

ART. II.—THE CHARACTER OF THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH,
AND ITS RELATION TO LUTHERANISM AND CALVINISM.

[The following article, now translated from the German, was published in the October number of the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1850. Though somewhat difficult to read, it will richly repay perusal, on account of the new light which it throws on the early history of the German Reformed Church. The author is Dr. H. Heppel, Licentiate and Professor of Theology in the University of Marburg.]

BEING engaged for some time past in the study of archival records, bearing on the historical development of German Protestantism, the conviction gradually forced itself upon me, that the so-called Calvinistic Reform, introduced into the Palatinate, Hesse, and partly into Brandenburg, and several other countries of Germany, must be looked at from a point of view altogether different from the usual one. The common view will appear worthy of little confidence, when we remember that the events, occurring in the Hessian Church between the years 1600 and 1610, have hitherto rested in obscurity, and that in the history of the Church of the Palatinate, the particularly important period, from 1561 to 1567, has been

handled in a manner altogether external and unsatisfactory in the older work of Struve and in later treatises, such as Seisen's "History of the Reformation at Heidelberg," and Vicordt's "History of the Reformation in the Grand Duchy of Baden." I was thus led to undertake a strict examination of the church history of the Palatinate and Hesse (for which the archives of Cassel afforded the necessary documents) in order to determine the character of the Reformed Church established in these countries, by a comparison of the results thus obtained with the universal phenomena observed in the development of collective Protestantism. A very concise statement of these investigations and their results I now take the liberty of communicating.

CALVINISM.

Evangelical Protestantism did not enter into history as a dogma and a doctrine, but as a work of earnest souls, who, prompted by an unappeasable longing after a personal interest in redemption, strove to surmount the restrictions that bound them in the old church order. Hence its character is just what the essence of Christianity is in a formal view, salvation in the possession of every believer.* As soon, however, as Protestantism became conscious of its inward antagonism to the dogma of righteousness by works, to which merit on the part of the believer is wholly *essential*, it was compelled of itself to embrace the dogmatic conviction, that the self-determination of the subject to a personal communion with God in Christ, i. e., *Faith*, could be the only and exclusive condition of salvation. But the carrying out of this principle was possible both in a *conservative* and in a *radical* way. The first Luther followed, and with him the whole German Reformation. And hence the delivery of the Augsburg Confession took place with the express design of proving by it, that the Evangelical Estates, with their reformation, should remain throughout upon the foundation of the old Church.

Far otherwise, on the contrary, fared it with the Reformation beyond Germany, especially after it fell into the hands of Calvin. This powerful systematizer made use of the above mentioned principle—the ardent longing of the individual after a personal interest in redemption—in a manner altogether radical, i. e., he brought this principle of Protestantism to bear

* And herein lies at the same time the divine right of Evangelical Protestantism.

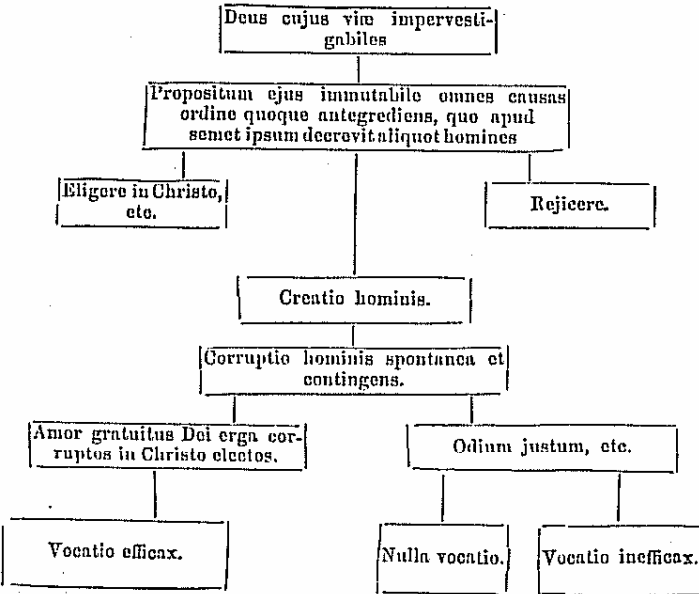
not against isolated corruptions of the old Church, but *against its universal conception*; for to him the free, personal access of the believer to the personal source of salvation, only appeared possible by the entire destruction of the idea of the Church as a communion, which includes in itself a peculiar, historically conditioned life in the process of development, and conveys through its traditional organs and ordinances the gift of salvation to each of its members. But, since the gift of salvation could not be conveyed to each member through the historically and organically mediating life of the Church, *the absolute, unmediated will of God remained as the only condition of salvation*. The root of the Calvinistic principle, therefore, is a protest against every tradition of grace conveyed by the ordinances of a historical Church. Calvin tore the individual loose from the ground of history, in order to bring him into absolute unmediated dependence on the divine will. Hence he found in the dogma of predestination the principle of his system and the nerves and sinews of his whole doctrine.* This fundamental protest against every sacramental meaning of the church order, handed down in history, revolves perpetually between two poles, one of which shows itself as the exclusive origin of salvation in the unchangeable will of God, and the other as absolute subjectivism. By the denial of all free spontaneity to man the whole race appears like a great host of puppets, part of whom are held in the condemning, and part in the saving hand of God, and each one hanging by the *funiculus desperationis*.† The church order of the sacraments plays throughout a meaningless part in its historical transmission among those who are already predestined to eternal happiness or misery, and only becomes a *sign* of the communication of grace when it happens to meet with one of the elect, in which case the reception of the external elements coincides with the unmediated reception of the gifts of divine grace. In the prosecution of this fundamental view and its natural consequences, it came to pass that Calvin denied the participation of unbelievers in the Lord's Supper and the necessity of infant baptism—abolished the specific distinction between the communication of grace in the *Word* and in the *Sacraments*—regarded the relation of the *res externa* in the sacrament to the

* All other principles ascribed to Calvin (on which consult Schweizer's *Dogmatik*) leave the question, on what ground Calvin could find this necessary, unanswered.

† In his *Summa totius Christianismi*, Theodore Beza sets forth the Calvinistic

res interna as that of a sign to the thing signified—founded worship in its simplicity and public morals in their severity on the letter of Holy Writ (i. e., of the divine will delivered once for all) and in his form of church government made great account of the rights of subjectivity over against every kind of churchly authority.*

But a system, hanging by such a "*funis desperationis*," can never have power to satisfy the unappeasable necessities of the human heart. And, although the collective creeds of the dogma of predestination very clearly in the form of a genealogical tree, the beginning of which is as follows:



* Hence it happened, moreover, that the Calvinistic doctrine, because it could not allow the right of historical development, even in itself, appeared complete from the beginning, whilst Lutheranism gradually improved and purified itself;—hence, too, that the Reformed Church, carrying out the right of subjectivity to its consequences, had just as many confessions as territories [for it suffered each individual society to embody its conceptions of truth in its own peculiar forms], whilst the Lutheran embraced all its territories in the communion of the *Augustana*;—and hence also, that Calvinism, with its subjectivism opened gate and door to the entrance of sects, whilst the German Reformation, in spite of all its theological quarrels, understood how to keep alive successfully the feeling of the need of churchly communion.

