

through the critical study of scripture in local languages; he also wrote a scathing satire of Catholic doctrine and Church corruption called *Encomium moriae* ('The Praise of Folly', 1509). A few years later, Ulrich von Hutten and Crotus Rubianus published *Letters of Obscure Men* (1513–15), mocking the intricacy and futility of Church regulations.

Literacy was spreading and local vernacular dialects were developing into regional languages. But suggestions that the Bible might be translated into the languages of the people were firmly rejected by the church, which was well aware of the threat that direct access to scripture would pose to its authority. When John Wyclif (1329–84) in England and John Hus (c. 1369–1415) among the Czechs proposed to replace Latin with the vernacular in worship and to translate the Bible into the

languages of the people, the church condemned them as heretics.

Although the growing challenges to the Church had been in evidence for decades, it was the stubborn and uninhibited personality of one man that made it possible for the Protestant Reformation to erupt as it did. Martin Luther (1483–1546) was an Augustinian monk and theological scholar at the university in Wittenberg who objected to the Church's practice of selling **indulgences**: release from the time the soul was required to spend in **purgatory** (a kind of holding area for the departed in the course of their passage from death to the next existence).

The standard way of raising a topic for debate was to post a notice on the church door. Accordingly, Luther tacked up a list of 95 propositions, of

From the *Letters of Obscure Men*

In this extract from their satire, Ulrich von Hutten and Crotus Rubianus take aim at the Church's elaborate dietary rules. Heinrich Schafmaul ('sheep's mouth') writes to ask whether it is a sin to eat an egg with a chicken in it on a fast day.

... we were lately sitting in an inn in the Campo dei Fiori, having our supper, and were eating eggs, when on opening one I saw that there was a young chicken within.

This I showed to a comrade; whereupon quoth he to me, 'Eat it up speedily, before the taverner sees it, for ... if he sees that there is a young fowl in that egg, he will say "Pay me for that fowl!" Little or big, 'tis all one.'

In a trice I gulped down the egg, chicken and all.

And then I remembered that it was Friday!

Whereupon I said to my crony, 'You have made me commit a mortal sin, in eating flesh on the sixth day of the week!'

But he averred that it was not a mortal sin—nor even a venial one, seeing that such a chickling is accounted merely an egg, until it is born.

He told me, too, that it is just the same in the case of cheese, in which there are sometimes grubs, as there are in cherries, peas, and new beans: yet all these may be eaten on Fridays, and even on Apostolic Vigils. But taverners are such rascals that they call them flesh, to get more money.

Then I departed, and thought the matter over.

And by the Lord, Master Ortwin, I am in a mighty quandary, and know not what to do.

I would willingly seek counsel of one of the Courticians [court ministers in Rome], but they are not devout men (Stokes 1909:445–6).

'theses', criticizing not just the sale of indulgences but other aspects of Church practice. Called to defend himself against charges of political subversion at a 'diet' (imperial council) held in 1521 at the German city of Worms, he was offered the opportunity to retract his challenge. But he stood his ground: 'Unless I am convicted by Scripture and plain reason—I do not accept the authority of popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other—my conscience is captive to the Word of God, I cannot and I will not recant anything' (Bainton 1974, 15: 551).

Accordingly, Luther was banished from Germany and excommunicated from the Church. But as the news of his challenge spread, it attracted support from those seeking change in various aspects of spiritual and political life. Before long, that support took on a concrete political form.

Like others, Luther criticized the Church's lavishness and corruption, but the core of his challenge was theological. Seeking to recast Christian understanding of the very nature of sin and redemption, he rejected the transactional notion that Christians could expiate their sins by confessing them and performing the prescribed acts of penance. Instead, Luther argued that in Jesus divine grace reaches out to human beings, saving and redeeming individuals regardless of their merit or performance.

Taking up a key theme in Paul's New Testament letter to the Romans, Luther insisted that humans are justified (made right in their relation to God) by faith alone. For Luther as for Paul, the dialectic was between faith and works. Just as Paul had argued that salvation could not be earned through observance of the Torah commandments, however faithful, Luther argued that the way to redemption had nothing to do with the rituals of confession and penance.

Banished from Germany, Luther disappeared for more than a year. Many thought him dead, but he was actually in hiding under the protection of the elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise. Luther made use of this period of seclusion to write

a series of theological works and to translate the New Testament from the original Greek into a direct, lively German that eventually gave the Luther Bible a profoundly influential place in German literature.

It is doubtful that the Protestant Reformation could have taken place, at least in the form we know, much sooner than it actually did. The technology of printing from movable type had been introduced in Europe only half a century earlier, when the first Latin Bible came off Johann Gutenberg's press in Mainz in 1456. Though prohibitively expensive at first, printed materials soon became economical to produce. Pamphlets outlining the topics of Luther's challenge were quickly disseminated, and Luther's own short tracts appeared in at least 1,300 different printings by 1523. His very readable translation of the Bible had an impact, too (the New Testament appeared in 1522 and the Old Testament in 1534).

When Luther's arguments inspired a dozen nuns to leave the convent in Wittenberg, three of them went back to their families but the other nine had no homes to go to. Luther found husbands for eight of them and married the ninth, Katherina von Bora, himself. It is probable that moral concern, even ideological conviction, played a greater role in their relationship, at least initially, than romance. In the course of time they had six children and also adopted four orphans. In his writing *Concerning Married Life*, Luther suggested that even the most mundane of everyday activities, such as the washing of diapers, can be ennobled by faith. And in setting a pattern for married clergy in Protestantism, he made it possible for clergy to counsel the married people among their flocks on the basis of practical experience as well as theory.

But there were also broader theoretical aspects to Luther's view of clergy and the priesthood, for he effectively took the priesthood off the pedestal of status and authority that it and the institutional Church had enjoyed since the time of Constantine. For Luther, the ultimate authority lay not in institutional tradition but in the Bible and the

inner guidance of the Holy Spirit. Thus there was no need for an intermediary between the Christian and God to transmit human petitions or dispense divine grace. The egalitarian concept of universal priesthood, or the 'priesthood of all believers', is central to Protestantism.

In 1524–5, when an uprising broke out among German peasants, Luther refused to endorse all their demands. As a consequence, the more radical among them left Luther for a more strident leader, Thomas Müntzer, who eventually played a major role in the Anabaptist movement, so-called because it held that baptism should be reserved for adults capable of making a mature decision for faith.

Luther also disagreed with the Swiss reformer Huldrych (Ulrich) Zwingli over the interpretation of the Eucharist. Both men rejected the Roman Catholic view of the sacrament as a literal re-enactment of Christ's self-sacrifice. But whereas Luther continued to believe that Jesus was physically present, if unseen, during the rite, Zwingli insisted that the words 'this is my body' meant only 'this represents': in short, that the rite was purely symbolic.

