

## **CHAPTER 51 : THE DECLINE OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF PRUSSIA BEFORE THE NAPOLEONIC ERA**

The area that is now Germany and Austria formed the heart of the old Holy Roman Empire. German was the common language of this empire. The Protestant Reformation led by Martin Luther in Germany transformed the religious, cultural, and political life within the empire almost over night. The Church of Rome – which previously enjoyed a monopoly in the empire - suffered great losses during the first phases of this Reformation. Luther brought the German-speaking people the word of God in their own language. And he brought them the doctrines of that word of God more purely.

Previous to the Protestant Reformation the empire had been reduced to a confederation of German states, instead of a centralized nation with all power in the hands of its emperor. God had thus prepared the ground in Germany for a Reformation in which many German states could adopt the Protestant faith, even if the emperor wanted to remain tied to the Romish Church. And many of the German princes did indeed embrace the Protestant faith, bringing the German states under their authority with them. For a time it seemed as if Protestantism might sweep through and possess the whole of the empire. Even in areas where the princes wished to remain loyal to the Roman faith, many of the German people were embracing Protestantism.

But under the arms of the Jesuits, the Roman Catholic Church was destined to make a beginning of those victories which recovered not a little of the ground she had lost. The Jesuits came into Germany very quietly. They were plain in their attire, humble and submissive in their deportment; but behind them are the stakes and scaffolds of the persecutor, and the armies of France and Spain. Their quiet words find their terrible reverberations in those awful tempests of war which for thirty years desolated Germany.

Ferdinand I of Austria, reflecting on the decay into which Roman Catholic feeling had fallen in Germany, sent to Ignatius Loyola for a few zealous teachers to instruct the youth of his dominions. In 1551, thirteen Jesuits, including Le Jay, arrived at Vienna. They were provided with pensions, placed in the university chairs, and crept upwards till they seized the entire direction of that seminary. From that hour date the crimes and misfortunes of the House of Austria.

A little colony of the disciples of Loyola had, before this, planted itself at Cologne. It was not till some years that they took root in that city; but the initial difficulties surmounted, they began to effect a change in public sentiment, which went on till Cologne became, as it is sometimes called, the "Rome of the North." About the same time, the Jesuits became flourishing in Ingolstadt in the Bavarian region of Germany. They had been driven away on their first entrance into that university seat, the professors dreading them as rivals. But in 1556 they were recalled, and soon rose to influence, as was to be expected in a city where the memory of Dr. Eck was still fresh. Their battles, less noisy than his, were fated to accomplish much more for the Papacy.

From these three centers—Vienna, Cologne, and Ingolstadt—the Jesuits extended themselves over all Germany. They established colleges in the chief cities for the sons of princes and nobles, and they opened schools in town and village for the instruction of the lower classes. From Vienna they distributed their colonies throughout the Austrian dominions. They had schools in the Tyrol and the cities at the foot of its mountains. From Prague they ramified over Bohemia, and penetrated into Hungary. Their colleges at Ingolstadt and Munich gave them the possession of Bavaria, Franconia, and Swabia. From Cologne they extended their convents and schools over Rhenish Prussia, and, planting a college at Spires, they counteracted the influence of Heidelberg University, then the resort of the most learned men of the German nation.

Wherever the Jesuits came, there was quickly seen a manifest revival of the Popish faith. In the short space of ten years, their establishments had become flourishing in all the countries in which they were planted. Their system of education was adapted to all classes. While they studied the exact sciences, and strove to rival the most renowned of the Protestant professors, and so draw the higher youth into their schools, they compiled admirable catechisms for the use of the poor. They especially excelled as teachers of Latin; and so great was their zeal and their success, that "even Protestants removed their children from distant schools, to place them under the care of the Jesuits."

The teachers seldom failed to inspire the youth in their schools with their own devotion to the Popish faith. The sons of Protestant fathers were drawn to confession, and by-and-by into general conformity to Popish practices. Food which the Church had forbidden they would not touch on the interdicted days, although it was being freely used by the other members of the family. They began, too, to distinguish themselves by the use of Popish symbols. The wearing of crosses and rosaries is recorded by Ranke as one of the first signs of the setting of the tide toward Rome.

Forgotten rites began to be revived. Relics which had been thrown aside buried in darkness, were sought out and exhibited to the public gaze. The old virtue returned into rotten bones, and the holiness of faded garments flourished anew. The saints of the Romish Church came out in bold relief, while those of the Bible receded into the distance. The light of candles replaced the Word of Life in the temples. The newest fashions of worship were imported from Italy, and music and architecture in the style of the Restoration were called in to reinforce the movement. Customs which had not been witnessed since the days of their grandfathers, began to receive the reverent observance of the new generation. "In the year 1560, the youth of Ingolstadt belonging to the Jesuit school walked, two and two, on a pilgrimage to Eichstadt, in order to be strengthened for their confirmation by the dew that dropped from the tomb of St. Walpurgis." The modes of thought and feeling thus implanted in the schools were, by means of preaching and confession, propagated through the whole population.

While the Jesuits were busy in the schools, the Pope operated powerfully in the political sphere. He had recourse to various arts to gain over the princes. Duke Albert V of Bavaria had a grant made him of one-tenth of the property of the clergy. This riveted his

decision on the side of Rome, and he now set himself with earnest zeal and marked success to restore, in its ancient purity and rigor, the Popery of his territories. The Jesuits lauded the piety of the duke.

The Popes saw clearly that they could never hope to restore the ancient discipline and rule of their Church without the help of the temporal sovereigns. Besides Duke Albert, who so powerfully contributed to re-establish the sway of Rome over all Bavaria, the ecclesiastical princes, who governed so large a part of Germany, threw themselves heartily into the work of restoration. The Jesuit Canisius was sent to counsel and guide them. Under his management they accepted provisionally the edicts of the Council of Trent. They required of all professors in colleges subscription to a confession of the Popish faith. They exacted the same pledge from ordinary schoolmasters and medical practitioners. In many parts of Germany no one could follow a profession till first he had given public proof of his Romish orthodoxy. Bishops were required to exercise a more vigilant superintendence of their clergy than they had done these twenty years past. The Protestant preachers were banished; and in some parts the entire Protestant population was driven out. The Protestant nobles were forbidden to appear at court. Many withdrew into retirement, but others purchased their way back by a renunciation of their faith. By these and similar arts Protestantism was being conquered. If not wholly rooted up, it maintained henceforward but a languishing existence; its leaf faded and its fruit died in the mephitic air around it, while Romanism shot up in fresh strength and robustness. A whole century of calamity followed the entrance of the Jesuits into Germany. The troubles they excited led to the Thirty Years' War. For the space of a generation the thunder of battle continued to roll over the Fatherland.

But the God of their fathers had not forsaken the Germans. It pleased God to summon from the distant Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, and by his arm to save the remnants of Protestant liberty in that country. Thus the Jesuits failed at that time in their design of subjugating the whole of Germany, and had to content themselves with dominating over those portions, unhappily large, of which the ecclesiastical princes had given them possession at the first. For the Protestant territories of Germany they would have to employ more subtle craft to overturn established Protestantism.

After the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the empire was a mere conglomeration of largely independent states. The treaty gave the territories almost complete sovereignty, even allowing them to form independent alliances with other states. It also gave the prince of each territory the authority to decide the religion of that territory. The permissible choices, according to the treaty, were Roman Catholicism, Lutheran Protestantism, and Reformed (or Calvinistic) Protestantism. The legal recognition of Calvinism by the empire was a new development. This had been secured through the demands of the Elector of Brandenburg. There had been an expansion of the Reformed at the close of the 16<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries into various territories- such as in Anhalt, Baden, Hessen, and Brandenburg- which had previously been Lutheran. The Peace of Westphalia was an indication of the rising power of Reformed confessionism by the conclusion of the Reformation era.

Chief among the Roman Catholic territories in the empire were Austria and Bavaria. Chief among the Protestant territories in the empire were the Palatinate, Saxony, and Brandenburg. Let's now then consider the development of each of the Protestant territories in the period before the Napoleonic era, when the map of continental Europe dramatically changed.