Reformed Church place the doctrine of predestination at the head of their dogmatic explications, yet we find the pure and severe metaphysics of Calvin firmly retained by scarcely any confession. Nearly all treat the dogma in an *infralapsarian* sense (which severs the life-nerve of Calvin's system), and, at the Synod of Dort, Gomarus, with his Calvinistic supralapsarianism, found himself in the position of a separatist. Three confessions only contain the dogma of Calvin pure and uncolored, namely, the *Consensus pastorum Genevensis ecclesiae*, the *Formula Consensus Helvetica* of 1675, and the *Westminster Confession* of the Puritans. But the *Consensus* of Geneva has most probably been just as little subscribed even by Zurich as by any other of the Swiss churches. The *Helvetic Formula* is to be regarded only as a posthumous work of the Church, or rather as a scholastic production, which was forgotten by the Church in a few decades of years, so that neither the one document nor the other can serve as a witness to the spirit which animated the Reformed Church, and the *Westminster Confession* alone remains as the solitary symbol of Predestination,—evidence enough, that strict Calvinism, in its protest against the historical and sacramental Church, and in its recourse to the *decretum Dei absolutum* possesses no living power. Even Calvin himself was compelled, in most open contradiction to his principles, to insist strongly on the necessity and significance of divinely ordained church ordinances to the life of faith!*

THE GERMAN REFORMATION.

In diametrical opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine, the German Reformation had from the first held firmly to the historical ground and the objective character of the Church. The perception of the fact, that tradition stood in contradiction with itself (i. e., Scripture † with the later dogmatic development of the Church), called forth measures, by which that defect of tradition might be obviated. This happened, when Luther made so much account of the eminent significance of the Scripture and of the primitive Church against the succeeding church development, because he found in that just what his religious consciousness demanded,—namely, the

* Compare Calv. Instit. iv., 11, 12, 13.

† It is here worthy of notice, that according to the Catholic view, from which the Reformers diverged, the Scripture throughout appears only as an element of tradition.

express assurance to the penitent sinner of a true personal possession of salvation. If this Scripture-principle had only worked itself out into the consciousness of the Protestant world, the tradition of the Church would never have been ignored (as in Calvinism), but acknowledged in its proper and corrected form, i. e., *according to the measure of the Holy Scriptures*. For the Augsburg Confession was only a corrective and palliative, founded on the authority of Scripture, against various unscriptural elements brought into tradition in the old Church. This itself, with its catholic character, continued to be essentially acknowledged, until the force of events (at first gradually) produced and sharpened the consciousness of a churchly antagonism in the Confession.*

Since it was now acknowledged by the German Reformation that salvation is mediated and conveyed to the individual through traditional organs and ordinances, it became necessary that the dogma of the eucharist, for example, should assume the following preliminary form: "Where the sacrament is rightly (stiftungs mässig) administered, it is always the bearer of supernatural grace, and with the visible species really conveys also the invisible blessing." In this form of the dogma, which corresponds strictly to Art. 10 of the unaltered Augsburg Confession, Catholicism and Lutheranism stand on common ground; for even the Catholic dogma is in no wise injured by this formula. But the difference of the Catholic dogma becomes apparent when looked at from the side of the principle of the Reformation and measured by its rule. According to the primitive view of Protestantism, salvation was prepared only with the express design of becoming the personal property of the individual. It was not given for its own sake merely, nor for idle exhibition,† but in order that every one might lay hold of it and possess it for himself. God, therefore, bestows the blessings of grace in the sacrament only for the purpose of participation. Since then, the object of the divine institution

* The Augsburg Confession was never esteemed as a new ground of church life, in the time of the Reformation, but regarded rather as a church reform, modelled after the Gospel and bearing witness for itself; for every church communion, which held to the doctrine of the Trinity, acknowledged justification by faith, abolished the sacrifice of the mass, restored the cup, and permitted the marriage of priests, i. e., *which made tradition conform to Scripture*, was from the beginning looked upon as allied to the Augsburg Confession.

† The Catholic Church has to do primarily with show, on which account it has turned the doctrine of the presence of the Lord in the Eucharist into the dogma of transubstantiation, and elevates the consecrated host in the pyx.

and the extent of the divine promise complete themselves in the attainment of the destined end, it follows that the promise of supernatural grace in the sacrament must be bound throughout to the condition of its reception and participation, and that the formula above given must be modified in the following manner: "Where the sacrament is rightly administered and received, it is always the bearer of the supernatural grace promised, and with the visible species conveys also to the communicants in the act of participation the invisible blessing." In this form we find the dogma—as the specific Lutheran doctrine in the Formula of Concord.

But, in the consistent carrying out of the Protestant principle, this form must undergo yet a second modification. It became necessary to assert, that supernatural grace is conferred in the sacrament, not for participation merely, but *for participation to the salvation of the recipient*, and that in the attainment of this end the promise attached to the sacrament must have its limitation. This was brought about by Melancthon.* The focus of the Melancthonian theology was the soteriological principle of German Protestantism itself, carried out in perfect purity and to its most rigid consequences, which, however, received from Melancthon a peculiar direction, in so far as he thought only of the saving power of God in reference to a capacity for salvation really existing, and a need of redemption actually springing out of the experience of life. From this practically-teleological point of view, Melancthon found the basis of the whole sacramental doctrine comprised in the acknowledgment, that the sacrament in its general view *must be ordered only for the sphere of those who are truly Christians*, and that the question concerning the grace communicated by the sacrament could only hold in reference to *faith and the believer* (by whom this gift of grace can be realized). Hence the formula of Lutheranism had to take the following form at the hands of Melancthon: "Where the

* These two steps in the development of the evangelical dogma of the Lord's Supper [the Lutheran and the Melancthonian] differ widely, as may be seen from the two following declarations of Melancthon. At Regensburg [1541] he observed: *Christus adest propter hominem, non propter panem*, and in his explic. alterius partis symb. Nic. [of 1546] declared, *papistas tantum dicere de presentia in pane, et prorsus tacere de presentia assidue in credentibus*. Compare also the *Repetitio Anhaltina* in Niemeyer's *Collectio conf. eccl. reform.* p. 628: "*Ut filius Dei promissionem corporis sui non fecit panis sed vescenti, h. e. servanti ordinem a se institutum, extra quem nihil rationem sacramenti habet etc.*"

188 *The Character of the German Reformed Church*, [April, sacrament is rightly administered and received by faith, it is always the bearer of the grace promised.*

From this stand-point, where Melancthon made only the interests of believing consciousness, or rather the end of redemption in those capable of receiving it, the centre of his whole study over the contents of the sacrament, and despised every consideration of the mere external signs (bread and wine), there must spring, 1,) the question as to the participation of grace on the part of *unbelievers*, as well as that concerning the relation of the *res externa* to the *res interna* falling away of itself as impertinent to the principle, and 2,) the specific difference (affirmed on the Lutheran side) between the communication of grace in the word and in the sacrament must in consistency be denied.