The debate illustrates a recurring issue for Protestants: if the Bible itself is your ultimate authority, by what authority can you decide to take some parts literally and others metaphorically? Luther's biblicism was simple: if the text has Christ say of the bread and wine 'this is my body', then Christ's body must be present in the bread and wine of the Eucharist. Those who, like Zwingli, maintained that 'this is' meant 'this represents' were implicitly committing themselves to a more subtle notion of scriptural authority.

Sixteenth-Century Branches of Protestantism

The Reformation was marked by division and diversity. Early reformers often advocated their breakaway doctrines with an ideological stridency that was no less authoritarian than the church they had rejected. At a practical level, redundancy and

confusion developed when independent bodies competed for adherents. A denominationally fragmented Church has been the legacy of the Protestant Reformation down to the present day.

Three main 'establishments' emerged from the sixteenth-century Reformation: Lutheran, Anglican, and Calvinist. (Other branches, such as the Anabaptists and Unitarians, are considered non-establishment.)

Lutherans

The followers of Martin Luther's theological and political leadership flourished in Germany and Scandinavia. Like him, they stressed the authority of scripture and the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Lutheranism allowed ample scope for rational and intellectual argument in the exposition of scripture, but it also encouraged a deep sense of personal piety. Images of God as friend and companion are just as frequent in the texts of Lutheran hymns as images of God as warrior or judge.

In worship and in ecclesiastical organization, Lutherans departed in only some respects from the Roman Church. They retained a Eucharist-like sacrament, but they celebrated it in the vernacular rather than Latin, and they held that Christ's body was present along with the bread and wine but was not produced out of them. The Lutheran priesthood continued to be governed by bishops, but members of the clergy were permitted to marry. (Only in recent years have Lutheran women been ordained as priests.)

In most parts of Germany and Scandinavia, Lutheran Christianity became the state religion. The '**Evangelical**' Church, as it is called in Germany, is dominant in northwestern and northeastern Germany, while Catholicism is stronger in the south. To this day, Germany provides basic funding for churches out of tax revenues. All taxpayers, including non-believers, pay a flat rate, and the money is directed to Evangelical or Catholic treasuries depending on the taxpayer's affiliation. Outside Germany and Scandinavia, Lutheranism has spread through migration and missionary activity.

During the nineteenth century, it was carried to North America by Germans who settled in places such as Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, and Ontario, and by Scandinavians, most of whom settled in Minnesota and Wisconsin. The ethnic character of the North American Lutheran churches has become diluted over time, except in places where it has been refreshed by continuing immigration.

Anglicans

In Germany the Reformation was a popular movement, but in England it was royal policy. Henry VIII (r. 1509–47) wanted a male heir, but his queen, Catherine of Aragon, had borne only a daughter. Hoping that Anne Boleyn would produce a son, in 1527 Henry requested an annulment of his marriage to Catherine on the grounds that she had previously been married to his deceased brother. Although Pope Clement VII refused the request, Henry found some support in European universities. In 1533, therefore, he secretly married Anne and then had the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, annul the first marriage and pronounce the second valid.

At Henry's instigation, the English parliament in 1534 passed an Act of Supremacy, which proclaimed the king 'the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England'. Although the wording implied that the monarch had always had that authority, in fact he had not: the act itself was the first document in which the king replaced the pope as head of the English Church.

But divorce and a male successor were not the only things on Henry's mind. While the break with Rome could be interpreted as the product of high-minded principle, it is more likely that Henry was motivated by the desire to expropriate the Roman Church's vast landholdings. Throughout England, the ruins of the abbeys that Henry confiscated stand as a stark reminder, as do similar ruins elsewhere in northern Europe.

The key Protestant reformer under Henry's son, Edward VI, was Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury. Convinced that the austere Calvinist

approach to reform imposed in Geneva was correct, Cranmer purged the English Church of its images, candles, and priestly vestments and interpreted the Eucharist as a memorial meal around a table rather than a sacrifice at an altar. The features of Roman Catholic practice that Cranmer eliminated under Edward were all reintroduced under Henry's eldest daughter, the Catholic Mary Tudor (r. 1553–8), but Cranmer made an enduring contribution in the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, still a model for Anglican worship.

Cranmer was trapped between the Reformation in which he believed and the monarchy he served. Charged with treason and then heresy, he tried at first to avoid execution by recanting his Protestant views and affirming papal supremacy and Latin Eucharistic theology. But when he was burned at the stake, he held to the flames the hand with which he had written the recantations, declaring, 'This hand has offended.'

When Henry's second daughter, Elizabeth I, succeeded her sister, the Church of England settled into a balanced position. Under Elizabeth the Church took a middle way. For example, the 1559 revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* preserves both Eucharistic theologies: the more Catholic sacrificial concept of 'this is my body, given for you', and the more Protestant memorial reading of 'take, eat in remembrance of me'.

In the end, even though the English Reformation was largely directed from the top down, the church it produced had much in common with the church produced by the grass-roots Lutheran Reformation: an established state church without links to Rome; a traditional mass as one type of liturgy, but conducted in the vernacular; a hierarchy with bishops, but with clergy who could now marry. The Church of England has remained a state institution, with the monarch as its titular head. The ranking bishop of the Church continues to be the archbishop of Canterbury.

The tradition of the Church of England is known in most parts of the world as Anglican, although in the United States it is called Episcopalian, after

its form of government by bishops. Anglicanism has taken root wherever British influence has been dominant, not only in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and English-speaking Canada, but also in the former British colonies and protectorates in East Africa, West Africa, the Caribbean, India, and the Polynesian islands.

The diversity of the human community is reflected among the participating bishops at international meetings of the Anglican communion. In recent years, however, the relative liberality of the American and English churches in approving the ordination of homosexual priests has led to a serious disagreement with the more conservative bishops of the former colonies and protectorates.

A tension of much longer standing is the one between what came to be called 'high-church' and 'low-church' Anglicanism. The high-church side can approach Roman Catholicism in its emphasis on ritual, whereas the low-church side is more spontaneous and evangelical.

A notable expression of high-church Anglicanism was the Oxford movement, which began as a response to changes in the legal status of the Church of England. Between 1828 and 1832, laws that had restricted Roman Catholics or required municipal officers to be practising Anglicans were repealed, and some Anglicans feared their Church might lose its established status. The movement's response was to emphasize that the Church was not dependent on the state, but derived its authority and truth from 'catholic' tradition—by which they meant not the Roman Catholic Church but the tradition that began with the apostles.

Between 1833 and 1841 John Keble, John Henry Newman, and others published 90 *Tracts for the Times*, arguing for the continuity of that tradition. The Tractarians, as they came to be called, also promoted a revival of Anglican interest in the aesthetics of the liturgy and the dignity of priesthood. Despite low-church fears of Roman Catholic influence, which were not allayed by the influx of immigrants from Catholic Ireland at the time of the famine, the Oxford movement succeeded in

bringing Anglicanism closer to Roman Catholicism. In fact, Newman himself became a Roman Catholic in 1845, and in 1879 he was made a cardinal.

