *Des doctrines religieuses des Juifs*, 1860, gives a fuller research. Accounts of the surviving "Nestorians" are given in *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, by E. Smith and H. D. O. Dwight, 1834, and in Dr. A. Grant's *The Nestorians*, 2nd ed. 1843.

§ 3. *Jewish Sects.*

A good conspectus and discussion of the data as to the Essenes is given by Dr. Ginsburg in his pamphlet *The Essenes*, 1864. See also Schürer, Div. II. vol. ii., and Bishop Lightfoot, *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*.

§ 4. *Gentile Cults.*

The best mythological dictionary is Roscher's great *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (in progress), but Preller's *Griechische Mythologie* and *Römische Mythologie* and Smith's

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology (3 vols. 1844-49) give most of the data. In regard to the cults of Attis and Adonis, consult further Frazer's *Golden Bough* and Foucart's *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*; for the cult of Dionysos, the same; also (with caution) Mr. R. Brown's *Great Dionysiak Myth*, 2 vols. 1877-8, and the older *Recherches sur le Culte de Bacchus* of Rolle (3 tom. 1824), both works of great learning. Lucian's treatise *De Dea Syra* gives special information on Syrian religion. Sidelights are thrown on the cults in question by the Christian Fathers, in particular Julius Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum* (best ed. Halm's); Epiphanius, *De Hæresis*: Hippolytus, *Refutation of all Heresies* (trans. in Ante-Nicene Library, vol. vi.). The main clues to the Osiris cult are in *The Book of the Dead* (best Eng. tr. by Budge, 1898) and Plutarch's treatise *On Isis and Osiris*, which should be read, however, in the light of Tiele's or some other competent *History of Egyptian Religion*. The main data as to Mithraism are collected in the author's essay in *Religious Systems of the World* (3rd ed. 1892).

§ 5. Ethics: Popular and Philosophic.

The parallels and coincidences between the teachings of Paul and of Seneca are fully set forth by Bishop Lightfoot in the excursus on *Paul and Seneca* reprinted in his *Discussions on the Apostolic Age*, where also the significance of the parallels is considered, and the literature of the subject described. In the general connection may be consulted Havet's *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, 4 tom. 1872-84; Martha's *Les Moralistes sous l'empire romain*, 14e édit. 1881; Lecky's *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*; Baur's *Drei Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der alten Philosophie und ihres Verhältniss zum Christenthum* (new ed. 1876), where there is a thorough discussion of Seneca's case; Uhlhorn's *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism* (Eng. tr. from 3rd Ger. ed. 1879); Renan's *Mare Aurèle*, and ch. xvii. of *Les Apôtres*; J. A. Farrer's *Paganism and Christianity*, 1891; W. M. Flinders Petrie's *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, 1898; and Ludwig Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*, Eng. tr. by Marian Evans (George Eliot). The Jewish Rabbinical ethic is defended as against Christian attack in an able article on "Rabbinic Judaism and the Epistles of Paul" by C. G. Montefiore in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for January, 1901. Some of the other issues are discussed in detail in the author's *Short History of Freethought*, cc. iv, vi, vii.

CHAPTER III.—CONDITIONS OF SURVIVAL.

§ 1. *Popular Appeal.*

See the references to ch. ii. § 5, concerning the prevalent moral ideas. As to the Montanists and other ascetic and antinomian sects see Baur, *Church History*, Eng. tr. vol. i. Pt. III., also Hatch, as cited. Concerning the results of the need to appeal to the pagan populace, note the admissions of Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2 Cent. Pt. II. chs. iii. and iv.; of Dr. John Stoughton, *Ages of the Church*, 1855, Lect. iv.; of Waddington, *History of the Christian Church*, 1833, pp. 87, 89; and of Milman, *History of Christianity*, B. iv. cc. i. and iii.