The Palatinate lay in the west of the empire along the Rhine River. Rising up as a Calvinist stronghold, the Palatinate was considered the early base-camp of the "*Calvinist Invasion*". In 1556 the Elector Palatine had become Lutheran, and from 1561 the Electors Palatine became Reformed. Indeed, Elector Friedrich III of Palatine (appropriately known as "Frederick the Pious"), became the first German elector to accept Calvinism. This godly prince did much to promote the Reformation. He aided the Calvinists in the Netherlands and in France. He reorganized the Sapienz College (founded by his predecessor) as a theological school, and put at its head (1562) Zacharias Ursinus, a pupil and friend of Melancthon, who had adopted the Reformed opinions. In order to put an end to religious disputes in his dominions, he determined to put forth a Catechism, or Confession of Faith, and laid the duty of preparing it upon Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, for a time professor in the University of Heidelberg, then court preacher to Frederick III. They made use, of course, of the existing catechetical literature, especially of the catechisms of Calvin and of John Lasco. Each prepared sketches or drafts, and the final preparation was a the work of both theologians, with the constant co-operation of Frederick III. When the Catechism was completed, Frederick laid it before a synod of the superintendents of the Palatinate (December, 1562). After careful examination it was approved. It was at once used throughout the Palatinate by command of the elector. But it soon spread abroad wherever the Reformed Church had found footing, especially in North Germany and parts of Switzerland. It was early received in the Netherlands, and formally adopted at the Synod of Dort in 1618. Long and bitter controversies with Roman Catholics and Lutherans on the Catechism only endeared it the more to the Reformed.

In 1563 Calvinism became the official religion of the territory, attracting Calvinists and Huguenot refugees. It was the most despised of the Protestant territories in the Holy Roman Empire by the Roman Catholic sovereigns, and therefore the bull's eye of attack.

In 1618 the Reformed Elector, Friedrich V, accepted the Bohemian crown. He is known as the "Winter King," as he only reigned for one winter. When he left to fight for the crown of Bohemia, his forces were crushed in the battle of Weissenberg near Prague, one of the major events of the devastating Thirty Year's War. With that defeat, he lost the electorship, which passed to the Catholic Maximilian of Bavaria. This marked the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. In 1622, after a siege lasting two months, Tilly captured Heidelberg. He gave the famous Bibliotheca Palatina from the Church of the Holy Ghost to the Pope as a present.

All told, the heart-rending effect of the Thirty Years' War upon the Palatinate had been to reduce the population from 500, 000 to 50,000! Ninety percent decimation and loss. The university halls of fair Heidelberg – which had been a crown of the Reformed faith -

became barracks. The Palatinate Elector had stood one day on the high tower of his castle at Mannheim and saw, simultaneously, six cities and 25 towns in flames! The fair, fertile, provinces of the Rhine Valley lay in ruins; the flower of the manhood of the region was spent and dead.

So from 1621 to 1648 there was no ruler of the Palatinate. Many places in the Electoral Palatinate were so badly destroyed by the plundering armies of Austria, Bavaria, France, Lorraine, Spain, and Sweden that they had to be totally rebuilt. Finally, in 1649, Friedrich's son, Karl Ludwig, was able to return to the royal residence. In what is nothing short of a miracle after so much slaughter by foreign powers, the Palatinate returned to Reformed Protestant rule.

But not even the Westphalian treaty prevented the Spanish from another invasion of the Palatinate, in 1655. And all manner of device continued to be employed to overthrow this Calvinistic bastion in Germany.

Added to the difficulties attendant with the Romish war against the Reformed Palatinate, came the religious compromises of its professedly reformed prince. The Elector Karl Ludwig did not sufficiently uphold the Reformed faith and suppress heresy and idolatry in his realm. For instance, he permitted an influx of Anabaptists into the realm. Mennonites settled in the Rhenish Palatinate soon after the close of the Thirty Years' War. We learn from a governmental order of the Palatinate, dated July 26, 1651, that there were Mennonites in the country holding secret meetings. Two years later an appeal was sent to Karl Ludwig requesting permission to settle in the Palatinate, signed by Hans Mayer and Hans Koerber, "together with the Mennonite brethren." In 1653 the Dutch Mennonites also sent aid to their brethren in the Palatinate. The electoral prince of the Palatinate issued his Mennonite Concession of Aug. 4, 1664, granting significant toleration to the Mennonites whom he allowed to settle in his land. It was very tempting for him to make this decision, because the Palatinate had been so de-populated by the years of wars.

Anabaptists from Switzerland and elsewhere then poured into the Palatinate, because the Anabaptist heresy was still suppressed in the Reformed areas of Switzerland. (In the Catholic areas Anabaptists were put to death, whereas in the Reformed areas it was disadvantaged or banished.) Among the other heresies of these Anabaptists was their assertion that a Christian prince should not uphold both tables of the Ten Commandments. Such wicked errors could only leaven the religious climate.

In the absence of sufficient suppression, combined with a spiritual lukewarmness on the part of many professing reformed Christians, heresy flourished. Many were fed-up with war and the unruly passions and ambitions of men. But they responded to the grievous circumstances in an un-Biblical manner.

The Quaker heretics of England also aided the heretics of the Palatinate. William Penn of England made three visits to the Palatinate. While there, Penn made some converts to

Quakerism, adding to the Palatinate's woes. One of his converts, Andreas Huber, on later going to America, became the ancestor of Herbert Hoover, President of the U.S.

The Palatine government began to witness the multiplication of heresies and heretics, and tried to address the ills. Some measures were taken in the 1670s to reign in the problem. Although they were generally ineffectual, they did tend to encourage some of the Anabaptist Palatinates to take up the offer of William Penn to settle in his North American colony of Pennsylvania. Thus, the first Palatinates to go embarked on the ship Concord on October 16, 1683, with 13 Mennonite and Crefelder families on board. More were to follow. These became known in North America as the "Pennsylvania Dutch".

Although some refugees into the Palatinate were Anabaptist, there were many true Reformed Christians who also sought refuge in the Palatinate. This included followers of the Swiss Reformer Zwingli. It also included some Waldensians. The Palatinate gradually re-built and restored from the ravages of the Thirty Years' War.

But in 1671 the prince Karl Ludwig made another religious compromise which was to have long term deleterious effects for his state. In order to strengthen his dynastic power, he married his daughter Liselotte ("Liselotte of the Palatinate") to the Papist Duke of Orleans. The Duke of Orleans was brother to King Louis XIV of France. This ill decision would eventually wreak havoc on the Palatine region of Germany and precipitate further spiritual decline. God's judgment was upon such compromising Protestantism.

That judgment happened in this way. Karl Ludwig was succeeded by his son, who died childless in 1685. This son was the last male direct descendant of Frederick V. After this death of Liselotte's brother, King Louis XIV of France laid claim to her inheritance, on behalf of Liselotte and France. The Pfalz-Neuberg line of Germany – who were Catholic - also laid claim to the principedom of the Palatinate. So now there were two claimants to the territory, and both were Roman Catholic. In order to win the support of the Protestants in Palatine, the Pfalz-Neuberg line tolerated the Reformed religion, even though Roman Catholicism became preferred there. Each church in the territory was served simultaneously by Catholic (preferred) and Reformed Clergy. In German minds, King Louis XIV's claim raised the threat of further French expansion into the Rhineland. He had already gotten German territory as a result of the Treaty of Westphalia. So this development was especially alarming. In July 1686, the League of Augsburg was formed by the Holy Roman Empire, Bavaria, Saxony, the Palatinate, Sweden and Spain to oppose French aggression. The French, however, successfully advanced against the League. In 1689 the castle and the city of Heidelberg were captured by French troops and, in 1693, almost totally destroyed. The fertile and rich lands of the Electoral Palatinate were destroyed by order of King Louis XIV (the "Sun King") of France (who cried, "Burn the Palatinate!"), under General Melac in 1689. Louis' troops ravaged the fair Rhine Valley so faithfully that 100,000 were murdered and 1,200 small towns were pillaged.