Hence it happened, that Calvin and Melancthon joined hands over the sacramental controversies of their time, because, looking away from the immeasurable difference of their principles they rested content with the full or relative congruence of their results.† The fundamental distinction between the two doctrines was essentially this, that Melancthon derived the qualification of the believer from the grace underlying the free self-determination of the individual, whilst Calvin made it dependent merely on the *decretum Dei absolutum*; but the character of the subjectivism was the same, on both sides.

The Authority of the Melancthon Theology in Germany, up to the Diet of the Princes at Naumburg, and the Church Reform of the Palatinate.

Already before Luther's death, as the history of the Augsburg Confession and its emendations undeniably proves, the whole evangelical theology of Germany recognized in Melancthon its chief advocate and leader. The *Variata* (afterwards so called), which Melancthon had published with the consent of Luther, was unhesitatingly admitted, at all meetings of the Imperial Diet, conferences, and colloquies, as the authentic

* This view of the Lord's Supper, although first complete in the Formula of Concord, was developed at an earlier period, and made its first appearance in the Smalkald Articles, in which form it was afterwards used against Melancthon. It is worth while to notice here what has not been known hitherto, that a communication of Melancthon's at Worms [1557], agreeing with the conception of the Smalkald Article, looked over and approved by him, contains a distinct Melancthonian form of the dogma, which was afterwards altered, at the suggestion of Arnsdorf, behind his back.

† Calvin, as is known, had subscribed the edition of the Augsburg Confession, published in 1540.

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interpretation* of the *Invariata*, and could boast at length of an acknowledgment so universal and of a use so exclusive, that towards the middle of the sixteenth century every notice of the original Augsburg Confession had disappeared.† It is true indeed, that, early enough, a party arose (coming out at first in a manner altogether separatistic), which, as the Zion's watchmen of "Genuine Lutheranism," ventured to attack the highly celebrated authority of Melancthon by appeal to the word of Luther.‡ The peculiar character of its doctrine consisted in this, 1) that it made use of the authority of Luther and of the forms of doctrine produced by him against the development of Protestantism derived from Melancthon, and 2) that it was no longer content with grounding its Protestant tenets on Scripture, but busied itself with speculative deductions and constructed out of its dogmas a system, in which every proposition had its unalterable dogmatic back-ground and its proof contained in the harmony of the whole system, and in which the connecting thoughts, coming between the dogmas and binding them together, as the frame-work of a system completed once for all, shared in the dogmatic significance of the whole and became themselves a dogma. This party, displaying just as much of the most peaceful spirit of faith as of carnal passion, had its vindication in the not-unfounded concern, lest the fraternization of the Melancthonian and the Calvinistic theologies should, in the end, lead to the most pernicious connivance at the gangrene imbedded in the principles of Calvin, and the entire destruction of the evangelical consciousness amid the mazes of Calvinism. Nevertheless, the credit of Melancthon, at the time of the Colloquy at Worms, in the year 1557 (where he, as a contemporary report informs us, was received *numinis instar*), stood yet so firm, that his opponents, the followers of Flacius, found themselves there defeated, and forsook the city and the Colloquy. How glorious and complete the victory of the Melancthonian theology was, appears in this, that a confession of the most conspicuous Reformed theologians of France was brought to Worms and approved throughout as

* This was entitled "the explained," "the somewhat improved" Confession.

† Weber, Hist. of the Augsb. Conf. vol. 2, p. 307.

‡ The separation of two parties in the bosom of German Protestantism, the one narrowly conservative and the other [with Melancthon] seeking to profit by the capacity of development in the Protestant consciousness, was possible, as soon as Protestantism had created a certain common fund of dogmatic views.

purely evangelical. The Frankfurt Recess, which was subscribed, in the year following, by the most important evangelical Princes, and was intended to serve as a formula of concord for the dissenting parties, was conceived by Melancthon, and several confessional declarations, which were drawn up by the evangelical congregations of Trier and Aachen, as well as by Caspar Olevianus (the preacher of the Trier congregation and afterwards co-author of the Heidelberg Catechism) and expressed the Melancthonian-Calvinistic doctrines of the Lord's Supper in the most decided form, were acknowledged by the collective Protestant Estates as agreeing throughout with the Augsburg Confession*. But during the same year yet the crisis began to develop itself, which must separate the repellent elements of the evangelical Church.

Provoked by the fanatical productions of the general superintendent, Heshusius, and his adherents at Heidelberg, who wished to see the strict Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper obtain an exclusive acknowledgment, at any cost, the Elector Frederick III., of the Palatinate, had requested of Melancthon an opinion concerning the controversies relating to the sacrament†. Melancthon communicated to the Elector the desired opinion, which brought out the above-mentioned elements of the Melancthonian doctrine in the greatest precision‡; and this opinion the Elector not only caused to be printed and sanctioned as *the public rule of doctrine* by a resolution of the highest ecclesiastical court of the country, but he even issued a decree on the 12th of August, 1560, *that all the clergy of the country, who would not conform to Melancthon's mode of teaching in the doctrine of the sacrament, should immediately vacate their places.*

Thus did the Palatinate, in opposition to the pretensions of "Genuine Lutheranism," declare itself with the greatest con-

* Consult my treatise on the Reformation in Trier, in Niedner's *Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.* Jahrg. 1849. Heft. 3, [against Marx, on Calvinism in Trier].

† S. Scissen, *Hist. of the Reform.* at Heidelberg, p. 89.

‡ Melancthon remarks for example: "The word *communion* is to be explained. It means not: the nature of the bread becomes changed, as the Papists say; neither, as the Dremenites, that the bread is the *real body* of Christ, but it must be a communion, i. e., the one by which union with the body of Christ takes place,—which forms itself in the participation, and certainly not without thought, as when mice nibble at bread.—The Son of God is indeed present in the service of the Gospel, and he is there *truly active* in believers. And he is not present for the sake of the bread, as he indeed says: Abide in me and I in you. And in this true comfort he makes us members of himself and assures us, that he will again quicken our bodies."

fidence, in favor of the authority of the (afterwards so-called) altered *Augustana* and of Melancthon's forms of doctrine. The development, which, in the years next succeeding, carried the evangelical Church in a contrary direction, necessarily led to a separation of the Palatinate from the other Evangelical Estates of the Empire.