Reformed Churches

From the 1520s to 1560s, the Reformation movement in and around Switzerland departed from Luther's position on several points. While Zwingli in Zürich disputed Luther's Eucharistic theology, Martin Bucer in Strasbourg promoted a more active role for lay people as ministers, elders, deacons, and teachers.

The dominant intellectual leader of the Reformation, however, was John Calvin (1509–64), a lawyer and classical scholar (even a Renaissance humanist) who imposed rigorous norms of doctrine and conduct on the city of Geneva. Calvin's Geneva has been described as a theocracy comparable to Iran under the rule of religio-legal scholars after 1979. Yet to his followers Calvin's trust in God's power and caring providence brought at least as much joy as it did fear.

Calvin's principal theological treatise, first published in 1536 and expanded in subsequent editions, is generally known in English as *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. In form, it is a manual of spiritual discipline or instruction in Christian piety. Calvin echoes Augustine's idea, expressed in the *Confessions*, that humans are created for communion with God and lack rest until they arrive at it. The human approach to God is both intellectual and spiritual; Calvin uses the term 'knowledge' almost synonymously with 'faith'. For Calvin, God is absolutely sovereign, initiating all actions, both creating and redeeming the world. Two implications of this teaching were given a central place by Calvin's interpreters, and the Reformed tradition has struggled to defend them ever since: the idea that humans are so sinful as to be utterly dependent on divine grace for salvation; and the idea that the sovereign God has **predestined** every person to either salvation or damnation. There is a juridical flavour to Calvin's system that recalls

Anselm, and the substitution of Christ as a payment for human sin, as in Anselm's atonement theory, had a central place in Calvin's thought, alongside the work of the Holy Spirit and the authority of scripture. So strong was Calvin's influence that the **Reformed Churches** are often referred to as Calvinist.

From sixteenth-century Geneva, the ideas of the Swiss Reformation spread to other lands, notably France (where the adherents of the Reformation are known as the Huguenots), the Netherlands, Hungary, England, and Scotland. In the Netherlands, Calvin's teaching of predestination was challenged by Jacobus Arminius, who believed that God's sovereignty was compatible with human free will. Arminian views were condemned by an assembly in Dordrecht (Dort) in 1518, which sentenced their supporter, the scholar and jurist Hugo Grotius to life imprisonment. (Grotius escaped in a box of books being shipped to his wife and settled for a time in Paris.)

In the Netherlands and Hungary, the Calvinist churches have been known as 'Reformed' churches, after their theological tradition. In England, the tradition was called Presbyterian, because of its form of government by lay elders or 'presbyters'; for the same reason, the established state Church of Scotland is termed Presbyterian. Reformed Churches do not have bishops; instead, the regional representative assembly, the presbytery, corporately performs the traditional tasks of a bishop, including the supervision, examination, and ordination of candidates for ministry. Through migration Presbyterianism has taken root on other continents. Presbyterians from England and Scotland settled in eastern Canada and the middle Atlantic American states, as well as in New Zealand and Australia. Dutch Reformed settlers carried their tradition to South Africa, New Amsterdam (New York), and Michigan. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Presbyterian missions from Britain and North America reached many parts of Asia and Africa, but in most cases the churches they founded remained small, and in Islamic

regions they found most of their recruits among Eastern Orthodox Christians. The Presbyterians did become a sizable minority in Korea, however.

Anabaptists

Each of the three branches of the Reformation named so far was willing, even eager, to take over the governance of the local European society and to replace established institutions by becoming an establishment itself. This was not the case with the somewhat more diverse and less cohesive group who became known as 'Anabaptists'.

The Anabaptists' emphasis on adult rather than infant baptism reflected their voluntaristic conception of Christianity. In their view, baptism should not be imposed: it should be actively sought on the basis of mature personal commitment. The Church should seek to restore the close-knit sense of community of the apostolic era, and should remain apart from political institutions and structures. Anabaptist groups rely on lay preachers rather than trained clergy and have tended to pacifism in times of war. Essentially an antiestablishment movement, the Anabaptist movement emerged in response to dissatisfaction with the pace of change in the first decade of the Reformation. One of the first breaks with the 'establishment' Reformation came in 1525, when some of the more radical followers of Zwingli began administering adult baptism in defiance of Zwingli himself.

A decade later, in the northwestern German town of Münster, Anabaptist efforts to establish the kingdom of God by force prompted a crack-down by Catholic and Protestant authorities alike. Thereafter a former Dutch priest named Menno Simons led the movement into a largely otherworldly and non-violent path. Since there was virtually no chance of removing the authorities, he urged his followers to remove themselves from society. Some of his followers—the Mennonites—settled in the Netherlands, where they enjoyed toleration and by the middle of the nineteenth century had largely assimilated to the secular climate of the Enlightenment. As the movement spread eastward

through Germany and Austria to the Ukraine, however, hardship and persecution led some to remove themselves from Europe altogether.

Mennonites who migrated to the Americas settled mainly in Pennsylvania and, later, Ontario and the Canadian prairies. In Pennsylvania, where some arrived as early as 1663, they came to be known as Pennsylvania Dutch (from *Deutsch*, meaning 'German'). Today most Mennonites are fully part of the modern world. Nevertheless, some branches, such as the Old Order Amish farmers in Pennsylvania and Ontario prefer traditional modes of dress and conduct. They continue to farm with the draft animals and simple tools of a century ago, resisting more modern machinery and gadgetry as part of the moral temptation and corruption of the secular world.

Unitarians

Unitarianism rejects the doctrine of the Trinity. So what does it have to do with a tradition that may be strictly defined as faith in Jesus as the son of God? Its relevance lies in the fact that it reflects the experience of those who have struggled intellectually with the doctrine of the Trinity and finally concluded that they could not affirm the divinity of Jesus. Historically, it is only in the context of traditional Christianity that Unitarianism makes sense.

As early as 1527 in Strasbourg, Martin Cellarius preferred to speak of God as a single person. Others expressed similar views. Subsequently, Unitarian communities emerged in several lands, including Poland and Hungary. In England, John Biddle began to publish Unitarian tracts in 1652, but a Unitarian congregation was not organized until 1773–4, when Theophilus Lindsey resigned from the Church of England and opened a Unitarian chapel in London.

In the United States, Unitarianism represented a left-wing theological break with Congregationalism (see p. 217 below). William Ellery Channing preached a sermon in Baltimore in 1819 that American Unitarians have taken as a kind of

denominational manifesto. However, Channing did not think of the Unitarians as a separate group and claimed to belong 'not to a sect, but to the community of free minds'.

In North America, Unitarianism has appealed mainly to people of a humanist and rationalist bent, often in university circles. In 1961, the Unitarians merged with a kindred group, the Universalists. Because of its minimal creedal demands, Unitarianism has often been the denomination of choice for Jewish-Christian couples.