Both sides were running out of their taxpayers' resources and so concluded the War of the Palatine Succession in 1697 with the Peace of Ryswick. France had to restore much of its ill-gotten gains (including Trier, Breisach, Lorraine, Luxemburg and Catalonia), to recognize William III as King of England, and to accept a pension for Liselotte in lieu of her claims to the Palatinate.

Catholic rulers would henceforth rule the territory. In 1705 Protestants and Catholics both nominally received equal rights, though in reality Roman Catholicism was advantaged. The churches of the territory were distributed as follows: the Catholics receiving 5/7 of the churches, the Protestants 2/7. The Jesuits engaged in many nefarious deeds to undermine the Protestants. And the Protestants themselves increasingly embraced the errors of the humanist Enlightenment. Thus Reformed Protestantism was brought down in the Palatinate.

Saxony did not come under so intense an attack as the Palatinate, yet it too experienced great adversity and religious declension. It had been the early seat of Lutheran Protestantism in Germany. Saxony lay in northern Germany, forming around the Elbe River. The gospel had gone forth from the University of Wittenberg in Saxony, where Martin Luther had labored as a professor. The territory had enjoyed the wise and righteous leadership of Protestant princes of the Ernestine line.

But the intrigues of duke Maurice of Saxony altered the leadership of Saxony. Although a professed Protestant, Maurice was more swayed by political than by religious motives. In 1546 he made an agreement with Holy Roman Emperor Charles V by which he was to receive, in return for deserting the Protestants of the Schmalkaldic League, the lands and title of his cousin, Elector John Frederick I of Saxony. He fought for Charles in the Schmalkaldic War and after the battle of Mühlberg (1547) received the electorate and a portion of his cousin's lands. The Capitulation of Wittenberg (1547) is the name given to the treaty by which John Frederick the Magnanimous was compelled to resign the electoral dignity and most of his territory to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family.

A unified diet (called a "landtag") was held, attended by the leading Lutheran theologians (Melanchthon, Bugenhagen). There Lutheranism was confirmed as the state confession of Saxony, and the organization of Lutheran institutions (Consistoria) was standardized. Duke Maurice was fully recognized by his new subjects. He was the first in a long line of Albertine electors of Saxony.

Maurice's disgust with the emperor's ill-treatment of the Protestant leader Philip of Hesse, and his still unsatisfied ambition, led him to turn against Charles. After raising an army for the execution of the ban against Magdeburg, with which he had been entrusted, he formed an alliance with Henry II of France (1551). In the war that followed Maurice nearly captured Charles at Innsbruck. He forced Charles to free Philip and to conclude (1552) the Treaty of Passau. In 1553, Maurice was killed in a battle against Albert Alcibiades of Brandenburg-Kulmbach.

Maurice was succeeded by his brother Augustus I (1553-1586). It was a long period of economic prosperity and the consolidation of Lutheran Protestantism in Saxony. The Saxon Lutheran Church in 1571 adopted the Wittenberg Catechism, in an effort to clearly distinguish it from Calvinism which was rising in influence.

In 1586, Augustus died, and was succeeded by his son Christian (1586-1591). This godly ruler and his councilor Nikolaus Krell introduced to Saxony what is aptly referred to as the 'Second Reformation'. Lutheranism lost in political influence, and Calvinism gained. Saxony deviated from the policy of leaning on imperial (and Romanist!) Habsburg rule, and promoted the policy of reconciliation between the Lutheran territories and the Calvinist Counts palatinate. A new catechism was prepared by the Dresden court preachers Steinbach and Salmuth; by the latter, too, an edition of the Bible was set afoot, with Calvinistic elucidations. A school policy reform reduced the influence of the Lutheran church over the schools, and was increasing the Calvinistic influence of the state. Thus, good progress was being made in the further Reformation of Protestant Saxony. But Duke-Elector Christian I suddenly died in 1591, effectively putting to end this brief period of further reform.

Christian II (1591-1611), who succeeded him, was still a minor when his father died. The Lutheran party regained control and Calvinist tendencies were fought. The Diet of Torgau in 1592 decided to oust all Calvinists from positions in administration, jurisdiction, education and the church. Councilor Krell, who had promoted Calvinism, was accused, sentenced and executed in 1601, the year when the regency ended.

In 1611, Duke-Elector John George I succeeded Christian II to the throne of Electoral Saxony. He pursued a foreign policy of leaning on the Habsburg Dynasty, a most inappropriate measure given the Romanist stance of the Habsburgs. He was suspicious of the other leading Protestant powers (Brandenburg and the Palatinate), given that he was staunchly Lutheran and they were Calvinistic. He was simply unwilling to enact the more thorough Reformation of the Calvinists. He even refused to join this alliance, though the protestant princes in 1617 offered him the Imperial crown, and in 1618 offered him the crown of Bohemia and its adjacent territories. He was wary of facing a conflict with the powerful Habsburg dynasty. So Lutheran Electoral Saxony remained a reliable ally of the Habsburgs. Thus, in 1619 Duke-Elector John George I (in an electoral council of Germany where the protestants, for the first time, held a majority) cast his vote for the Romanist Habsburg candidate, Ferdinand II. This was surely one of the most unjustified votes in the annals of German history, and one which had dire implications.

Adding insult to injury, in 1620, Electoral Saxony joined the Bavarian-Austrian invasion of Bohemia. The Saxon troops occupied the Lausitz and Silesia. The Lausitz was treated as a Saxon pawn, and Silesia returned to Habsburg rule. From 1620 to 1629, Electoral Saxony remained neutral, while the surrounding Protestant territories suffered from the devastating Thirty Years War.

In 1629, Emperor Ferdinand II published the Edict of Restitution, ordering all church property which had been confiscated after 1555 to be returned to the Catholic Church. Electoral Saxony had to regard this as a threat, although Emperor Ferdinand may not have intended – at least in the short term - to enforce the edict against his hitherto loyal ally. So when Gustavus Adolphus landed in Pomerania and entered the theater of war, Saxony signed a treaty of alliance, after some pressure from the Swedes. Saxony was most attractive to the Swedes, as the rich country hitherto had escaped the war and therefore was most suited to feed the Swedish army. The battles of Breitenfeld (1631) and Lützen (1632) were fought on the periphery of Saxon territory. When the Swedes were defeated in 1634, the Habsburg diplomacy succeeded in signing a separate peace treaty with Saxony. This was but another instance of foolish compromise on the part of Saxony. Since this treaty did not include the Swedes, whose troops now entered Saxony; the country suffered more than in the preceding years. From 1641, Sweden concentrated her efforts in Saxony. The Saxons suffered defeats in 1642 and 1645. A truce was finally signed, which in 1646 was altered into a permanent peace treaty. The treaty came costly for Saxony, and the Treaty of Westphalia did not fulfill Saxon expectations. Because of her double-mindedness during the war, she received neither side's special favor.

When Bohemia had expelled its protestant population, about half of the refugees chose to settle down in Saxony. The population of Saxony in 1650 is estimated at about 535,000, about 80,000 of them Bohemians. In consequence, Saxony's economy recovered faster than the economies of many other German territories.

When Duke John George I died in 1656, he was succeeded by his son John George II. Under John George II (1656-1680) Saxony pursued an inconsistent foreign policy, often changing alliances. In 1664 Saxon troops joined Austrian troops in fighting the Ottomans in Hungary; in the same year Saxony temporarily became a member of the Rhenian Alliance (a tool in Louis XVI's foreign policy). In 1673 Saxony adopted a pro-Imperial policy and supported the Imperial war against France, decided upon in 1674. In 1675, Saxon troops fought alongside Brandenburgian regiments against the Swedes. In 1678 Saxony switched sides, now siding with France and Sweden, depriving the Brandenburgians of the gains they believed to have earned during the war. Under John George II's rule, the court at Dresden frequently saw magnificent balls. Construction, which turned the city into "Florence on the Elbe", continued. It attracted Italian composers and architects. The capital and the territory itself had lost much of its old spiritual fervor combined with Biblical orthodoxy. And corrupt humanist tendencies crept into cultural life. Luther's own theological compromises became magnified in the life of the people.