The decisive event was the Naumburg Diet of the Princes in the year 1561. The significance of this Diet, at which all the Protestant Princes, in order to preserve the unity of faith among the Evangelical Estates over against all theological quarrels, were willing to subscribe the Augsburg Confession anew and hand it over to the Emperor, was this, that Protestantism, as an ecclesiastical order, existing of right in the Empire, would once more start from the beginning, and thus completely do away all dogmatic differences. But the Naumburg Diet was just that, which brought about the permanent division of the evangelical party. The Princes assembled at Naumburg did, it is true, subscribe the unaltered Augsburg Confession, but in the new *preface*, with which it was to be presented to the Emperor, 1) sanctioned at the same time the *Variata* (as the authentic interpretation of the *Invariata*) and 2) strongly affirmed and acknowledged the Melancthonian doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The Duke of Saxony found himself so injured by the resolutions of the Diet, that he left Naumburg in night and mist, and put forth another preface, in which only the *Invariata* and the strict Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper were acknowledged. All the Princes at first resented the imputation of the Duke in the most decided manner. But in the course of the negotiations, which were carried on among them, concerning the Naumburg question, uninterruptedly and with incredible activity to the close of the year 1561, the anti-Melancthonian movement, which was taking hold of Protestantism, made itself known in this, that the majority of the Princes (among whom especially Christopher of Wurtemberg and Wolfgang of the Palatinate, who sought to mend matters by proposals to compromise*) suffered the Naumburg resolutions to fall through, *without however coming out on the side of the Duke of Weimar*†. In the autumn of

* They both made this proposal, to attach the explanation of the Lord's Supper contained in the Ducal preface as a supplement to that of Naumburg.

† Christopher and Wolfgang requested, for example, the Duke of Saxony, by letter as late as Jan. 17, 1562, to yield, whilst they remarked, that the Elector Frederick would keep to the view, which he had once laid hold of,

1561 only two Princes yet adhered to the Naumburg resolutions, namely, the Elector Frederick and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. The latter also found himself at last prevailed upon by the majority of the Evangelical Estates of the Empire, although he laid it on the ground of a decision received from his theologians †, that both prefaces, that of the Naumburg Diet and that of the Duke of Weimar, were to be acknowledged as evangelical,—so that now the Elector of the Palatinate found himself altogether isolated in his ecclesiastical position. But Frederick determined not to yield an inch. Therefore he resolved, since it seemed to be demanded *in opposition to "Genuine Lutheranism,"* to secure, in the practice of the established Church of his realm, the results of the previous development of German Protestantism, derived from the *authority of Melancthon*, which involved *union with Calvinism*. To accomplish this it was requisite, 1) that the doctrine of Melancthon, as it was acknowledged in the Frankfurt Recess (1558) and in the Naumburg Preface (1561) as the common consciousness of all the Evangelical Estates, must be embodied in a formulary peculiar to the Palatinate, and 2) that the acknowledgment, expressed most strongly by Melancthon, of the absolute authority, which belongs to Holy Scripture over against any confession dependent on human weakness, must be so turned to account, that the whole ecclesiastical order of the Palatinate will be regulated according to the letter of Scripture. By this means the union with Calvinism from the Melancthonian stand-point became actually verified. The Elector Frederick caused, therefore, a new catechism to be prepared by Caspar Olevianus and Zacharias Ursinus in the year 1562 and then a new church-discipline, and published them both in the following year 1563. The Catechism—divided in its three principal heads on Sin, on Redemption, and on Thankfulness for Redemption in a manner altogether soteriological, i. e. Melancthonian—contained the doctrines of Melancthon to a hair, whilst the Church Discipline gave to

because "he considered unnecessary further explanation than that contained in the Preface, and first of all in the Confession and Apology, to which the Preface expressly referred. The two princes then called the attention of the Duke to the fact, that his definition of the Lord's Supper was considered severe by many, because they thought the doctrine of transubstantiation, or local inclusion was taught in it, and they counselled him to rest satisfied with Bucer's Confession of Concord.

† Lauze, *Life and Acts of Philip, the Magnanimous*, vol. 1, for the year 1561.

worship and ecclesiastical usage a form thoroughly Calvinistic: the pictures and crucifixes were removed from the churches, the fonts set aside, the altars with communion tables sold, the baptism of infants by midwives forbidden, the festivals of the Virgin abolished, the organs closed and the use of common bread instead of the wafer, as well as the breaking of the bread, introduced into the celebration of the Holy Supper.

But it was not anticipated, that should a change of doctrine also be aimed at with the reform of worship and of customs, the Calvinistic features of the new ecclesiastical order would directly aid in the maintenance and security of the previous (Melancthonian) form of doctrine. This showed itself in the most decided manner in the intercourse of Frederick with the other Protestant Princes, occasioned by the reform of the Palatinate. Already on the 6th of April 1563, Duke Christopher, the Count Palatine Wolfgang and the Margrave Charles in a joint letter urgently besought the Elector of the Palatinate to cut himself and his established Church loose again from Calvinism and come back into the communion of the Evangelical Estates of the Empire, which request was repeated in a later joint communication of the three Princes. The Elector answered, however, in a declaration of September 14, 1563, that he would suffer neither the word of Luther nor of Calvin to be acknowledged in his Church, but the word of Christ alone. He was also thoroughly conscious of no falling away from the previous doctrine or departure from the communion of the Evangelical Estates of the Empire. "For," continued he, "because we found (seeing that we with others signed and sealed it with its introductory preface at Naumburg lately) that the Augsburg Confession, together with its accompanying Apology, taken from the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments and founded thereon, derives from thence all its points, and must be explained and understood accordingly, and therefore always chose it along with Your Worship and the other Estates, appealed to it at meetings of the Imperial Diet and elsewhere, but especially of late at Frankfurt before his Imperial Majesty, and accepted likewise and for similar reasons both *Frankfurt Recesses* of the years '57 and '58, so we again acknowledge the same *Divine Word*, the *Confession* derived from it, the *Apology* and the *Recesses* and embrace the same. It cannot be expected, that we, standing on some firm ground, should pass by in silence, what has very little proof to sustain it, that we, having hither-

to intended or deliberately undertaken something in our dominions in behalf of religion and doctrine, are so hostile to the before-mentioned *Word of God*, the *Augsburg Confession* and the *Recesses* alluded to, that we have dismissed honest preachers *subject and allied to the same*."

Touching the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Frederick announced that his clergy must give evidence, that they (and he with them) believed and taught, "that not bread and wine alone, though holy, divine signs and seals (so styled by the holy, divine Scriptures, and also by the Augsburg Confession and Apology), nor the merit of Jesus Christ alone or his divinity alone, but the *Lord Jesus Christ whole and entire* (*ganz und gar*), true God and true Man, his real body and real blood, as delivered and poured out for us on the tree of the cross, together with all his merits, benefits, heavenly treasures and possessions and life eternal are truly, without any deception and not in mere fancy, but really, *reipsa*, through the power and working of the Holy Ghost, presented and handed over by the Lord himself for the food and drink of our souls, *present to faith*, so that we, by such communion with Christ, become true members of his blessed body, He remaining and living in us and we in Him."

Frederick announced thus in the most decided way, that he would hold immoveably 1) to the confessional writings of the evangelical Church and 2) to the dogmatic ideas of Melancthon and the resolutions of the Frankfurt Recess, by which Melancthon's doctrine was asserted as the common conviction of the Evangelical Estates. And that the explanations, which Frederick gave the Princes concerning his reform-movements, did not rest on an opinion hastily assumed and abandoned again, but on the basis of the most positive conviction and the most correct historical view, is verified by the Elector in the most decided manner in the year 1566. For proof of my assertion I bring forward three events of this year.