§ 2. *Economic Causation.*

The organisation of the Assyrian and Babylonian priesthoods may be gathered from Sayce, Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians. On the Greek priesthoods compare Burckhardt, *Griechische Culturgeschichte*, Bd. II. Abs. II. § ii. As to the wealth of the priestly caste in Egypt see Diodorus Siculus; and on that of Rome, Gibbon's 15th chapter. On the later Judaic priestly finance see the references given as to the Jewish Twelve Apostles under ch. i. § 4. The process of growth of an order of "ethical lecturers" is indicated by C. Martha, *Les Moralistes sous l'empire romain*, 4e édit. 1881; also by E. Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines* (1872), tom. i. ch. iii. Compare Grote, *History of Greece*, end of ch. xlvi. and his *Plato and the Other Companions of Sokrates*, per index, as to the sophists. The financial side of the pagan mysteries is partly illustrated in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius. Compare also Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*. Gibbon's fifteenth chapter deals in the main with a later period, but throws general light on this also. See also Renan's *Marc Aurèle*, ch. xxxi.; and especially Dr. Hatch's Hibbert Lectures, lect. iv., and Lecky's *History of European Morals*.

§ 3. *Organisation and Sacred Books.*

Dr. Hatch's *Organisation of the Early Christian Churches* recognises, on nominally orthodox principles, the fact that the structure was a natural adaptation to environment, on old type-lines. Of the movement of Apollonius of Tyana, a popular account is given by Professor A. Réville, *Apollonius of Tyana, the Pagan Christ of the Third Century*, Eng. tr. 1866; and a more judicial one by Baur in his *Drei Abhandlungen*. Of a perception of the dramatic origin of the

main parts of the Gospel narrative (discussed in the author's *Christianity and Mythology*, as above noted, and in art. "The Gospel Mystery Play" in the *Reformer*, November, 1901) there is as yet little or no trace in contemporary literature on Christian origins. See however Dr. Moncure Conway's *Solomon and Solomonic Literature* (Chicago, Open Court Pub. Co. 1899), p. 204, note; and compare Milman, *History of Christianity*, B. iv. ch. ii. To the old discussion on the supposed dramatic character of the Apocalypse the clues are given in Moses Stuart's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. On the formation of the canon see the references to ch. i. § 1. As to Manichæism see those given below, ch. ii.

§ 4. *Concession and Fixation.*

On developments of doctrine in general the fullest modern treatise is Harnack's *History of Dogma* (Eng. tr. 1894, 6 vols.), but the critical student must revise many of Harnack's judgments. The same author's *Outlines of the History of Dogma* (Eng. tr. 1893) are at many points suggestive; and Hagenbach's *History of Dogma* is still useful. Hatch is well worth consulting in this connection.

§ 5. *Cosmic Philosophy.*

As to the fourth Gospel and the doctrine of the *Logos*, see the references given for ch. i. § 7; also the fourth and fifth chapters of Renan's *Les Evangiles*, which give his latest ideas on the problem; Reuss's *Histoire de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, 2e édit. 1860, tom. ii. liv. vii.; and J. J. Tayler's treatise, *An Attempt to Ascertain the Character of the Fourth Gospel* (1867). Baur and Strauss may also be profitably studied.

PART II.—CHRISTIANITY FROM THE SECOND CENTURY TO THE RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

CHAPTER I.—SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF THE UNESTABLISHED CHURCH.

§ 1. *Numbers and Inner Life.*

Gibbon's fifteenth chapter is still valuable here. Compare Hatch, *Organisation*, and Renan, *Saint Paul*, concluding chapter; and the church historians generally. As to Britain, see Wright's *The Roman*,

the Celt, and the Saxon, 4th ed. 1885. On the personnel and emotional life of the early church, compare Louis Ménéard, *Etudes sur les origines du Christianisme*, 1893; Renan, *L'Eglise Chrétienne* and *Marc-Aurèle*; Tertullian, *passim*; J. A. Farrer, *Paganism and Christianity*; Dr. John Stoughton, *Ages of the Church* (pp. 42-43—orthodox admissions).