John George II was succeeded by his son John George III (1680-1691). Following the example of Sun King Louis XIV, he introduced a standing army. For a time the chief preacher in the court of Elector John George III was Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705).

Spener was the founder of pietism, a movement in the Lutheran Church which influenced other branches of Protestantism, as well as being influenced by other

branches of Protestantism. There had been very little church discipline in the Lutheran Church, so vice became common in its ranks, even though strict subscription to Lutheran doctrines was enforced. To combat the low state of piety characterizing many Lutheran adherents, Lutheran pietism rightly emphasized the necessity of personal conversion in salvation. The emphasis on sanctification as a necessary result of justification helped bridge a gap between Lutheranism and Calvinism. Unfortunately, however, pietism also tended to de-emphasize doctrinal precision, unlike Calvinism.

Spener had studied at Strasbourg where foreign literature, especially works by the English Puritans and Lutheran theologian Johann Arndt, were readily available. As a minister in Frankfurt, Spener headed several religious discussion groups called conventicles and published his seminal work *Pia Desideria* (Pious Wishes) in 1675 as a theologically based program for the reform and rejuvenation of the Lutheran church. Many Orthodox Lutherans were alarmed by the rapid spread of *Pia Desideria* throughout Lutheran Germany.

Spener re-interpreted Luther's writings and focused upon the personal practice of piety in all aspects of everyday life through preaching, Bible reading, discussion, and charitable activity. Furthermore, Spener believed that it was the Christian's duty to attempt to bring about God's kingdom on earth through the transformation of the earthly world. While in Frankfurt in the 1670s, Spener convinced the civic authorities to establish an orphanage-workhouse for the dual purpose of poor relief and catechetical instruction. Several other cities- including Augsburg, Darmstadt, Leipzig, and Hanover - copied Frankfurt's example by following Spener's detailed instructions. These institutions provided both the setting for the application of pietist principles and jobs for young clergymen, while ministering to the poor, regardless of confessional differences.

Spener quickly attracted a large Lutheran following, including a number of correspondents. August Hermann Francke, then a student at the Orthodox Lutheran University of Leipzig, became aware of Spener's ideas through the *collegium philobiblicum*, an institution interested in the devotional study of the scriptures. In 1688 Francke stayed with Spener for several months during which time he became imbued with Spener's pietistic ideals. After Francke returned to Leipzig, he began to lecture at the *collegium philobiblicum* and quickly became the intellectual leader of pietism in central and northern Germany.

Within his lectures, Francke completely broke with the orthodox methods of theological instruction, by emphasizing the application of Biblical teachings to everyday concerns. Although the theology faculty promptly prohibited Francke from leading any *collegia* on biblical topics, his students continued to meet to hear pietist preachers. The University of Leipzig was further scandalized to learn that one of Francke's colleagues permitted townswomen to attend his collegium, probably inspiring several important female spiritualist visionaries in northern Germany in the early 1690s.

In 1690 the elector of Saxony exiled Francke and Spener, prohibited student conventicle meetings, and denied scholarships to pietist students, thereby effectively crushing the

Pietist movement in Saxony. Brandenburg-Prussia welcomed the exiled Pietists and established a forum in the guise of the University of Halle from which they propagated their teachings for the next half century.

In 1688 Louis XIV invaded the Rhineland. An Imperial war was declared against France, and Saxon troops participated in the operations against France. John George III himself was placed in command of the Imperial troops. His son, John George V, reigned only a brief time.

Frederick Augustus I (1694-1733), son of John George V, was a thorough religious compromiser. In 1696, Polish King Jan Sobieski died. As Poland was an elective monarchy, Duke Frederick Augustus declared his candidacy for the Polish crown. On June 27th 1697, he was elected. In order to qualify for the Polish crown, Frederick Augustus I, as a private individual, converted to Catholicism, after signing a document in which he guaranteed Lutheranism as the state confession in Saxony. The election had been costly, and was financed by ceding border territory such as Quedlinburg as a pawn, and by selling the claim to the inheritance of Sachsen-Lauenburg. As part of his coronation oath, Frederick Augustus had promised to restore Livonia (lost to Sweden in 1621) to the Polish crown. This brought Saxony in conflict with Poland's traditional enemy, Sweden. Swedish King Charles XI had died in 1697, and was succeeded by his son Charles XII, still a minor. Sweden's neighbors regarded the moment having arrived to strike against Sweden and regain lost territory; Denmark, Saxony-Poland and Russia were to sign an alliance. But Charles XII took command of his army, forced Denmark to stay out of the war, defeated the Russian forces and then turned on Poland. In the humiliating PEACE OF ALTRANSTÄDT in 1706, Frederick Augustus had to resign his Polish crown. After Charles was defeated at Poltava in 1709, Frederick Augustus resumed his rule (1710-1733). He was called 'Augustus the Strong' because of his many children, mostly by mistresses. Frederick Augustus modeled his court after that of the wicked one in Versailles. Ballet, theater, opera performances, and balls attracted artists and noblemen from far beyond the Saxon borders. Humanist influences were ascendant.

As elsewhere, the strategy of Romanists in established Protestant territories was to weaken their Protestantism by allowing all sorts of heretics and false religionists to live in them. Accordingly, Frederick Augustus I pursued a policy of religious toleration, permitting the settlement of Jews in Saxony. Saxony was in a sad spiritual state with a wicked ruler such as this.

In Saxony, a state bureaucracy was established and grew. This bureaucracy included a Secret Cabinet, a General War Tribunal, an Auditioning College, and a State Construction Authority. It also included a College of Commerce, as an office to supervise production and trade.

Prominent Saxons at this time included Johann Sebastian Bach and Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf. Bach, a Lutheran, lived and composed music in the city of Leipzig during this time. His music was intended to be Lutheran church music. Zinzendorf had been a

student of Francke, and adopted many of Francke's pietist goals and perspectives. He allowed Moravian Brethren to settle on his estate in Saxony. They called their settlement Herrnhut, meaning 'the Lord's protection'. It quickly became the principal Moravian Center, sheltering Lutherans, Calvinists, and Hussites. True to his pietism, Zinzendorf minimized the importance of doctrinal distinctions, in order to advocate ecumenism among the Protestants. In 1727 the New Moravian Church was organized. Emigration from Herrnhut frequently took place, and these emigrants formed congregations as far away as Holland, England, and North America. Zinzendorf tried to unite all Lutheran and Reformed Churches, but his effort came to nothing. The Moravian Church sent missionaries around the world. The first such missionaries traveled to the West Indies in 1732.

In 1733, Frederick Augustus I died. In Saxony, he was succeeded by Frederick Augustus II, who also declared his candidacy for the Polish crown. He won the Polish crown after a brief war over the issue. But Saxony lost in its later war with Prussia, its chief competitor within the Holy Roman Empire. Saxony did not lose any territory to Prussia, but had to pay an indemnity of 1,000,000 Taler. The population for Saxony in 1750 is estimated at 1.3 million.

The so-called Diplomatic Revolution of 1756, in which France entered into an anti-Prussian alliance with Austria, Russia, and Sweden, had long been striven for by Saxon diplomacy. Saxony-Poland, however, at this point of time, was not to join this alliance, as King Frederick II of Prussia, well-informed by Saxon cabinet secretary Menzel, invaded and defeated Saxony in a preventive war (1756). Saxony surrendered on October 16th; Prussia confiscated Saxon treasure and revenue and pressed the entire Saxon army into Prussian service. During the ensuing Seven Years' War, Saxony at times was the theater of war. The war resulted in population loss, severe damage and financial ruin. Only after Prussia suffered defeats at the hands of the Russian army, could Saxony reenter the war and send newly raised troops into the field against Prussia. The Saxon contribution, however, was of little significance. In 1763, the Treaty of Hubertusburg was signed, at a Saxon palace plundered and destroyed by the Prussians in 1760. Saxony's lack of weight in international diplomacy was expressed by the fact that Prussia's Frederick the Great, by refusing to negotiate with Saxon prime minister von Bruehl, in effect influenced the representation and policy of Saxony. The treaty confirmed the status quo ante. Although Saxony had not lost any territory, the Seven Years War had been the worst disaster the country had suffered since the Thirty Years' War. And it took many years to recover from the loss, under Frederick August III (1763-1806).