1. At the meeting of the Imperial Diet at Augsburg (1566), Duke Christopher and Count Palatine Wolfgang thought it questionable, whether the apostate, Frederick, should be permitted to subscribe an address, which, with the signatures of the Evangelical Estates attached, was to be handed over to the Emperor. But, even though the schism of the evangelical body of the Empire stood out, in the most glaring manner, in this position, which the other Protestant Princes assumed toward the Elector of the Palatinate, yet were the dying re-

mains of the common Melancthonian consciousness still too much alive, to suffer them to forget the dogmatic integrity, which Frederick had shown from the first transactions. Thus Frederick addressed the Elector of Saxony: "Your Worships have kindly understood, that we still abide by the much-talked-of Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the same, and the Frankfurt Recess, at which Recess, we all acknowledged, that it should be taught concerning this article, as it was professed in the Augsburg Confession, namely, that in the ordinance of his Holy Supper Jesus Christ is present in a true, living, and real way, and along with the bread and wine thus ordained by him gives us Christians his body and his blood to eat and to drink;—that, although some say this only, that the Lord Christ is not really present here and that this sign is only an external sign, by which Christians may know and confess him, such language is wrong.—*This is the formula, which, having examined it thoroughly at Frankfurt and subscribed it, we yet profess and cause to be regularly preached on and taught in our schools and churches.*"—This declaration of the Elector had the best effect; the other evangelical Princes henceforth acknowledged the orthodoxy of Frederick, and permitted him to sign the address with them.

2. The scarce-expected (sudden) re-union of the other Protestant Princes with the Elector led the Emperor to hope that in the end the reconciliation of the parties might be effected. He invited, therefore, all the evangelical Princes to hold a conference for this purpose at Erfurt. Electoral Saxony and Wurtemberg hesitated at first about joining the proposed attempt at reconciliation. But the Elector Frederick declared again, that he held firmly to the doctrine of Melancthon, as professed in the Augsburg Confession, in the Apology, in the Frankfurt Recess, and in the repeated (elaborated for delivery to the Council of Trent) Confession of 1552, and would only express the wish, that in the proposed theological conference *foreign theologians* might also be invited to take part, since Theodore Beza had fully approved of the repeated Confession of 1552 with the exception of a single word, and thus the re-establishment of a great evangelical church-alliance might be expected.

3. During the reformation of the Upper Palatinate, in the years 1566 and 1567 following, the clergy of the city of Amberg were particularly hard to please. For this reason Frederick gave them to understand, by the magistrate of Amberg,

on the 11th December, 1566, that since it was the duty of every Christian ruler "to uproot, as much as possible, idolatry and error, as well as scandal among his subjects, and promote and maintain instead the true worship of God and pure doctrine," and since, moreover, the present controversy concerning the Lord's Supper referred only to the question, "whether the true communion and participation of the true, real body and blood of Christ takes place by *living faith in Christ*—or by a *corporeal* invisible entering of the flesh and blood of Christ through the mouth into the body of the godly and ungodly, whilst all are agreed as to the true participation of his true natural body, it *shall* therefore be required of the clergy on the strength of the *Frankfurt Recess**, 1.) that they must refrain from condemning and abusing the Heidelberg theologians, who adhere to the doctrine of the participation of Christ's body by faith; 2.) that they must not employ their spiritual influence to hinder others from embracing that doctrine; 3.) that they must use in the administration of the Lord's Supper such forms of speech only as are contained in the *Word of God*, the *Augsburg Confession*, its *Apology*, its *Repetition* and the *Frankfurt Recess*, and detailed in *Philippi locis communibus*, *examine ordinandorum*, *responsione ad articulos Bavaricos*, *concionibus in Mattheum per Froschelium Amburg*, and *Commentario in 1. ad Corinth*, by *Paulum Eberum*, and avoid all new phrases; and 4.) that they must discard all ceremonies leading to superstition and erroneous ideas.

4. In the year 1566 appeared at Heidelberg: "*The doctrine of the Augsburg Confession, its Apology and Repetition, and of the Frankfurt Recess also, on the sacraments, in their own language, arranged in the form of question and answer.*" In the introduction to this catechism, which consists of seven quarto-leaves, it is remarked concerning its design: "Because we have discovered that many people are so weak, that they in many parts of Christian doctrine, but especially in the dispute concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, ground themselves much more upon human authority and prejudice than upon the divine Word, and also imagine somehow, as on their side, those persons and writings, old and new, which are yet fundamentally opposed to, or at least do not agree with them, many of them appealing chiefly to the Augsburg Confession, although they have never yet examined it carefully, or certainly not

* The signers of the Frankfurt Recess had pledged themselves strictly to prohibit all angry discussion among their theologians.

compared one portion with another, so as to understand it thoroughly and properly, therefore certain persons, in order to put an end to this whole business, have consented to bring together in order and arrange in the form of questions, which can be answered out of the writings themselves,—*the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession on the Sacraments, and on the Lord's Supper from the Confession, the Apology, the Repetition sent to the Council of Trent in the year '52, and the Frankfurt Recess of the year '58 (all which writings serve for the illustration of the Confession).*"

A new edition of this catechetical pamphlet appeared in the year 1584; and that the Church of the Palatinate was, at a yet later period, fully conscious as well of her German-evangelical character, as of the historical occasion of her breach with Lutheranism, and of the design of her Calvinistic form of church-discipline, may be inferred as well from the preface to this edition of the Catechism of 1584, as from the paper which appeared at Heidelberg in the year 1607, entitled "*Detailed Report of what the Reformed churches believe or do not believe: item, what ceremonies they use or do not use, why they practice or omit one thing or another,*" and also from the apologetical publications of the Heidelberg theologians called out by the controversy with the Lutherans in the following years.*

To the doctrine of predestination, in the sense of Calvin, there was no where any allusion.

It follows, therefore, that the church-reform of the Palatinate is not to be regarded as an apostacy from German Protestantism (of the Augsburg Confession) to Calvinism, but as a churchly order, which, in opposition to the dogmatic consolidation of a later period coming out more and more powerfully and basing itself on Luther's type of doctrine, would establish securely the old-evangelical church-consciousness, (i. e., the results of the Melancthonian development of German Protestantism) with its irenic reference to the Reformation beyond Germany under Calvinistic forms, which up to the year 1561 was almost exclusively in power.

* Here belong: "A short Supplement to the Detailed Report of what the Reformed Church in Germany," &c., [1609]; "Reply of the Heidelberg Theologians to the Continuationem examinis of the Detailed Report," &c., [1610]; "A Final Proof, that the enemies of the Reformed Church quote her writings falsely, or at least put a wrong construction upon them"; and the "Conclusion to the Heidelberg Final Proof, and to all other writings exchanged for six years past with the Wurtemberg Theologians" [1614].