Puritanism

Puritanism was not a denomination in itself, but a movement in English and colonial American Protestant churches that flourished from the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. It began as an effort to 'purify' the Church of England of the remnants of Catholic practice that it retained after the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, when Protestants exiled during the reign of the Catholic Mary I returned to England from Calvinist Geneva.

Among the ideas the exiles introduced from Geneva was the Calvinist theory of predestination. Some Anglican theologians, such as Richard Hooker and William Laud, preferred the free-will arguments of their Dutch contemporary Jacobus Arminius. But the Puritans held firmly to Calvinist theology, committing themselves to a rigorous view of human sinfulness and divine predestination.

Individuals who believed themselves to have been chosen by God for salvation tended to display a strict, sometimes smug, sense of moral vocation that was reflected in the Puritan movement. The poetry of John Milton (*Paradise Lost*) and the *Pilgrim's Progress* of John Bunyan are well-known literary expressions of Puritan ideals, which included moderation in behaviour and moral activism.

A seminal modern interpretation of Calvinist thinking was a 1904–5 essay by the German sociologist Max Weber. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber explored the Calvinist incentives for zealous, self-denying action to

transform the world of the here and now, however uncertain one's fate in the hereafter might remain. Although Reformation leaders preached otherworldly values and scorned the direct pursuit of riches, doing well could be a by-product of doing good. As Weber saw it, Calvinists (including Puritans) who were motivated both to work hard and to live simple lives tended to accumulate savings and thus to play an important role in a capitalist system. Puritans and English Presbyterians found themselves in substantial agreement in the Westminster Confession of Faith in 1647, and in the 1650s Oliver Cromwell sought to unite the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists in a Puritan state church. But the Church of England largely rid itself of Puritanism with the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, and thereafter Puritanism ceased to have a coherent existence as a movement in England. It had a ripple effect, however, in non-conformist (i.e., non-Anglican Protestant) denominations such as the Congregationalists. By the time Puritanism waned in England, it had already spread to the new world, carried by Puritan immigrants to New England.

Seventeenth-Century Denominations

Congregationalists

The Congregational churches trace their roots to 'separatist' clergy in the time of Elizabeth I, but they did not become a significant force in England until the time of Cromwell, in the mid-1600s. As far as doctrine is concerned, there is little to distinguish Congregationalism from Presbyterian Calvinism. Where they differ is in their form of governance. Carrying the notion of the priesthood of all believers to its logical conclusion, Congregationalists reject the idea of elders and accord each individual congregation the ultimate authority to manage its theological and institutional affairs: for them, the only higher power is God.

In England, Congregational churches formed a Congregational Union in 1832 and were active in political and missionary causes throughout

the nineteenth century. But the tradition's stronghold was Massachusetts, where Congregationalists founded Harvard University in 1637 in order not 'to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust'. Yale University (1701) and other educational institutions in the American northeast were also founded by Congregationalists.

Baptists

Like the Anabaptists in continental Europe, the English Baptists practised the baptism of mature believers rather than infants. But they were much more intimately connected with the Puritan movement in England than with the Anabaptists. They believed that people should choose their religion rather than be born into it, and that the individual's choice ought to be private and beyond any interference by the state. By the 1640s, the English Baptist movement had two branches. Calvinist, or 'Particular', Baptists reserved redemption for a particular sector of humanity, whereas 'General' Baptists proclaimed a general redemption for humanity.

The first Baptist churches in the United States were established as early as 1639, but the Baptist presence remained small until the revival movement of 1740–3 known as the Great Awakening. Though the Baptists were not among its principal protagonists, they made massive numerical gains in its wake. They positioned themselves to become the largest American Protestant denomination partly through their successful appeal to the Black population; by the middle of the twentieth century, two out of every three African-American Christians were Baptists.

Quakers

George Fox was an English dissenter who in 1646, after three years of seeking, claimed to have found spiritual enlightenment. He began to preach that moral and spiritual peace was not to be had in the institutional churches but in the experience

of the 'inner light' of the living Christ. He called his followers Friends of the Truth, but they became known as 'Quakers' after Fox, appearing in court on charges of blasphemy, advised the judge to tremble at the word of the Lord. The judge responded by calling Fox a 'quaker' and the name stuck, although the movement has called itself the Religious Society of Friends since the nineteenth century.

Quakers at worship combine intellectual and spiritual reflection, sitting in silence until moved by the Holy Spirit to speak. Although there is no ritual as such, meetings do follow conventions: roughly twenty minutes are allowed to pass before anyone speaks; senior members of the meeting generally speak first; and declarations are expected to be logical and thoughtful.

Quakers today number only about 100,000 worldwide, but their humanitarian work for peace and refugee-relief causes has earned the movement widespread respect. The Quakers are strongest in Pennsylvania (founded by William Penn in 1682 specifically as a place where Quakers might find religious toleration and free expression), Indiana, and around various university towns.

For all the diversity of their practice, the Congregationalists, Baptists, and Quakers shared one principle: rejection of external human authority—a central theme of the Reformation.

Eighteenth-Century Denominations

Pietism

The term '**Pietism**' designates not a denomination but a movement that rippled through various Protestant denominations, including the Lutherans in Germany and the Reformed (Calvinist) churches in the Netherlands, beginning in the late 1600s. Dissatisfied with the doctrinal and institutional rigidity they perceived in the Protestant churches emerging from the Reformation, Pietists sought a spontaneous renewal of faith accompanied by a feeling of certainty of divine forgiveness and acceptance. For many, that feeling of certainty was

all the evidence they needed to validate their faith. This position set Pietists against the emerging rationalism of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment but would find intellectual expansion in the emphasis laid on feeling by Schleiermacher (see p. 241). Pietism spread in Lutheran circles both in Europe and in the Americas. In the form articulated by the Moravian Brethren—who traced their origins to the early Czech reformer John Hus—it also influenced the Wesleyan movement in England and contributed to Methodism.

Methodists

In the late 1720s, a number of Anglican students at Oxford formed a group to study the Bible and attend church together. This methodical approach inspired others to nickname them 'Methodists'. Among them were John Wesley (1703–91), his younger brother Charles, and George Whitefield, all three of whom embarked on careers as itinerant preachers. In 1735 John and Charles set out on a mission to evangelize Native Americans in Georgia, but their condemnation of slavery made them unwelcome in the American South and they returned to England in 1738. A few months later, after a visit to a Moravian Pietist community, and three days after his brother Charles's conversion, John Wesley underwent a similar experience, feeling his heart 'strangely warmed', in Pietist fashion.

John Wesley began to preach to public gatherings, often of miners and workers, outside the established churches. In the 53 years until his death, he preached more than 40,000 sermons, averaging 15 a week, and travelled some 320,000 kilometres (200,000 miles), mainly on horseback. Though he had at first hoped his movement would revitalize the Church of England from within, Wesley eventually oversaw the organization of his following as an independent denomination and personally ordained leaders for it. Charles Wesley also became an itinerant preacher, but would be remembered above all for the many hymns he composed.