But even more devastating was the decline in true religion in Saxony. The territory remained predominantly Lutheran, but was spiritually lethargic. It succumbed to rampant vice and the doctrinal corruption of the Enlightenment. Pietism was no satisfactory antidote to the spiritual troubles, for it undermined the maintenance of doctrinal precision. In all of the time before and after the Napoleonic era, Saxony never recovered what she had some time known during the Protestant Reformation.

Brandenburg enjoyed a longer period of spiritual prosperity and wise leadership than Saxony, and subsequently rose in political might to much greater heights. Brandenburg was one of the German states to switch (1539) to Protestantism in the wake of the Reformation, and generally did quite well in the century following, as the dynasty expanded its lands to include the Duchy of Prussia (1618), Cleves along the lower Rhine (1614), and elsewhere. Brandenburg was led by the Hohenzollern family from 1415 until 1918. During that time they greatly expanded the territory under their rule.

The Hohenzollern Elector Joachim II became Lutheran in 1555, and the territory under his rule enjoyed established Lutheranism. His son, Johann Georg, who ruled from 1571-1598, was a staunch Lutheran. Though opposed to the rise of Calvinism in his territory, he permitted the admission of Calvinist refugees from the wars in the Spanish Netherlands and France.

Brandenburg remained under Lutheran rule until 1613, when Hohenzollern Elector Johann Sigismund (who reigned 1608-1619) became a Calvinist. He had become dissatisfied of the theological and political compromises of Lutheranism with the Roman Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Emperor. The elector promptly entered an alliance with the Dutch Republic to solidify his power in Brandenburg and to counter a reinvigoration of Catholicism within the Hapsburg lands. Johann Sigismund's conversion established Calvinism as the faith of the Hohenzollerns. Because the majority of the Brandenburg population remained staunchly Lutheran, the elector formally relinquished the legal right of *cuius regio, eius religio*, in which the religion of the ruler dictated the religion of the state. This was not only a legal compromise, but a religious one as well. The Reformed faith rightly taught that it is the duty of the civil magistrate to protect the rightful established reformed church and to suppress that which would harm it, including heresy. It must be said, however, that Johann Sigismund and his closer posterity did seek to promote the reformed faith and to protect the reformed church, but the population as a whole remained adamantly Lutheran. The fault was more with the people than with the Elector.

Johann Sigismund and his son, Georg Wilhelm (who reigned 1619-1640), ruled over a sprawling, disconnected country, but one that was in relatively poor shape to defend itself during the Thirty Years' War. Towards the end of that devastating conflict and after, however, Brandenburg (and its successor states) enjoyed a string of talented rulers who gradually maneuvered their country towards the heights of power in Europe, combining their territory in Brandenburg with Prussia, to form the Prussian state.

Elector Georg Wilhelm married Elizabeth Charlotte Wittelsbach (sister of Frederick V of the Palatinate and daughter of Louise Juliane of Orange-Nassau). His son, Frederick William, was therefore a cousin of Prince Maurice of the Netherlands and was educated at the court of the Dutch Prince Frederick Henry and the University of Leyden. In addition, Frederick William married one of Frederick Henry's daughters (Louise Henriette). Frederick William was deeply impressed by Dutch commerce and government. The marriages with other Reformed royal families, as well as the education in Reformed principalities, strengthened Hohenzollern attachment to Calvinism.

The century between 1640 and 1740 was a critical period in the development of the Prussian state and, more importantly, for the formation of the social values that typified the Prussian national character. Duty, obedience, and loyalty of the citizens to the state were emphasized by the Calvinist Hohenzollerns, in their effort to reconcile their own Calvinist rule with those of the Lutheran nobility and populace. The fact that the Hohenzollerns were never able to persuade most of the populace to embrace Calvinism no doubt weakened the religious condition of the state.

Although the Hohenzollern Calvinist rulers were willing to co-exist with the Lutheran church, Orthodox Lutherans condemned the Reformed theology as heresy and resisted any introduction of the Calvinist church into Lutheran communities. The Lutheran Church in Prussia preached the Biblical doctrine of obedience to authority. This authority included not only the Calvinist Crown but also the Lutheran nobles. The latter were the patrons of the church throughout the Hohenzollern lands. The attempt to integrate crown interests with a unified populace changed during the reigns of three Hohenzollern rulers following the Thirty Years' War.

Frederick William, "The Great Elector" (who reigned from 1640-1688), tried to numerically increase Reformed churchmen in the territory by "importing" Calvinists from other countries. Friedrich William offered monetary enticements as well as asylum to Huguenot refugees and Calvinists from other European nations fleeing persecution. Three weeks after Louis XIV's October 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Frederick William issued the Potsdam Decree offering any refugees safe and free asylum in Hohenzollern lands. This was more than just an open invitation; the Great Elector sought to increase the Calvinist population by encouraging the influx of Calvinist immigrants into Brandenburg-Prussia. Because most of the wealthy refugees preferred to settle in England or the Netherlands, Frederick William offered numerous inducements such as tax relief, partial self-government, and separate judicial systems for reformed communities, often at his own expense. More than one-third of the entire state budget was allocated to this cause. The Great Elector brought in Calvinists from Holland, Switzerland, Piedmont, and the Palatinate to populate the domains and farmlands still deserted thirty years after the Peace of Westphalia. The Huguenots, however, preferred living in urban areas. By the end of the 1690s, one out of every five Berliners was a Frenchman.

The "Great Elector" Frederick William solidified the Calvinist presence in Brandenburg by fostering cultural and political ties with the Netherlands. Frederick William's marriage to the devout Princess Louise Henriette of Orange and his reliance on several Dutch-educated advisors further connected the Hohenzollerns with Dutch Calvinists.

At the time of Frederick William's ascension to the electorate in 1640, the only Calvinist institutions in Brandenburg were the court, the cathedral in Berlin, and the University of Frankfurt an der Oder, which had been Reformed since 1610. During his reign, he strengthened the state-sponsored Reformed church institutionally through the distribution of Calvinist clerics, who staffed local parishes and who trained teachers of Calvinist schools. Despite the sometimes vehement Lutheran opposition to the Calvinists, the Great

Elector mandated Lutheran toleration of Calvinism. He also had to mediate disputes between Lutherans and Calvinists. In 1664 he warned both Calvinist and Lutheran ministers to cease attacking each other from the pulpit; those who refused to submit to his ruling risked losing their appointments. An example of this was the Lutheran minister Paul Gerhardt (1608-1676). Gerhardt had studied theology in Wittenberg from 1628-1642. In 1651 he was ordained as minister in the city of Brandenburg, and in 1657 he was appointed minister at St. Nicolai in Berlin. He was deposed by the Great Elector in 1666 because he refused to refrain from attacks on Calvinism in his sermons. The tensions between Calvinists and Lutherans thus persisted throughout the reign of Frederick William.

Frederick I of Prussia was the third son of the Great Elector Frederick William. Frederick became Elector of Brandenburg on the death of his father in 1688 and king of Prussia from 1701 to his death in 1713. During the reign of Frederick I, the population of Brandenburg-Prussia greatly expanded. This was a direct result of the Great Elector's policy of allowing refugees to flock to his state. By the time of Frederick I, Brandenburg-Prussia was seen as the champion of Protestantism.

Frederick I certainly benefited from the economic policies of Frederick William. Royal income for Frederick doubled. The civil service created during the reign of Frederick William worked with great effectiveness by the time of Frederick I, and his army had increased in size to 50,000 from 30,000 - a 40% increase.