The retrograde, exclusively Lutheran tendency, which broke with the historical development of Protestantism, derived from Melancthon, and placed itself, with repentant heart and loud Flacian outcry, upon the letter of Luther's dogmatic system, grew with increasing strength (though for ten years without any proper self-consciousness), and knew how to attract to itself by degrees nearly the whole domain of German Protestantism. At first, it was only opposition to the Calvinistic form received by the Palatinate and concern for the preservation of the German-evangelical principle from Calvinistic deterioration, that roused the sympathy of the Evangelical Estates for Luther's peculiar forms of doctrine and worship. For how ingenuous their common judgment was, concerning the relation of the Melancthonian system of doctrines to the church-reform of the Palatinate and the existing confessional positions in Germany, appears, as clear as the sun, from the history of Andrew's Work of Concord in the years 1568—1571. The five Articles of Concord namely, which Andrew had drawn up by the advice of Duke Christopher of Wurtemberg, and with which he had travelled through Upper and Lower Saxony in the years 1569 and 1570, under the protection of Landgrave William of Hesse and Duke Julius of Brunswick, and—nearly everywhere with the best results—had sought to establish unity of faith among the evangelical theologians, were considered so decidedly Melancthonian and congruent throughout with the Frankfurt Recess of 1558*, that Doctor James Andrew, not otherwise than under the protection of a Hessian and Brunswick ambassador, in the camp of his subsequent co-laborers in the Concord-formulas of Torgau and Berg—ventured to visit Weimar. But the Flacian Zion's watchmen of Weimar and Jena prized the Melancthonian character of the Five Articles of Concord so highly that they were ready to pitch Dr. James Andrew—this Father of the Lutheran Church—out of the pulpit as a legate of Satan, of Christ and Belial, cursed him publicly, and conjured up against him, in the whole Duchy the wildest spiritual tumult.

But the autumnal Convention put an end to Andrew's first Work of Concord and Melancthonian period. From the year

* Yet had Andrew, at the request of Landgrave William of Hesse, translated the five articles into the *Latin language*; in order to be able to employ them as a means of union with the Calvinists of France, England, &c.!

1573 on, in the most confidential alliance with his former deadly enemies, and supported most strenuously by the influence of the more powerful Princes of the Empire, Andrew understood how to make so much out of the opposition to the Palatinate, and how to guide the revolution in the dogmatic consciousness of the time so successfully, that by degrees the preponderating part of the Estates of the Empire fell away entirely from the Melancthonian Patristic Inheritance of Faith and the spiritual tendency, which at first was represented by the sectarian party of the Flacians, adopted the Concord-formula of Berg*.

The Hessian Church, in the dogmatic movements of the sixteenth century, and its reformation under the Landgrave Maurice.

From the year 1576, when the Book of Torgau appeared, on till the close of the century, the Hessian Church was the centre of the collected opposition, which looked on the posthumous ubiquity-orthodoxy of the Formula of Concord as a mischievous falling off from the Melancthonian Patristic unity of faith. Hence the Book of Torgau was rejected by the General Synod of Hesse, in the year 1576, as well as the Book of Berg by the General Convention at Treifa, in the year 1577, and at the latter the resolution was passed, that all controversies should cease, until they could be settled in a successful and orderly manner by a General Synod, that every one should abstain from all new and unusual forms of speech respecting the relation of Christ's natures, and that the doctrine of the natures of Christ should be treated of only *in concreto* (in reference to his person) and not *in abstracto* (in reference to the individual natures). But whilst Lower Hesse, under the wise Landgrave William IV., adhered with unshaken fidelity to the old-evangelical foundation, Upper Hesse, under the strenuously Lutheran Landgrave Lewis, and under the influ-

* The gradual sinking of the common-consciousness of the Evangelical Estates of Germany shows itself in a manner particularly remarkable in the changing position which they assumed toward the *Anglican Church*. At the Naumburg Diet [1561] the Queen of England had presented a request to the assembled Princes, to bind themselves with her to common measures against the Romish Church, and the Princes accepted the proposition of the Queen with joy, and sent her the following year the resolutions of the Conference at Fulda. In the year 1569, on the contrary, when Elizabeth made similar propositions to the Conference at Erfurt, several Princes thought it would look suspicious to enter into union with the Queen, because according to report she was Zuinglian or Calvinistic. And when the Queen, in the year 1577, asked, by a commission sent to the German Princes, for a removal of the condemnations, contained in the Book of Torgau against Calvinism, the embassy met with a favorable reception only in Cassel and Heidelberg.

ence of the powerful theologian, Doctor Ægidius Hunnius, gave herself up to the modern tendency in a way so violent, that by it the unity of the Hessian Church was wholly destroyed and the further development of the common confessional consciousness rendered impossible. When from that reason the Synods of 1578, 1579 and 1580, had adjourned without any success in settling the ruinous quarrels, the Synod of 1581, in order to meet the necessity, felt by both parties, of a truce for both parts of the country, decreed on the ground of a previous agreement between the Landgrave William and Lewis, that all pastors and teachers "on the article de persona Christi should teach according to the contents of the prophetic and apostolical Scriptures, of the three symbols of the approved ancient œcumenical councils, of the *Epistola Leonis ad Flavianum*, of the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and of the Smalkald Articles," and refrain from all modes of speech not occurring in these confessional writings, this however excepted, that should the freedom of conscience be in any wise brought into peril thereby, a dissenting view might be introduced in a moderate way, not endangering the peace of the Church. Meanwhile the remains of the old-evangelical church-consciousness were yet so much alive even in Upper Hesse, that the Melancthonian-Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper received the fullest acknowledgment at both the last Hessian General Synods, (1581 and 1582) and that not merely through the preponderance of Lower Hessian theologians*. But with the discontinuance of the General Synod the division of Hesse into a Lutheran Upper and Melancthonian Lower Principality was completed. For whilst the Church of Lower Hesse in her Diocesan Synods (which continued to be held) moved with the greatest confidence upon the ground pointed out by the Synodical resolution of 1581, and acknowledged that resolution repeatedly as the lawful norm of public doctrine, Upper Hesse worked herself so decidedly into the modern Lutheran tendency, that already before the close of the century, every hope of composing the confessional antagonism in Hesse vanished in the farthest distance. Moreover, the position of the Lower Hessian Church had become so singular in the sphere of the

* Concerning the church-development of Hesse thus far, my History of the Hessian General Synods from 1568 to 1582 may be consulted; concerning what follows, my article, which appeared during the year past, "The introduction of the period of improvement into Hesse and the origin of the Hessian Church-discipline of 1657," will give the necessary particulars.