Revivalism

By the mid-1700s, the Pietist model of spiritual rebirth or conversion had spread to several denominations. Efforts to promote a reawakening of spiritual enthusiasm resulted in a wave of revivals, especially in the American colonies. The 'Great Awakening' of 1740–3 was one such movement, sparked by the Calvinist preaching of a gifted and versatile theologian named Jonathan Edwards after a visit from the Wesleys' associate George Whitefield. Its influence spread from Massachusetts throughout New England and well beyond, altering the shape of American Protestantism as the nation expanded westward.

Itinerant preachers addressing camp meetings—large gatherings, typically held in the open air and sometimes continuing for several days—inspired mass conversions. Although Edwards had preached mainly to Congregationalists and Presbyterians, the Methodists and Baptists were the most successful in making new recruits. The Methodists became the largest Protestant denomination in the American Midwest and, after the Baptists, in the American South as well.

Holiness Churches

In time the main Methodist bodies in America became more organized and conventional, more sedate and mainline. But new independent churches and movements continued to spring from the revivalist roots of Methodism. Because of their emphasis on the experience of receiving the gift of holiness, these congregations are often referred to as **Holiness Churches**. Among them are the Church of the Nazarene and the Church of God (started in Anderson, Indiana).

The intensity of feeling associated with that experience is often expressed physically. Some people roll in the aisles of the meeting (hence the nickname 'holy rollers'); some speak out ecstatically in an exotic prayer language ('speaking in tongues', technically termed '**glossolalia**'). In either case, the group believes such behaviour to

be inspired by the Holy Spirit. Though initially a Protestant phenomenon, this **charismatic** activity (from the Greek word for spiritual gifts) has spread to Catholic Christians as well since the 1970s.

Roman Catholicism after 1500

The Catholic Reformation

The Roman Church itself recognized the need to correct the abuses of ecclesiastical power that Luther had condemned. With the Council of Trent (1545–63), the Latin Church embarked on a process of renewal emphasizing discipline, accountability, and faithfulness to ecclesiastical and historical tradition that would come to be known as either the 'Catholic Reformation' or the 'Counter Reformation' (because it was designed to counter the rise of Protestantism).

The Council of Trent

After several delays, the Council of Trent opened in 1545 at the Italian city of Trento, northwest of Venice, and continued on and off until 1563, when it finished with a burst of decisive energy. Although participation was restricted to Catholic bishops, Protestants were in attendance at some of the sessions, and for a time there was even hope for reconciliation and reunion, but a compromise could not be achieved. The decrees formulated at Trent—the adjective for them is 'Tridentine'—would stand as the Roman Catholic Church's self-definition for four centuries. They covered the entire range of issues, practical and theoretical, that had come to a boil in the Reformation.

Historians differ in their assessments of the Roman Catholic response to the Reformation. Protestants see the post-Tridentine era as one of repression, pointing to the *Index of Prohibited Books*, which was institutionalized at Trent, and the revival of the investigative tribunals of the Inquisition as examples. Catholic interpreters do not deny that there was an *Index* or an Inquisition, but

they underline the need for discipline and fidelity to truth understood conservatively, as well as to a genuine desire for renewal.

The council acted to enforce discipline and end the abuses and excesses that had so weakened the Church's credibility as an institution. It stood its ground against some of the Protestants' theoretical positions, however. It reaffirmed the authority of institutional tradition alongside scripture. It also upheld the idea of a priesthood with a distinct status and function as intermediaries, reaffirming the tradition of celibacy and creating seminaries for training new priests. In addition, Trent reiterated the Catholic understanding of the mass as a sacrifice. According to the doctrine of **transubstantiation**, the words 'this is my body' and 'this is my blood' are literally and mysteriously effective, transforming the wafer and the wine of the mass into the body and the blood of Christ.

For four centuries after Trent, the Tridentine text of the mass, in Latin, was standard throughout the Catholic world. Since Latin was no longer spoken by the congregation, however, the moment of transubstantiation was indicated by the ringing of a small bell. For the faithful that moment is one of mystery and miracle, but others have dismissed it as a show; the English expression 'hocus-pocus' is thought to have originated in a garbling of the words *hoc est corpus meum*, 'this is my body', pronounced in Latin by the priest.

The Jesuits

Founded shortly before the Council of Trent, in 1540, the Society of Jesus, or Jesuit order, exemplified three of the principal areas of renewal in the Catholic Church after the Reformation: spiritual discipline, education, and missionary expansion. Its founder, Iñigo López (c. 1495–1556), of the northern Spanish town of Loyola, is better known by the name Ignatius, which he used after the age of forty. In his twenties, Iñigo was practically a soldier of fortune, serving with bravado in the retinues of nobles until he was wounded in the leg by a cannonball. He chose painful corrective

surgery, in an age without anesthesia. The books available during his convalescence included the lives of saints, which may have influenced his decision to take religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

It was while following a regimen of prayer and bodily self-denial in 1522–3 that he wrote his *Spiritual Exercises*. A concise manual for Christian meditation, a theological reflection on Christ's incarnation as a divine intervention in human history, and a call to arms to join a spiritual crusade, it is a classic of Catholic piety. An encyclical of Pope Paul III in 1548 gave it the most favourable papal endorsement for any book ever with the possible exception of the Bible, and in 1922 Pope Pius XI designated Ignatius, who had been canonized exactly 300 years earlier, the patron saint of spiritual exercises.

After being rejected for permanent residence in Jerusalem, which was under Turkish control, Ignatius returned to Spain in 1524, where he studied philosophy and gained followers for his spiritual exercises. Because the heresy-hunting climate in Spain put restrictions on his activity, he moved to Paris in 1528 and with six friends formed a society in 1534 vowing strict poverty and service to others. In the next few years they moved to Italy, where several, including Ignatius, were ordained as priests. In 1540, Pope Paul III approved the society as a religious order, which Ignatius led as 'general' until his death sixteen years later.

As time passed, the Jesuits became particularly important as teachers, well known for rigorous intellectual training. Many institutions are named in honour of one or another of the leading figures in the order's first century: in addition to Ignatius himself, these figures include Robert Bellarmine, Peter Canisius, Aloysius Gonzaga, and Francis Xavier.

As a result of their influence as educators, the Jesuits became the confessor priests of royalty in several European courts, both admired and criticized for their intricate reasoning on moral questions ('casuistry'). After the middle of the

From a letter of Marie de l'Incarnation

In 1654, 15 years after her arrival in Quebec, Marie de l'Incarnation wrote to her son describing her mystic relationship with the divine.

The state which I now experience . . . is a completely extraordinary clearness about the ways of the adorable Spirit of the Word Incarnate. I know, experientially in great pureness and certainty, that here is Love Himself intimately joined to me and joining my spirit to His and 'all that He has said has spirit and life, [John 6: 63], in me. Particularly does my soul experience being in this intimate union with Him. . . .