Frederick I sought a religious compromise between the Lutheran majority and the Reformed minority. Because many of the Reformed refugees into Brandenburg-Prussia were skilled artisans and tradesmen who enjoyed some state support, Lutheran natives expressed some discontent for the immigrants' relative success. The continued criticism of Calvinism from Lutheran pulpits coupled with the Huguenots' monetary successes increased hostility among Brandenburg natives. The infusion of Calvinists into Brandenburg-Prussia had the unintended effect of exacerbating the hostility, instead of drawing Lutherans to embrace the Reformed faith. Intent on finding a satisfactory solution, Frederick I believed that a religious compromise would unify the two faiths. But some of his compromise arguably did more long term harm than good.

This compromise first took the form of an attempted introduction of the Anglican liturgy, and later by fostering the growth of Lutheran pietism. Although the new king was a dedicated Calvinist, Frederick did not believe that the theological differences between the two faiths were significant enough to rule out a common liturgy. With the assistance of his court preacher Jablonski, the king promoted a new confession modeled after the Anglican Church that would be neither Lutheran nor Reformed but "evangelical." With this in mind, he had the Anglican Book of Common Prayer translated into German in 1704. Seven years later, Frederick attempted to establish an endowment at Oxford and Cambridge to enable Prussian theological students to train in the Anglican tradition. These negotiations ultimately broke down because of deteriorating diplomatic relations between England and Prussia and the lack of interest of Frederick I's successor. Many Prussians, furthermore, were not comfortable with the imposition of a foreign tradition

into their churches. Within this climate, Frederick I turned to a group of German reformers, the "pietists," whom he hoped would bridge the gap between the Calvinist and Lutheran faiths.

The new leader of the pietist movement was August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), Spener's disciple and friend. Francke was invited to become professor of Greek and Oriental languages at the newly formed University of Halle in Brandenburg. This was a Lutheran university but was not exclusively for Lutherans. Under Francke's leadership, Halle became a key means of spreading the pietist movement. It trained men for the Lutheran pastorate who were taught the theology and practice of Spener and Francke. This affected the Lutheran churches in Brandenburg, Saxony, and beyond.

The pietists, through their welfare-educational complex at the University of Halle, inspired the Prussian monarchy to institute a "State Pietism" that integrated the pietist teachings of duty, obedience, and discipline into the Prussian national character. The zealous Frederick William I, son of Frederick I of Prussia, used the doctrines of pietism as a means to unite Calvinist and Lutheran interests, as well as to inculcate its teachings into the secular world of Prussia's military, education, and welfare systems.

So within a few years of its establishment, the University at Halle became a conduit of Hohenzollern religious policy. Frederick I forbade the more strictly Lutheran pastors of Brandenburg to preach against Francke and his teachings. Furthermore, any differences of theological opinion were to be submitted to the king, who would in turn rely upon the judgment of Spener, whom he had installed in Berlin.

The University of Halle was one of many institutions founded between 1692 and the 1740s. Under Francke's charismatic leadership, its intellectual enthusiasm and relative academic freedom attracted large numbers of students within a relatively short span of time. After only twenty-five years, Halle had acquired over 1200 students and was considered the most prestigious university in Germany.

Although Francke's lectures attracted hundreds of theology students to the new university, his most notable achievement was his establishment of a remarkable institution whose main purpose was to educate and indoctrinate the children of Halle's poor. Part of Francke's ambitious social plans involved the founding of a school-cum-orphanage complex to educate children under the principles of pietism. He believed that every child should be given the opportunity to progress according to his God-given ability regardless of birth or wealth. In addition to teaching the children useful trades, those orphans who displayed talent and industry were encouraged to prepare for the university. Special funds were set aside to provide scholarships for those who could not afford higher education. In order to save money, most of the teachers were theological students from the university who taught in exchange for free meals. In addition to a broad theological curriculum, the students were exposed to several academic subjects, including astronomy, history, physics, and geography. All were required to follow and enforce a rigorous code of behavior that was designed to both break the will and foster self-control.

This stringent curriculum proved attractive to parents across Prussia. The "poor school" Francke founded in 1695 with four Thalers and nine students had become by the 1720s a complex of several buildings, including a hospital, an 18,000 volume library and a center for pietist missionary work. Many graduates continued their studies at the University of Halle and went on to become religious and social leaders. Discipline, faith, and devotion were the hallmarks of the Halle *Anstalten*.

In order for his ambitious plans to succeed, Francke needed state assistance. Around 1700, he began to articulate his strategy for "world reform" in a series of proposals that involved a Pietist-Hohenzollern collaboration. He hoped the political authorities would assist in the saving work of "reborn" clergy by maintaining order and suppressing any opposition to pietism. Furthermore, Francke planned for the establishment of a general commission chaired by a member of the privy council that would supervise visitations to each province within the kingdom and would eventually reconstitute itself as a *Kirchenkollegium* with supervisory powers over the Lutheran churches. Foremost on the council-*kollegium's* agenda was the increased state support for the theology program at the University of Halle and the foundation of institutions similar to the Halle *Anstalten* in other cities. Frederick I, however, was pursuing his plan to unite the Lutheran and Reformed churches through the Anglican liturgy instigated during the last years of his reign. Spener, Francke, and their followers were skeptical of this external unity of confessions, believing instead that spiritual rebirth of all parties was necessary before any union could be accomplished. Spener's ultimate refusal to participate in any negotiations further undermined the pietists' support within the court.

In the last decade of Frederick I's reign, the pietists suffered several setbacks. In 1706, after several staunch advocates had died, Spener himself succumbed to old age. Francke further alienated the king when in 1709 he tried to win over the king's mentally unstable bride, the Lutheran Princess Sophie Louise of Mecklenburg, to the pietist camp. As her mental condition worsened, so too did Francke's relationship with the king.

By 1713, the year Frederick I died, Brandenburg-Prussia was considered Europe's mightiest power. France had suffered badly during the reign of Louis XIV; Spain was a third class power; no German state could match Brandenburg-Prussia. The Empire was a mere shadow of its former self. Russia under Peter the Great had made great advances, but Russia's economy was based around agriculture and thus was to remain backward into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Sweden was no longer a threat. Frederick I had continued with his father's policy of modernizing the infrastructure of Brandenburg-Prussia. More roads and canals were built to assist transport, and waste land was cultivated to expand Brandenburg's agricultural base. In foreign policy, his troops had fought for William III of the United Provinces and he eventually provided the emperor Leopold with 50,000 troops. These men fought well and further established the legend abroad that the soldiers of Brandenburg-Prussia were acquiring. This reputation for military might made Brandenburg-Prussia a desirable ally and the subsidies received for these troops made her a wealthy state. So within mainland Europe, there was no one country that could threaten Brandenburg-Prussia by the time Frederick I died.

King Frederick I's death in 1713 ushered in a new age for Prussia. Whereas Frederick had mixed (and in some respects, compromised) his Calvinist religion with a delight in worldly things, his son Frederick William I shunned ceremony and showy expenditure. After giving his father a state funeral, the new king stripped the court of its formalities and streamlined expenditures in favor of his army. Aptly dubbed "The Soldier King," Frederick William demanded the same obedience and rigid discipline from his family, court, and nation as he did from his prized troops and himself.

Frederick William demanded his subjects subordinate their individual desires to the greater good of the state. Frederick William was determined to persuade his subjects to identify their self-worth with the positive growth of the Prussia. Not only did pietist institutions strive to inculcate this ethos, but the movement's teachings were in accord with the king's own spirituality.

Frederick William faced internal religious and personal conflicts throughout his life. Overindulged by his parents, he became an ill-tempered and badly behaved child. The young prince's Calvinist tutor persuaded Frederick William that his aggressive and malicious acts were not indicative of someone who should have assurance of salvation. The knowledge that he would have to account for his actions was the great motivating factor of his life. Following the death of his first born son when Frederick William was twenty years old, he experienced a religious conversion in which he realized that despite his sinfulness, God would forgive him. He emerged with a sense of obligation towards the God who had rescued him from damnation and instilled with the concept that his performance as king had a direct and immediate connection to his personal salvation. He became an "administrator for God." Thereafter, he devoted himself to Bible study, daily household prayers, and the frequent partaking of communion. He applied himself to his religion with the same zeal and duty that he had hitherto exhibited with his troops.