Evangelical Estates, that Landgrave Maurice (William's successor) believed that he could find the security of the Melancthonian character of his established Church only in the self-same way, which was formerly taken by the Elector Frederick in the Church of the Palatinate. The Melancthonian dogma must now be acknowledged, according to his view, in express opposition to Lutheranism and worship reformed in the Calvinistic method, if the Hessian Church would remain conscious and secure of the Melancthonian development of German Protestantism, and, conformably, of its irenic reference to Calvinism. Accordingly Landgrave Maurice (after he had come into sovereign power by the decease of Landgrave Lewis of Upper Hesse in the year 1604) enjoined in the three well known points of reformation:

1.) That all preachers in the land, on the doctrine of the person of Christ, should adhere closely to the old-Hessian Synodical decrees (from 1577—1582,) in accordance to which they must discuss it only in concreto, and leave off the use of newer (ubiquitistic) forms of speech;

2.) That the prohibition of images be restored to the decalogue, and all pictures removed from the churches; and

3.) That the custom of breaking the bread must be introduced into the administration of the Lord's Supper.

It is clearly evident, therefore, from this edict of the Landgrave, that, in this reform of his, no breach with the past history of the Hessian Church was aimed at; for the second and third resolutions had specially in view, to carry out fully the principle, by which the Synodical decrees were sustained.

For the confirmation and closer illustration of this fact I would refer to what follows*.

1. In a sovereign edict of 23d of December, 1605, it was made the duty of the superintendents to ask the pastors, "if they would demean themselves in conformity with the *Synodical Decrees* de persona Christi in concreto, by discoursing according to the Holy Scriptures." (Besides, the resolutions concerning the breaking of the bread and pictures, were here repeated also).

2. The purport of the first point in the proposition, which Landgrave Maurice laid before the Diocesan Synods, held in

* The few proofs here given might be multiplied a hundred fold. I confine myself, however, only to bringing into notice here, that the Marburg theologians were dismissed by the Landgrave Maurice for this very reason, because they would not acknowledge the resolutions of the Old-Hessian Synod.

February 1607 at Cassel, Eschwege, Marburg and St. Goar, and the General Synod convened in April of the same year at Cassel, was this: *Whether the pastors were ready to obey the Recesses of the General Synods of 1577, 1578, 1579, 1581 and 1582, touching the doctrine of the person of Christ.*

3. In the Confession, drawn up by the General Synod of 1607, and afterwards printed as the public norm of doctrine with the sovereign approval, 1) the resolutions of each General Synod concerning the doctrine of the person of Christ (in § 4.) were expressly sanctioned; 2) (in § 5.) in respect to the article on election, Luther's mode of teaching was adopted*, and 3) (in § 6.) the dogma of the Lord's Supper was made to assume the following form: "Because the Lord says of the bread, 'This is my body, which was given for you, and further, So do in remembrance of me, by which words he demands faith, and intends that we shall not eat the earthly bread alone with the mouth of the body, but shall eat and drink *with the mouth of the heart* the heavenly manna, i. e., his true body, as given for us, and his true blood, as poured out for us from his side and wounds on the tree of the cross for the remission of our sins, so we believe, that in the Holy Supper, *besides and with* the reception of the sacrament of the body of Christ by the mouth, we *at the same time* become partakers also of the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, not *imaginarie*, or by mere thoughts, but truly, and that through such participation Christ dwells in our hearts. For this reason, then, the Lord Jesus Christ, not absent but present, in his Holy Supper feeds us truly with his flesh and gives us his blood to drink, and this participation of the body and blood of Christ brings and communicates strong consolation, life and eternal salvation to weak, troubled and believing hearts. . . . This *two-fold eating*, namely, 1) the eating of the sacrament by the mouth, and 2) the spiritual eating of the body of Christ, is contained in the plain, clear letter of Scripture. But though, besides this, there may be yet another eating, since the body can be taken into the corporeal mouth even of blasphemers,

* It is true indeed that the doctrine of predestination was adopted in the form, which Luther gave it in his well known preface to the Epistle to the Romans, but with the express remark that every one "should abstain from severe discourses lest he might be diverted from other points and become the occasion of doubt and carnal security to the simple, and so use this language that it may help men to sure, lasting comfort, and holy living and conversation."—Of the doctrine of predestination *as a principle* there is no trace even to be seen in the Confession of the Hessian Church.

sorcerers, and other *unbelievers*, in a way not to be detected, *yet without any advantage or fruit*, this is not contained in the institution, nor any where in the Holy Scriptures. Therefore, we abide by the above-mentioned two-fold eating, expressly declared in the Word of God, and *suffer the third*, as one which has neither command nor promise in the *Scripture*, to remain in its own place, but yet wish neither to contend with any Church, that believes or holds otherwise, nor to condemn her.

4. The definition of the Hessian *State-Catechism*, published in the year 1607 by the same General Synod, runs thus on the Lord's Supper: "The Lord's Supper is a sacrament or divine act, in which the Lord Jesus Christ, himself present, imparts, seals and hands over to us, with visible signs of bread and wine, the promised gifts and heavenly blessings, namely, his true body broken for us and his true blood shed for us for the remission of our sins;" i. e., the Hessian *State-Catechism* receives that definition of the sacrament, which Melancthon repeated innumerable times, without raising the question (considered as impertinent and irrelevant) concerning the participation of unbelievers.

5. In the consistorial ordinance of 1610, the Landgrave Maurice determined, that at the conventions and synods the spiritual superiors should see to it, that the preachers "in doctrine and ceremonies should conduct themselves by and conform to the Word of God, the three chief-symbols, *Apostolico, Niceno, Athanasio*, the Augsburg Confession and its Apologies, both that of Tricfa in anno 1577, and that of Marburg anno 1578, as also especially the Synodical Recess established at Marburg in 1607, and the points of reformation introduced by it and the Catechism growing out of it." . . .

Thus it appears as clear as day*, that it was not the design of the church reform by Maurice, to break with the previous development and historical continuity of the Hessian Church, but the direct aim rather of the reforms arranged by him was to secure and preserve the results of the Melancthonian development of the old-Hessian Church (the decrees of the General Synods, &c.) against the apprehended introduction of exclusive Lutheranism.

* The history of the origin of the Hessian Church-Discipline of 1657 brings this fact out in the most decided manner. Consult my tract, before alluded to, on the introduction of the Reformation-period, &c.

THE BRANDENBURG CHURCH REFORM.

In relation to the Church Reform projected by the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg, I limit myself to the quotation of a few passages from the *Confessio fidei Ioannis Sigismundi*, in order to prove its complete agreement with the Reform of the Palatinate and Hesse. The passages of the Confession, which exhibit this fact in the clearest manner, are the following:

"His Electoral Grace has nothing nearer and dearer to his heart, than that in the future by gentle means every vestige of Papal superstition yet remaining in the land should be done away, and that *everything should be ordered according to the rule of the Divine Word and the primitive Apostolic Church*; and lest any one may entertain the thought, or fancy, through peevishness and discontent, that His Electoral Grace has taken up with something new, not grounded expressly on the Word of God, His Electoral Grace has determined to publish herewith his Confession of Faith.

In the beginning, His Electoral Grace heartily acknowledges the true, infallible and saving Word of God,—which is and shall be the only rule of all pious people, and is perfect and sufficient for salvation; after this the Christian and Catholic Creeds also, such as the Apostolic, Athenasian, Nicene, Ephesian and Chalcedonian; and then the Augsburg Confession, as handed over to the Emperor Charles V. by the Protestant Princes and Estates in the year 1530, and afterwards in some points revised and improved.