I find myself frequently saying to Him: 'Divine Spirit, guide me in the ways of my Divine Spouse.' I am continuously engaged in this divine exchange in a fashion and a manner so delicate, so simple, and so intense that there is no way of expressing it. It is not an act. It is not a sigh. It is an air so gentle in the centre of the soul where God has His dwelling that . . . I cannot find words to express it. My converse with the adorable Majesty contains only what the Spirit makes me say. It is by Him that I speak because in this language of the spirit in such exchanges as these wherein His Divine Majesty wills to dignify my lowliness I am entirely incapable of doing anything except through his very delicate urging (O'Brien 1964: 297-8).

eighteenth century, however, suspicion of their 'foreign' political influence led to their expulsion from Portugal, France, and Spain, and in 1773 Rome suspended the order in Latin countries. The suspension was never extended to Russia, however, and individual Jesuits continued to teach in Germany and Austria. Rome reinstated the order in 1814.

Catholic Women's Orders

The most prominent Catholic teaching order of women dates from exactly the same period. The Ursulines, founded in 1535 in Italy by Angela Merici, became particularly influential in France and Canada. One of the most famous Ursulines was the mystic Marie Guyard (1599-1672), known as Marie de l'Incarnation. Left a widow before she was 20, she entrusted her young son to her sister

established a convent, a school, and a 'seminary' for young Aboriginal women. Her numerous letters are an invaluable source of information on early New France. She also wrote of her personal development as a mystic.

Roman Catholic Missions

Asia

India

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established a convent, a school, and a 'seminary' for young Aboriginal women. Her numerous letters are an invaluable source of information on early New France. She also wrote of her personal development as a mystic.

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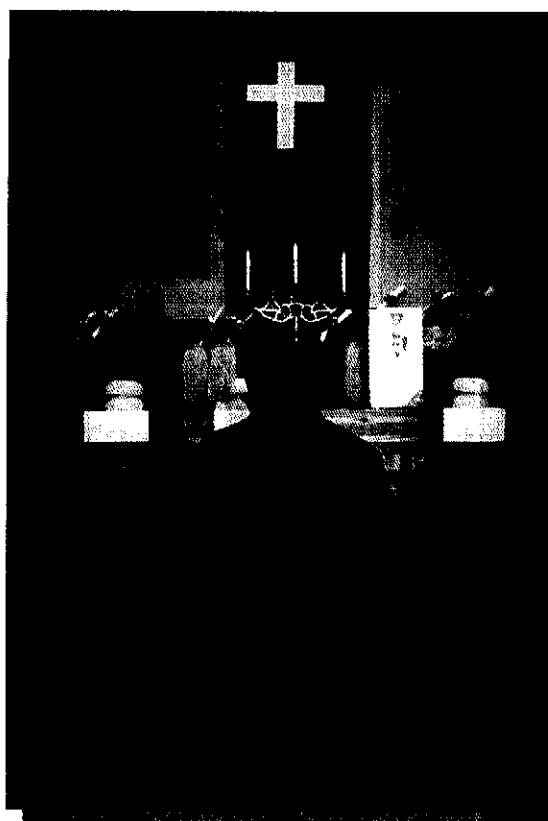
In 1599 the archbishop of Goa persuaded the indigenous Syriac Church ('the Christians of St Thomas') of the Malabar Coast to repudiate the patriarch of Baghdad and transfer their allegiance to Rome. But fifty years later many of this community, disappointed with the Jesuits' performance, transferred their allegiance to the Syrian Orthodox Church.

Much of the success achieved by missionaries in Portuguese territories has been attributed to the material benefits that came with conversion; access to food, employment, or special privileges induced many economically and socially disadvantaged Hindus to convert (those who did so were sometimes called 'rice Christians'). During the first half of the seventeenth century, however, the Italian Jesuit Robert De Nobili took a different approach, trying to adapt Christianity to the local culture. An aristocrat himself, he set out to reach the brahmin class of Hindus by adopting the discipline of Indian holy men and by not challenging the caste structure of Indian society. He avoided contact with outcastes and advocated the appointment of different missionaries to preach to different Hindu castes. He also studied various Indian languages, including Sanskrit, and wrote books, hymns, and poems in them. He is said to have made 100,000 converts, but other missionaries were critical of his approach. Summoned to appear before the archbishop of Goa to respond to complaints, he was allowed to continue, but the degree to which missionaries should assimilate to local cultures was to remain a perennial subject of debate.

Japan

In Japan, where Francis Xavier spent three years (1549–52), assimilation to the local culture at first produced remarkable success. The Portuguese priests admired the Japanese, especially the military discipline of the feudal class. For their part, the Japanese seem to have found the Jesuits similar to their own Zen monks in discipline and learning, and to have seen Christianity as another

Buddhist sect. It was policy to conform to Japanese etiquette, as Alessandro Valignano indicated on his inspection visit to Jesuit missions there in 1579; he stipulated that all local customs not explicitly in contradiction to Christianity should be observed. Especially on the southwestern island of Kyushu, various local Japanese lords, who were eager to build up trade, encouraged the missionaries, espoused Christianity, and imposed it on their realms. An estimated 150,000 Japanese had become Christians by 1582, and by 1615 that figure may have risen as high as 500,000. But Japanese rulers were arising who saw the influence of the missionaries as a threat. In 1587 the shogun Hideyoshi Toyotomi ordered the missionaries banished, though he did not enforce the ban until 1597, when he executed nine missionaries



A descendant of Japan's 'Kakure Kirishitan', or 'Hidden Christians', conducts a ritual in front of holy relics on Ikitsuki Island (KIYOSHI OTA/Reuters/Landov).

and seventeen Japanese Christians. The Tokugawa shogun Hidetada consolidated power in central Japan and, after a few years of anti-Christian edicts, undertook in 1614 to round up and deport the 150 Christian missionaries who were in Japan at the time, but about a third of them managed to find their way back.

The persecution of Christians intensified under Hidetada, reaching a peak in the early 1620s. Torture awaited those who would not comply when asked to step on an image of Christ or Mary. The Roman Catholic Church counts 3,125 as martyrs in this period in Japan. Around Nagasaki, where Christianity had been strongest, resentment of the central Tokugawa government prompted an uprising in 1637–8, but the crushing of this resistance marked the end of Japan's 'Christian century'. Catholic Christianity ceased to be a presence in Japan, although when the country was opened up to renewed foreign contact two centuries later, in 1858, missionaries discovered a small remnant community that had kept the faith alive, if in a garbled form.

China

When the Italian Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci landed at the southern Chinese port of Macau in 1582, he was far from the first to have taken Christianity to China. We know of two previous waves: one was the Nestorian branch of Christianity, which had travelled overland to Xi'an in 635, and the other a Catholic mission under the Franciscan John of Monte Corvino, which travelled overland to Beijing in 1294. Although no Christian community survived from these earlier waves, there was a monument: a Nestorian inscription on a large standing stone that the Jesuits found in Xi'an almost a thousand years after it had been carved.