Francke's successes with the Halle *Anstalten* and the pietists' disciplined methods of teaching attracted the attention of Frederick William. Believing that the pietist credo of study, faith, and duty to society would benefit his subjects, Frederick William funded the establishment of several schools to be directed by Francke himself. In 1717 the king published an edict mandating compulsory elementary education for all children who lived in the vicinity of a school. Many children were taught by their local minister who, by the 1720s, may well have been a Halle graduate or at least influenced by the pietists. Although this decree was not uniformly enforced, it did create an environment that encouraged the founding of new schools. Frederick William's concern for education was especially motivated by his interest in the spiritual welfare of his people and their obedience to the state.

Pietist institutions experienced a remarkable expansion not only in education but also in missionary work under the patronage of Frederick William I. With state assistance, Halle-trained pietist clergy took up posts in Lutheran churches across Prussia and in foreign countries. Missionaries brought Pietist Christianity to peoples as far away as southern Africa and India. They influenced a movement called the Great Awakening in England and America, which we shall consider in a later chapter. Pietist clergy reached out to

several generations from the pulpit, through Bible study, and in the classroom. Through this broad based exposure, pietist ideals would continue within the Prussian people long after Halle pietism waned in influence. Frederick William was determined to indoctrinate his subjects further by deploying pietists in the institution over which he had complete power: the army.

After the demands of state were met, Frederick William devoted the remainder of his time and energy to the building, training, and improvement of his army. Strict rules and harsh penalties maintained order among troops often resentful toward the military authorities. When volunteers failed to fill the ranks, impressment gangs roamed the countryside kidnapping eligible soldiers regardless of national origin. Despite this harsh discipline, Frederick William was determined to create a spirit of voluntary obedience and a pietist acceptance of hard work among his troops. To achieve these goals, he appointed Halle pietist Lampertus Gedicke director of the military church.

Frederick William gave Gedicke control over the chaplain selection process; by 1736, over half of the approximately one-hundred army chaplains had matriculated with the theology faculty of the University of Halle. During Gedicke's tenure, the military church undertook the responsibility of educating the soldier's children who could not be accommodated in the local schools. These regimental schools, supervised by regimental chaplains, stressed discipline, the catechism, and basic reading skills. Many of these Halle-trained chaplains started special schools to teach the soldiers and their wives reading and writing and the catechism. Everyone was required to attend church; officers were ordered to march their soldiers into the garrison churches on Sundays and post sentries at the door.

The officers were also indoctrinated with pietist principles. Frederick William extended the application of "State Pietism" within the military through the foundation of the Berlin cadet corps. This institution's primary purpose was to teach young noblemen the diligent execution of orders through the subordination of the will. In addition to a full schedule of classes and military drill, the cadets were required to attend daily prayer sessions, hymn singing, and Bible study. After graduation, these officers were required to adhere to a strict code of behavior that prohibited them from playing cards, accruing debts, or drinking excessively. Their leadership continued the pietist tradition through the reign of Frederick the Great, after pietism as a religious movement had lost momentum.

Just as Francke realized his plans of institutionalizing Halle Pietism within the Prussian state, the movement began to experience a decline. Francke believed, in later years, that the students were no longer sincere in their conversions, for they had not undergone a true repentance. Furthermore, although many able individuals assumed leadership roles in the movement, no one possessed Francke's combination of ambition and foresight, nor maintained as successful a rapport with the king. Perhaps most importantly, pietism's inherent subjectivist tendencies ultimately gave way to a more pure form of theological liberalism.

So we see how the Calvinist rulers of Brandenburg-Prussia found in pietism the means to unite the interests of the Calvinist Crown with those of the Lutheran populace and Junker nobility. The Hohenzollerns were attracted to pietism because this Lutheran reform movement advocated, as did Calvinism, the uplifting of society through the religious awakening of individuals. All hoped to create God's kingdom on earth through charity, discipline, and education, blessed by the Holy Spirit. More than any other group, the pietists developed the structure, and appealed to the Calvinist rulers for the means, to enact this transformation. The result was not the unification of Protestant interests as initially desired by the Hohenzollerns, but the infusion of these ideals through "State Pietism." From Lutheran pulpits, community schools, and parade grounds, Halle trained ministers and teachers disseminated the pietistic principles of duty, obedience, and obligation towards God and the state.

Frederick William's reign came to a conclusion in 1740. Although he was judicious in various respects in his civil rule, he was most injudicious in his rule over his family. The king inherited a metabolic disease that periodically caused extreme abdominal pain, as well as spells of gout, migraine headaches, and boils. The disease also caused psychiatric disturbances, including sudden uncontrollable rages. Unfortunately, in these rages Frederick William frequently targeted the youngest son, Frederick. And they help explain Frederick's pursuing a very different course from his father. This son became King Frederick II of Prussia, otherwise known as Frederick the Great. He was a very different man from his father.

There was also a dark underside in the state of religion in Brandenburg-Prussia in the years that pietism was a growing movement. The development of early and even mid-Enlightenment thought in 18<sup>th</sup> century Germany proceeded hand in hand with pietism. Like the discontent that the representatives of the early enlightenment had with authority and, at least in the early years, intellectual life, those of pietism took issue with the (religious) orthodoxy and its intellectualism. Furthermore, rather than endorse obedience and conformity to the establishment, the pietist movement emphasized the subjective aspect of faith: a person's experience, feeling, and, above all, personal participation in religious matters and performances. Both movements had in common an opposition to the enforcement by the state and church of a strict doctrinal adherence to a confession of faith. Both were therefore more latitudinarian, and both implicitly denied the perspicuity of scripture for deriving a confession to which all citizens should be held accountable. It was the logical conclusion of a compromise that the Calvinist Johann Sigismund had made a century earlier.

This is not to say that the parallel development of the Enlightenment movement and pietism was always or even necessarily harmonious. In Halle, the chief representative of pietism was August Hermann Francke, who had been brought there by an Enlightenment scholar named Thomasius. Thomasius actually helped found the University of Halle. But Thomasius and Francke did not see eye to eye on all matters. While Thomasius had endorsed Francke's practical activism, he broke with Francke by 1699, criticizing his educational policies for producing "uneducated, melancholy, fantastic, obstinate, recalcitrant, and spiteful men". Unlike historic Calvinism, pietism did not call for the

enforcement of doctrinal orthodoxy by the state and church. Indeed, if it had, since it was principally Lutheran, it would have called for the suppression of Calvinism. So Francke was in no position to call for the suppression of Enlightenment scholars like Thomasius and Leibniz.

The Enlightenment movement grew in Brandenburg-Prussia and throughout Germany in the early and mid-eighteenth century, spearheaded by the philosopher Christian Wolff (1679-1754). Sponsored by Leibniz, Wolff was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Science at the University of Halle in 1707. Since his position in Halle was predominantly as a teacher of mathematics, Wolff did not begin lecturing and writing on philosophical matters until 1710. In mathematics, he produced textbooks, a four volume history of mathematics in 1710 and a mathematical dictionary in 1711. His philosophical lectures were in the first instance expositions of Leibniz's philosophy. Wolff gained increasing prominence in Halle, much to the dismay of the "Thomasians" and the pietists alike. Matters came to a head in 1721 when some political maneuvering on the part of his opponents (the "Thomasians" and the pietists), likely prompted by his own increasing fame and popularity with the students, combined with his apparently difficult personality, brought him to the attention of the Friedrich William I, who expelled him from Prussia in 1723 on threat of hanging. Having earlier been invited to the University of Marburg in Saxony, he took up the position there. At the time Marburg was a more cosmopolitan place than Halle, and Wolff now had students from other countries. He saw himself as speaking to Europeans, not merely Germans, and began writing in Latin. In fact, he produced a second series of books, in Latin and identified as his Latin works, going over the same subject matter that he had treated in his German texts, albeit in more detail. Though even more scholastic than the earlier German texts, these books contributed to his fame in a much broader context (Europe rather than Germany). In 1733, Frederick William I invited him to return to Prussia, but Wolff declined this invitation. He became increasingly well established, so much so that a cabinet order of 1739 required candidates for the ministry to study Wolff's books, particularly his logic. In short order, Wolffians and Wolff societies could be found everywhere, even in Prussia. The Enlightenment cancer had metastasized.