§ 2. *Growth of the Priesthood.*

Hatch, as before cited, is here a specially good guide; and Neander, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church* (trans. in Bohn Lib.) gives a copious narrative (vol. i. sect. ii.). On episcopal policy, compare the series of popular monographs under the title "The Fathers for English Readers" (S.P.C.K.) and the anonymous treatise *On the State of Man Subsequent to the Promulgation of Christianity* (1852), Part II. ch. iv. Mosheim (Reid's ed. of Murdock's trans.) deserves study. The question of priestly morals is handled in almost all histories of the Church. Cp. Gibbon, cc. xxi. xxv. xxxviii. Lea's *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy* (2nd ed. 1884) is a full and valuable record. As to the papacy, see references given below, Part III. ch. i. § 3.

§ 3. *The Gnostic Movement in the Second Century.*

Baur's *Die christliche Gnosis* (1835) remains the most comprehensive study of this subject; but Mr. C. W. King's *The Gnostics and their Remains* adds to his elucidations. Matter's *Histoire critique du Gnosticisme* (2e édit. 1843-4) remains worth study; as is Neander's general account of the Gnostic sects in vol. ii. of his *General History*. See shorter accounts in Baur's *Church History* (vol. i.), in Mosheim's, and in that of Jeremie (1855).

§ 4. *Marcionism and Montanism.*

Neander, Hatch, and Baur, as last cited, give good views. Tertullian, who wrote a treatise *Against Marcion*, and himself became a Montanist, is a primary authority.

§ 5. *Rites and Ceremonies.*

Bingham's *Christian Antiquities* (rep. 1855) gives abundant details; but see also Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. Mosheim traces the development century by century.

§ 6. *Strifes over Primary Dogma.*

These may be followed in brief in Mosheim, or at length in Harnack's

History of Dogma, or in Hagenbach's earlier manual, which is more concise. Hatch's *Influence of Greek Ideas* is light-giving at some points; and Dr. Albert Réville's *Histoire du dogme de la divinité du Jesus Christ* (2e édit. 1876) is a good conspectus of its subject. For a briefer general view see Stoughton's *Ages of the Church*, Lect. v. and vii. The history of the so-called Apostles' Creed is fully discussed by M. Nicolas, *Le Symbole des Apôtres*, 1867, and in Harnack's work on the same subject (Eng. tr. 1901).

CHAPTER II.—RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE.

§ 1. Persecutions.

Consult Gibbon, ch. xvi.; Niebuhr, *Lectures on Roman History*, Eng. tr. Lect. cxli.; and Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme* (2e édit. 1894), tom i., Appendice, for critical views, as distinguished from those of the ecclesiastical historians. Compare also Milman's account, in the first chapter of his *History of Latin Christianity*. The alleged Neronian persecution is specially sifted by Hochart, *Études au sujet de la persécution des Chrétiens sous Néron*, 1885. For a complete record of the cult of the emperors see *Le Culte Impérial, son histoire et son organisation*, par l'Abbé E. Beurlier, 1891.

§§§ 2, 3, 4 (see *Corrigenda*). *Establishment and Creed-Making; Reaction under Julian; Re-establishment; Disestablishment of Paganism.*

Boissier's *La Fin du Paganisme* goes very fully into the question of Constantine's conversion and policy, but does not supersede Beugnot, *Histoire de la destruction du paganisme en occident*, 1835, 2 tom. (Both are misleading on the subject of the *labarum*, as to which see the variorum notes in Reid's Mosheim, and in Bohn Gibbon, *ad loc.*) Compare Gibbon, cc. xix.—xxv., and Hatch, *Organisation*. Newman's *Arians of the Fourth Century* gives an intensely orthodox view of its subject. Mosheim and Milman and Neander are more judicial. See also Harnack's *Outlines*, and the references given above to ch. i. § 6. On Manichæism it is still well to consult Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*. Compare Mosheim, *Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians*, vol. iii., and the account of Neander, *General History*, vol. ii. Rendall's *The Emperor Julian: Christianity and Paganism*, 1879, is a learned and competent research, usually fair, and gives light on the previous reigns, as well as on Julian's. Gibbon's survey here remains important. On Gregory of Nazianzun there is a monograph by Ullmann (Eng. tr. 1851). See Milman as to the falsity

of the death-legend concerning Julian. As to the disestablishment of paganism, Beugnot is the best guide, but Boissier is discursively instructive.