Ricci did his best to avoid alienating the Chinese. When he and his Jesuit companions first made their way into southern China after 1582, they wore clothing similar to that of Buddhist monks and conducted themselves unobtrusively. After being ordered in 1589 to leave one

southern locale, they apparently acted on the advice of a local convert and presented themselves as Confucian-style scholars rather than Buddhist-style monks.

Ricci and the Jesuits won favour at the imperial court in Beijing by offering the emperor gifts such as lenses and prisms, mechanical clocks, and European maps. Not only were the Jesuits invited to stay, but they received a monthly stipend. Ricci remained in Beijing until his death nine years later. This was a period of active cultural exchange, in which Chinese philosophical and religious texts were translated into Latin and European scientific and mathematical texts were translated into Chinese.

One of Ricci's successors was a German Jesuit named Adam Schall von Bell, who had studied Galileo's astronomy in Rome. He arrived in China in 1619, was given a post in the imperial bureau of astronomy in 1629 with responsibilities for reforming the calendar, and was made chief of the bureau in 1645 after he had helped cure the empress dowager of an illness. In 1650, Schall was able to build a church in Beijing that the emperor even attended. When he was in his mid-seventies, however, Schall was sentenced for plotting against the state, probably because of complaints from jealous Chinese astronomers.

There were complaints from Europeans as well, notably Dominicans and Franciscans, concerning the Jesuits' strategy of accommodating indigenous cultural traditions. Schall's successor, the Flemish Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest, spent more than thirty years in China, from 1657 until 1688, during which three issues in particular raised questions about the compatibility of Chinese customs and Christianity. First, the Jesuits allowed Chinese converts to take part in rituals honouring Confucius, presumably thereby endorsing his moral system as compatible with Christianity. Second, they permitted converts to continue practising the rituals of 'ancestor worship', in which deceased family members were honoured with prostrations, incense, and food offerings. Third was the question

of whether Chinese terms such as 'Tian' ('heaven'), and 'Shangdi' ('the Lord above'), meant the same thing as the Christian term 'God'.

Politically, the Jesuits were walking a tight-rope. On the one hand, they wanted to win over the Chinese mandarins and so needed to offer a subtle and judicious endorsement of Chinese culture. On the other hand, they were being challenged by rival orders, notably the Franciscans and Dominicans, who, because of their medieval experience in Europe and recent experience among tribal populations in places such as the Philippines automatically condemned anything that smacked of paganism.

The confrontational evangelism of these orders in China embarrassed the Jesuits. Meanwhile, in 1639, a Dominican complained to Rome about the Jesuits, representing their positions on some points (such as their reluctance to declare Confucius to be in hell) accurately and misrepresenting them on others. Rome essentially agreed, and it took the Jesuits fifteen years to get the charges cleared.

The closing years of the seventeenth century brought renewed suspicion of the Jesuits' strategy of accommodation, this time voiced by French missionaries. The upshot, in 1693, was a ruling by Charles Maigrot, a papal vicar in coastal China, that condemned Ricci's teachings, participation in the Chinese rites, and the use of Chinese terms for God. The emperor, who had just issued an edict of toleration, remained sympathetic to the Jesuits, but when a papal legate—another Frenchman—arrived in China in 1705, he and Maigrot together showed themselves to be so ignorant of Chinese culture that the emperor banished them.

The emperor subsequently gave residence permits only to pro-Ricci missionaries. But with Ricci's death in 1722, any Christian hope for the evangelization of China from the top down came to an end. Within a few years, there were hardly any Christians left among the Chinese literati. Meanwhile, the restrictions imposed by Maigrot were renewed by papal decrees in 1715 and again

in 1742, severely curtailing the ability of Catholic missionaries in China to present Christianity in indigenous terms.

Three centuries after Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, Catholic missions in Asia were left with almost nothing apart from the Philippines to show for their efforts. European Christianity had failed to displace the religious traditions, social institutions, and sophisticated intellectual heritages of the Eastern civilizations. In the Western hemisphere, by contrast, the story was just the opposite. Latin America was to become a new heartland of Catholicism.

Catholic Missions in the Americas

Barely a year after Columbus landed at Santo Domingo in 1492, a papal bull effectively divided the non-European world between Spain and Portugal. Africa, Asia, and Brazil went to Portugal, and the rest of Latin America to Spain. From the very beginning, therefore, an intimate relationship existed between the Church and the state in Latin America.

When Hernán Cortés reached Mexico in 1519 and Francisco Pizarro reached Peru in 1532–3, they encountered highly sophisticated social and religious institutions. Yet the great civilizations of the Aztecs and Mayas in Mexico and the Incas in Peru seemed to fall like dominoes before the relatively small European forces. In the past, some historians attributed the Europeans' success to their advantage in weapons, or their use of horses, which the indigenous peoples of the Americas did not have. More recent theories have emphasized the devastating effect of European diseases on populations that had no natural immunity to them.

In Mexico, the Aztec ruler Moctezuma (Montezuma) even welcomed Cortés with gifts. One explanation of that episode suggests that the Aztecs were expecting the god Quetzalcoatl to arrive from the east in the form of a fair-skinned king, and therefore may have perceived Cortés and his men as the fulfillment of their religious expectations. If

Bernardino de Sahagún and Bartolomé de las Casas

Two important exceptions to the standard missionary pattern in Latin America were Bernardino de Sahagún and Bartolomé de las Casas. Sahagún (c. 1490–1590) was a Franciscan who made it his business not only to learn the language of the Aztecs but to document their myths, symbols, and rituals. His *Historia de las cosas de Nueva España* ('History of matters in New Spain') is an invaluable ethnographic record of Mexico at the time of its conquest by Cortés.

Bartolomé de las Casas (1484–1566) arrived in the New World in 1502 and settled in Hispaniola with his father. In 1513 he served as a chaplain with the Spanish forces that conquered Cuba. Like every veteran of that campaign, he was given a parcel of land and a number of local people to work it, effectively as slave labour. But las Casas soon renounced his allotment of serfs and set out to win a hearing for the rights of the indigenous people. He eventually joined the Dominican order and wrote a monumental *Historia de las Indias* ('History of the Indies'), detailing the abuses committed by the Spanish in Mexico, which was published only after his death.

Named bishop of Chiapas in Guatemala in 1544, he denied absolution to any slave-holders in his diocese. And in 1550 he returned to Spain to defend the Latin American indigenous people's case in a great debate—held at the request of the king—on the moral justification for European Christian conquest of the peoples of the New World. The issues that las Casas raised concerning cultural imperialism and the use of force are still relevant today.

that was the case, they were sadly mistaken. The priests and friars who accompanied the conquerors had been sent not to fulfill but to displace and destroy Mexican religion. And Cortés himself required that any Mexican tribe seeking to ally itself with the Spanish destroy its sacred images.

In numerical terms, the missionary effort appears to have been a tremendous success. One Franciscan friar calculated that within ten years he had baptized 200,000 local people, as many as 14,000 in a single day. The authenticity of those conversions is questionable, however.