Wolff's philosophy, that became so widely embraced, was a systematization of the philosophies of the earlier Enlightenment philosophers Descartes and Leibniz. It was a form of rationalism, which asserted man could reason to a true system of knowledge of the universe, apart from divine revelation. According to this viewpoint, man – even fallen man - has an innate capacity of understanding, although conceding the powers of understanding have to be honed through practice and experience. Its very premises are unscriptural, so naturally its conclusions are also unscriptural. Wolff developed an entire system of knowledge – in fields ranging from cosmology to ethics – reasoning from supposedly self-evident propositions. For example, he borrowed from Descartes to prove human existence from human consciousness. And he constructed his ethics, defining that as ethical which contributes as much as possible to the happiness of others as well as oneself. In this Enlightenment milieu King Frederick II (Frederick the Great) rose to power as King of Prussia.

Even before Frederick II assumed the monarchy, he had become close friends with the French Enlightenment philosopher Voltaire. Voltaire was forty-two years of age, and already one of the most famous men of the day, when, in 1736, he received a letter from the Crown Prince of Prussia. This letter was the first in a correspondence which was to last for a space of over forty years. Their correspondence concerned issues like German Enlightenment philosophy and French poetry. Even before becoming king, Frederick assured Voltaire that he would inaugurate an age of "enlightened" rule upon taking office as king. What happened in reality is far different from what Voltaire had imagined. In 1740 Frederick became King of Prussia, and started out on a career of conquest, plunged all Europe into war, and turned Prussia into an even stronger military power.

Frederick II (the Great) remained king of Prussia until 1786, and he stands as one of the greatest of the "Enlightened Despots" in an age of "Enlightened Despots". This meant that he was an absolute ruler ruling according to the principles of the Enlightenment. The revealed religion of scripture meant very little, and human reason so called meant everything. Unbounded by Biblical principles, he felt free to lead in what he considered to be the nation's interest. So when Frederick saw a chance to unify his kingdom geographically by taking over the Austrian province of Silesia, he quickly planned an invasion. This action went against an established treaty, but Frederick argued that agreements between nations became void when it was no longer beneficial to the state for them to exist. During the Seven Years War, Frederick successfully resisted opposition from France, Russia, and Austria despite a much smaller pool of resources. His military genius brought Prussia out of the war militarily stronger than she had been before entering it, but morally and spiritually weaker. Frederick built Prussia into one of the strongest military nations in Europe and left a legacy of absolute devotion to the fatherland that continued to shape German history into the 20th century. And he began the process of uniting the German nation around the Prussian kingdom based in Berlin, even while the Holy Roman Empire crumbled into oblivion.

He continued the work of his predecessors to consolidate power by giving the territorial princes a place in the governmental bureaucracy. He established universal religious toleration and granted freedom of the press. This opened the door to all manner of heresies, lies, and blasphemies. Although the Prussian state was officially Protestant, it came to mean very little in terms of protecting true historic Protestantism. Indeed, the leadership of Prussia saw doctrinal differences as standing in the way of their political aspirations to form a united Germany dominated by Prussia. Nationalism, rationalism and pietism were far better fitted to help them achieve their ungodly ambitions. Union of the Lutherans and Reformed was in part the outcome of the Aufklärung and pietism. The one with its rationalism minimized the doctrinal differences between the confessions, and in the other the quality of religious experience and the methods employed for nourishing and giving effect to the Christian life overpassed confessional boundaries.

There were some positive aspects of his administration, nevertheless. He established individual protections against the law by speeding up the legal process and abolishing torture. Prussian judges were educated and the courts gained a reputation as the most

honest in Europe. He established the first German law code. Frederick financed the rebuilding of towns through agricultural reforms and built thousands of miles of roads.

Frederick II thus joined the ranks, and arguably led the way, among the other "Enlightened Despots" of Europe, who were professedly guided by Enlightenment philosophy. These included Maria Theresia of Austria (1740-1780), Charles III of Spain (1759-1788), Ekaterina II of Russia (1762-1796), and Gustav III of Sweden (1771-1792), among others. They regarded the staunch Protestantism as well as the staunch Roman Catholicism that existed during the Protestant Reformation as archaic and unsophisticated. These views began to trickle down to the population as a whole, but for the most part the beliefs of the Reformation era would only gradually recede from the populace. But most of the ruling intellectual class had embraced Enlightenment philosophy already.

Frederick II was so "tolerant" that he refused to suppress the Jesuits even when many of the Roman Catholic countries and even the Pope had suppressed the Jesuit Order. We have seen in a previous chapter how it was suppressed in Portugal. Through the influence of Voltaire the Order was suppressed in France. And the other Roman Catholic nations, fed up with the conspiracies and abuses of the Jesuits, expelled them. But Frederick II's Prussia did not. Thus the Jesuit Order was able to continue to exist in supposedly Protestant lands, while ceasing to exist for a brief period in Roman Catholic lands.

Before we close this chapter on Germany, we should consider one last Prussian philosopher who came to dominate German intellectual thought: Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Before Kant became prominent, Enlightenment thought in Germany was dominated by Leibniz and Wolff. They adhered to a stream of Enlightenment thought called rationalism (or 'continental rationalism' because it was the dominant philosophy among the intellectual elite in continental Europe). Rationalism is a philosophical creed that human reason is the source of knowledge. It originated with Descartes and spread during the 17th and 18th centuries, primarily in continental Europe. In contrast, its contemporary rival, the British Empiricists held that all knowledge comes to us through experience or through our senses. At issue is the fundamental source of human knowledge, and what the proper techniques are for verifying what we think we know. Rationalists argued that starting with intuitively-understood basic principles, like axioms of geometry, one could deductively derive what was true. Descartes, with his mathematical background, was naturally drawn toward this method, and famously claimed to derive his own existence from pure reason (*cogito, ergo sum*). On the heels of his work came continental philosophers such as Spinoza and Leibniz who sought to enlarge and refine the fundamental theory of rationalism.

But rationalism was being challenged by another stream of Enlightenment thought called empiricism. Empiricism is the belief in philosophy that all knowledge is the result of our experiences. Empiricism is opposed to Continental Rationalism. Empiricism is generally regarded as being at the heart of the modern scientific method, that our theories should be based on our observations of the world rather than on intuition or

faith; that is, empirical research, inductive reasoning and deductive logic. Empiricism had become especially common among the humanist intellectuals of Great Britain. These included first Francis Bacon, then John Locke, and later David Hume.

Kant's response to empiricism was transcendental idealism, which held that we bring innate forms and concepts to the raw experience of the world, which otherwise would be completely unknowable. Kant's most widely read and most influential book is *Critique of Pure Reason*, which proceeds from a simple thought experiment. He said, try to imagine something that exists in no time and has no extent in space. The human mind cannot produce such an idea—time and space are fundamental forms of perception that exist as innate structures of the mind. Nothing can be perceived except through these forms, and the limits of physics are the limits of the fundamental structure of the mind. On Kant's view, therefore, there are something like innate ideas since the mind must possess these categories in order to be able to understand the buzzing mass of raw, uninterpreted sensory experience which presents itself to our consciousness. Secondly, it removes the actual world (which Kant called the *noumenal world*, or *noumena*) from the arena of human perception—since everything we perceive is filtered through the forms of space and time we can never really "know" the real world. Kant's transcendental realism led to relativist conclusions, because it asserts man cannot know the real world. Kant's philosophy rapidly took hold among the intellectual class in Germany.

What all the Enlightenment philosophies – from Kant's transcendental idealism to Locke's empiricism - had in common was a rejection of the revealed religion of scripture. They would not accept that man must presuppositionally believe in God's word to have any true knowledge. As a result, modern society became characterized by various forms of humanism. Although formally Protestant, the Protestant states in Germany were losing the light of their gospel candle, while the Romish states had already snuffed out theirs.

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