CHAPTER III.—FAILURE WITH SURVIVAL.

The narrative may be checked throughout by Neander's *General History of the Christian Religion and Church* (trans. in Bohn Lib.); by Mosheim, with the variorum notes of Reid's edition; by Gibbon's chapters; by the histories of dogma; by the above-cited monographs on the Fathers, *St. Chrysostom's Picture of his Age* (S.P.C.K. 1875), and Rev. W. R. Stephens' *St. Chrysostom, His Life and Times* (1872); by Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vols. i. and ii.; by Finlay's *History of Greece* (Tozer's ed.), vols. i. and ii.; and by Bury's *History of the later Roman Empire*. On the intellectual life compare further Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme*; Ampère, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 1839, tom. i. and ii.; and Lecky's *History of European Morals*.

PART III.—MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER I.—EXPANSION AND ORGANISATION.

§ 1. Position in the Seventh Century.

Hatch (*Organisation*) is still a guide. For special details consult Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* gives some specific ideas as to the early life of the medieval Church.

§ 2. Methods of Expansion.

Neander's *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, Hardwick's *History of the Christian Church: Middle Age* (1853), and the variorum notes in Reid's Mosheim, give most of the documentary clues. But national histories should specially be consulted at this stage—*e.g.*, Crichton and Wheaton's *Scandinavia* (2nd ed. 1838, 2 vols.), Geijer's *History of Sweden* (Eng. tr. of first 3 vols. in 1, no date), Krasinski's *Sketch of the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations* (1851).

§ 3. Growth of the Papacy.

In addition to the general histories consult Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom* (Eng. trans. 2nd ed. 1901, in progress), and *The*

Pope and the Councils, by "Janus" (tr. 1869 from German). Hefele's *History of the Christian Councils* (Eng. tr., 1871-1896, 5 vols.), though by a Catholic scholar, is generally accepted as the standard modern work on its subject. Hallam's *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* is still valuable for its general views. Fuller details may be had from monographs on leading popes—e.g., Voigt's *Hildebrand und sein Zeitalter* (French trans. by Abbé Jager, with added notes and documents, 1847) and Langeron's *Grégoire VII. et les origines de la doctrine ultramontaine* (1874). On the ancient Egyptian parallels see Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'orient*.

CHAPTER II.—RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION AND STRIFE.

Consult the ecclesiastical historians already cited, and compare R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought* (1884), as to Agobard and Claudius. For the special worships of Mary and Joseph, see the popular Catholic manual "The Glories of Mary," and P. Paul Barrie's "Glories of Joseph" (Eng. trans. Dublin, 1843 and later)—extracts in C. H. Collette's *Dr. Newman and his Religious Opinions*, 1866—also Newman's *Letter to Dr. Pusey*, as there cited. Sketches of the history of auricular confession are given in Rev. B. W. Savile's *Primitive and Catholic Faith*, 1875, ch. xiii., and in *Confession, a doctrinal and historical essay*, by L. Desanctis, Eng. tr. 1878; and sketches of the history of indulgences in Lea's *History of the Inquisition*, i. 41-47; De Potter's *Esprit de l'Eglise*, vii., 22-29; and Lea's *Studies in Church History*, 1869, p. 450. Of the Albigensian crusades a full narrative is given by Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. vi. and vii.—chapters collected and translated in Eng. vol., *History of the Crusades against the Albigenses* (1826). On the rationalistic heresies consult Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*, Poole's *Illustrations of Medieval Thought*, and Renan's *Averroës et l'Averroïsme*. On the anti-clerical and anti-papal heresies compare Neander, Mosheim, Milman, Hardwick, and Poole. The fortunes of the Lollard movement are discussed in the author's *Dynamics of Religion*.