The *locutiones abstractivæ*, i. e., such modes of speaking as: "The Godhead of Christ has suffered, the humanity of Christ is almighty, everywhere present," and the like, because they are not found in Holy Scripture, and are contrary to the principal creeds, His Electoral Grace would put aside and wish to compel no one to the highly dangerous and scandalous use of the same, *calling specially to mind that neither the orthodoxi Patres, nor Luther thus taught.*

In the *Holy Supper*, His Electoral Grace believes and professes, that, since *two different things* are found in it,—the external signs, bread and wine, and the true body of Christ, as delivered to death for us, and his holy blood, as poured out on the tree of the holy cross,—they can also be partaken of in *two different ways*—the bread and wine *by the mouth*, and the true body and the true blood of Jesus Christ peculiarly *by faith*, and that therefore, because of the sacramental union,

both together are at the same time bestowed and received in this holy transaction." (The use of "natural unleavened bread" and the breaking of the bread were recommended on account of Christ's words, "*hoc facite*").

As the direct results of this comparison* we discover the *complete identity of the Reformation, which the Palatinate under the Elector Frederick, Hesse under the Landgrave Maurice and (as an experiment) Brandenburg under the Elector John Sigismund had experienced*, by which moreover the following facts were established:

1. *There exists a GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH, which formed itself as a peculiar church-order in the Palatinate, Hesse and Brandenburg.*

2. *The historical and dogmatical root of the German Reformed Church is not Calvinism, but the GERMAN (OLD LUTHERAN) REFORMATION with its confessional writings (the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Frankfurt Recess, &c.).*

3. *The origin of the German Reformed Church was occasioned by the secession, beginning at the Naumburg Diet of the Princes (1561), of exclusive "Genuine Lutheranism" from the old-evangelical communion of the Evangelical Estates of Germany, which was essentially derived from the authority of Melancthon.*

4. *The tendency of the German Reformed Church is: the maintenance of that which up to the Naumburg Diet of the Princes, was chiefly contained in the Augustana Variata (as the authentic interpretation of the later so-called Invariata) and sanctioned by the Frankfurt Recess (1558), namely, the Melancthonian common-consciousness of the Evangelical Estates and, as conditioned thereby, the irenical reference of German to foreign (Calvinistic) Protestantism.†*

* Since the present design was to place the German Reformed Church generally in a clear light, I thought it could be accomplished by a closer examination of the other Reformed Communions of Germany, who in part demand a churchly and dogmatic consideration wholly special.

† The relation of the German Reformed and Lutheran Churches to old-evangelical Protestantism and its development up to the Naumburg Diet of the Princes, is expressed in a very clear manner by the collectors of the Leipsic Conference [1631]: "For, at the very first, the theologians of Electoral Brandenburg and Princely Hesse voluntarily declared, that they would acknowledge with mouth and heart the Confession handed over to the Emperor Charles V. on the 25th of June, 1530, at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg, and were willing to subscribe it, whenever and wherever desired, without hesitation; so much so, that they would not object to testify their approval by sign-

5. *The German Reformed Church follows this tendency, when she (strictly after the fundamental view of Melancthon) makes so much account of the absolute authority of Scripture, and prevents any deterioration to be feared from the "Genuine Lutheran" system by placing church discipline throughout on the letter of Scripture.*

6. *The purest fragments of the old-evangelical communion of faith and the surest hope of its re-establishment on a historical basis to be accomplished in the future, are at present to be found in the German Reformed Church.*

CLOSING REMARKS.

It was not my design to write a history of the Reformed Church of Germany from the year 1562 on, wherefore I leave undiscussed its development in the 17th century. Yet I believe it must here be admitted, in order to meet possible objections at the start, that the theology of the German Reformed Church in the 17th century had deformed itself by its connection with the doctrinal forms of Calvin (particularly in the dogma of predestination) almost to a complete denial of the German-evangelical type. Through the power of circumstances and the confessional divisions of evangelical Germany, the German Reformed Church was limited to its intercourse with the foreign Calvinistic sphere of life, and, consequently, could not prevent the influx of Calvinistic elements into the German Reformed sphere. It must also be admitted, that the Calvinizing of Worship and the whole church-discipline must have plainly appeared in the conviction of contemporaries as a breach with history*, and this did severe injury to the productive power and vigorous life of the Church. But these Calvinistic schools are long ago dead, and the imperfect judg-

ing the self-same copy, which was present in the Library of Electoral Saxony. But in respect to the edition, which had been presented by the evangelical side in the conferences held with the Papists in 1540 at Worms and in 1551 at Regensburg, they neither were able nor desired to reject this even, but guided themselves in this case by the explanation of the Evangelical Electoral Princes and Estates, which they had made for this edition of the Augsburg Confession in the Diet of Naumburg [1561] against the Emperor Ferdinand: "Which the delegates of Electoral Saxony, it is true, have left undecided, but, on the contrary, because of the part which they had taken against the Naumburg action, they appealed to the explanation, which the Evangelical Electoral Princes and Estates gave in the preface to the Book of Concord."

* Hence also the opposition, which the Reform met with in the Palatinate, Hesse and Brandenburg.

ment of contemporaries on these reforms must fairly yield to the unbiased judgment of history. For history teaches that the German Reformed Church has crammed no Calvinistic dogmas into the testimonials of her faith, but has rather clothed them in her peculiar form, in order to keep her heart truly German-evangelical. The Lutheran Church will have to turn back to that point, where it was once united with the German Reformed Church, and this latter will then, with the interest in her polemics with her blood-relation, of herself give up also her Puritanic narrowness. But without the acknowledgment of these historical relations the successful union of the confessions is impossible.

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ART. III.—FRANCIS JEFFREY.

LORD JEFFREY: *With a Selection from his Correspondence.* By Lord Colclough. 2 vols. pp. 848 and 868. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia, 1852. Shryock & Reed, Chambersburg.

THE MODERN BRITISH ESSAYISTS. JEFFREY. 1 vol. pp. 762. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia, 1846.

SOMETHING more than three years have elapsed since the death of Lord Jeffrey was announced, to the moving of the general grief, in the streets of Edinburgh. There he was personally known and beloved, and every body wept for him. But the shock was felt much farther. Wherever the English literature had fastened its firm foothold, and English Essayists, who for half a century have been leading the van of that literature, were read and appreciated, observant minds paused to note the final departure of the man who with much propriety might be called the morning star of British Journalism. Even to our own times no man has achieved enough to dispute his place among "the first three," if even he be not, as we suppose posterity will decide, "the chief of the three." The first, of pre-eminent renown in English Periodical Literature, are, undoubtedly, Jeffrey, Macaulay and Carlyle. And without presuming that the distinctive lines can be accurately drawn, we would designate the first as Critic, the second as Reviewer, and the third as Essayist. One has gone, the two others still remain.