Some of the clergy spoke no South American language, and therefore had to rely on pictures, symbols, and gestures to convey their message. Nor did conquered populations necessarily abandon their traditions when they accepted Christianity. Behind the Christian altars in Mexico were pagan images; inside early Mexican crucifixes were Aztec cult objects; and in coastal Brazil, where West African blacks were taken as slaves, African tribal deities persist to this day in the guise of Catholic saints in the folk religion known as

candomblé. These are only a few examples of the **syncretism**—the fusion of elements from very different traditions—that characterizes Catholic Christianity in Latin America even today.

As the missionaries, accompanied by civilians and soldiers, extended their reach to Paraguay and Argentina in the south and California in the north, they established autonomous villages known as *reducciones* ('reductions'), where local people were protected from colonial enslavement. The price of that protection included acceptance both of Christianity and of a paternalistic system in which the residents' life and work were strictly laid out for them.

By the end of the colonial era, according to some estimates, the Church controlled half of the productive land under Spanish rule. Today Latin America is home to half the world's Roman Catholics, and from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego, Roman Catholicism is the majority religion. Despite the presence of some rapidly growing Protestant groups, particularly **Pentecostal churches**, Catholic Christianity would seem to have no serious

The Virgin of Guadalupe

Across the Western hemisphere, syncretism has given local people religious figures that they can identify as their own. The most important of these figures in Mexico is the Virgin of Guadalupe, whose cult goes back to a hill near Mexico City that was sacred to the Aztec goddess Tonantzin, who was herself a virgin mother of gods. In 1531 a Christian convert named Juan Diego reported an apparition of a beautiful lady who said she was 'one of his own people' and instructed him to gather roses from the hilltop and present them to the bishop. He wrapped them in a piece of cloth, and when he opened the package before the bishop, an image of the Virgin appeared to be visible on the cloth. Preserved in a basilica at the foot of the hill, the cloth is still venerated today, and the cult that surrounds it is reminiscent of popular piety in medieval Europe.

rival in Latin America. On the other hand, Latin American Catholicism may actually contain within itself the rival that it appears to lack. Interfaith dialogue may be today's agenda for Christians in other religiously diverse regions of the world, such as India or North America, but in Latin America the dialogue is with the indigenous past and is internal to the Christian community.

Catholicism in North America

North America is a region where diverse Roman Catholic influences have met and interacted, some carried by missionaries and others by settlers. The Spanish missionary activity in Latin America, for instance, contributed diverse legacies to North America. Florida was an area of early settlement direct from Spain. Texas and New Mexico were part of Mexico until the mid-nineteenth century. In California, the Franciscans established a chain of missions along the coast, the last and northernmost at Sonoma, north of San Francisco, in 1823.

As Russian settlers had established Fort Ross, with an Orthodox chapel, only a little farther north along the same coast, there was an element of competition between the Spaniards, who had arrived in North America via the Atlantic, and the Russians, who had arrived via Siberia. Arguably, the encounter between the Spanish and the Russians in California marks the moment when Christianity finally encircled the globe.

But the Spanish and Portuguese were not the only missionaries to the New World. To the north were the French. In 1535–6 the French explorer Jacques Cartier had sailed up the St Lawrence River as far as the first rapids. Because he was looking for a route to China, he called the spot—near the site of the future Montreal—Lachine. But a permanent French settlement on the St Lawrence had to await the arrival, in 1603, of Samuel de Champlain, who explored upstream to Ottawa and the Great Lakes.

Missionaries followed: four Récollet friars in 1615 and five Jesuits in 1625. The Jesuit Jacques Marquette arrived in Quebec in 1666 and two years later founded a mission at Sault Ste Marie (i.e., St Mary's rapids) at the northern end of Lake Michigan. With the layman Louis Jolliet, who was a native of New France, he explored southward along the Mississippi River. French missionary activity among the Iroquois and other indigenous peoples was handled largely by the Jesuits. Their respect for local ways played an important part in persuading indigenous people to adopt Christianity. But Native traditions were not eradicated.

In recent years, Native traditions of respect for the creator and the creation (i.e., the natural environment) in particular have been attracting new attention. The other major inroads of European Catholicism in North America were the result of migration. French settlements developed along the St Lawrence, in Acadia (Nova Scotia),

and along the lower Mississippi (Louisiana), while the colony of Maryland was established in 1632 by George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, specifically as a refuge for Catholics fleeing persecution in England. In time, other regions, including Atlantic Canada and the future Ontario, would also attract Catholic settlers from the British Isles.

From the mid-nineteenth century on, the growth of industrial cities along the East coast of North America attracted large numbers of immigrants from Ireland and later from Italy. In fact, the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Catholic Church in North America has tended to mirror the local settlement history. Thus in the past many American bishops were of Irish descent, and their successors are increasingly likely to come from Italian or Hispanic backgrounds. There are also newer Catholic immigrant communities of Portuguese, Filipinos, and others. Modern migration reflects the worldwide spread of Christianity; because of their links with the Western Christian world, Christian minorities are somewhat overrepresented among the migrants from different parts of Asia settling in the West today.

PRACTICE

The Early Church

The early Christians gathered regularly in one another's homes on Sunday mornings, perhaps choosing that time because of its association with the risen Christ. Spontaneous, even trance-like, activity was accepted as a manifestation of the presence of the Holy Spirit, but the norm was a more formalized ritual consisting of prayer, affirmations of faith, song, scripture reading, preaching, and the Eucharistic service. Many services concluded with a benediction or blessing by the officiating minister or priest.

Christian prayer is reverent and contemplative conversation with the divine, in which practitioners seek to align their attitudes and motivations

with it. Christians can pray individually as well as in groups; indeed, Jesus instructs his disciples not to make a show of prayer, but to pray in privacy. He teaches them what is known as the Lord's Prayer, often referred to by its opening words, 'Our Father' (in Latin, *Pater noster*). This prayer was already in fairly wide use around the end of the first century, when the gospels were produced, and is shared by all branches of Christians.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come; thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil [for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever].²

Since most Christians know the Lord's Prayer by heart, it is usually recited in unison during worship. Most of the other prayers included in a service are recited by the officiating priest or minister on behalf of the congregation.

The Eucharist

The Eucharist is also common to all branches of Christianity, although it is referred to by different names. It re-enacts the Passover supper that, according to the synoptic gospels, was Jesus' last meal with his disciples, when he distributed the bread and wine, declaring them to be his body and blood, and asked the disciples to do the same in remembrance of him.

Because Jesus gives thanks before distributing the bread and wine, the ritual is called the Eucharist, from the Greek word for thanksgiving. Roman Catholics commonly refer to the Eucharistic service as the mass, from the final words of the Latin Eucharistic ritual, *Ite, missa est* ('Go; it has been delivered'). Many Protestants refer to the ritual as Holy Communion or the Lord's Supper. Eastern Orthodox Christians frequently refer to the