CHAPTER III.—THE SOCIAL LIFE AND STRUCTURE.

Of the historians cited in the last chapter, most are serviceable here. Consult in addition Lea's *Superstition and Force* (3rd ed. 1878), Berington's *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, Dunham's *Europe in the Middle Ages*, and Ampère's *Histoire Littéraire*, before cited. There are good lives of Savonarola by Perrens (French), and

Villari, Eng. trans. See also J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: Age of the Despots*. On slavery compare Larroque, *De l'esclavage chez les nations chrétiennes* (2e édit, 1864); or see the author's *Introduction to English Politics*, per index. An excellent general view of the Crusades is given in the manual by Sir G. W. Cox ("Epochs of History" series). The latest expert survey of the subject is that of M. Seignobos, in the *Histoire générale* of MM. Lavissee and Rambaud.

CHAPTER IV.—THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

Again the same general authorities may be referred to, in particular Lea's *History of the Inquisition*; also White's *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology* (2 vols. 1896), Gebhart's *Les origines de la renaissance* (1879), Burckhardt's *Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (Eng. tr. in 1 vol. 1892), Buckle's *Introduction to the History of Civilisation in England*, Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences*, Baden Powell's *History of Natural Philosophy* (1834); and for the different countries their special histories. Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe* is to be followed with caution. As to Gerbert, see the *Vie de Gerbert* of M. Olleris, 1867.

CHAPTER V.—BYZANTINE CHRISTIANITY.

Finlay's *History of (Modern) Greece* is the main authority in English apart from the ecclesiastical histories.

PART IV.—MODERN CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER I.—THE REFORMATION.

In addition to Neander; Mosheim; Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*; and Hardwick's *Church History; The Reformation* (rep. 1886), consult Ullmann's *Reformers before the Reformation* (Eng. tr. 2 vols. 1855), McCrie's *Histories of the Reformation in Spain and Italy*, Ranke's *History of the Reformation and History of the Popes* (Eng. tr.), Beard's *Hibbert Lectures on the Reformation*, Felice's *Histoire des Protestants de France* (trans. in Eng.), Krasinski's *History of the Reformation in Poland*, Professor H. M. Baird's *History of the Rise of the Huguenots*, 2 vols. 1880;

also the current Lives of the leading reformers, and the special histories of the nations. Creighton's *History of the Papacy during the Reformation* (6 vols.) has special merit as a fresh research. As to the witch-burning mania consult Lecky's *Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*. On the Jesuits compare Nicollini's *History of the Jesuits*, 1853. On the medical work of Servetus and others see an interesting article by Dr. Austin Flint, in *New York Medical Journal*, June 29th, 1901.

CHAPTER II.—PROGRESS OF ANTI-CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

As to the physical sciences, compare White, Baden Powell, Whewell, and Draper, as above cited, also Draper's *Conflict between Religion and Science* (Internat. Lib. of Science). On the development of philosophy, cosmic and moral, and of Biblical Criticism, see the references in the author's *Short History of Freethought*.

CHAPTER III.—POPULAR ACCEPTANCE.

For the history of Catholicism since the seventeenth century consult Mosheim and Neander, also the *History of the Fall of the Jesuits*, by Count A. de Saint-Priest (Eng. tr. 1845). There is an extensive literature on the controversy between Anglicanism and Catholicism in the middle of the nineteenth century, following on the Tractarian movement, as to the latest phases of which see the recent *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, by Walter Walsh. For references as to recent developments in Protestant and other countries see again the author's *Short History of Freethought*. The fortunes of Greek Christianity may be traced through Finlay. Compare Villemain, *Essai sur l'état des Grecs depuis la conquête musulmane*, in his *Études d'histoire moderne* (nouv. ed. 1846). Concerning the state of religion in Russia, see Wallace's *Russia*. As to missions in general, see the able and comprehensive survey, *Foreign Missions*, by C. Cohen (Freethought Publishing Company).

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