MARTIN LUTHER: PROTAGONIST OF AUTHORITARIANISM

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the North Texas State University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Denton, Texas
May, 1976

It is the aim of this thesis to discuss Martin Luther as a political philosopher of authoritarianism as revealed in his writings. Although he advocated the separation of faith and reason, Luther's political sphere includes the omnipotence and authority of God. Given this factor, the religious elements of calling, faith, and love become political manifestations. This polity effects a state in which the citizen must find spiritual and civic fulfillment within a secular existence. The possible affinity of Luther with such political philosophers as Aquinas, Machiavelli, Locke, Rousseau and Marx is briefly examined. Luther's authoritarian attitude and its implications for public and political life are his legacy to the evolution of the modern nation-state.
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INTRODUCTION

The mere mention of religion and polity within the same sentence is apt to induce skepticism in the "modern" world of science, practicality, and rationalism. Religion implies faith, which is a spiritual, empirically unknowable thing. It is reserved for that other side of modern man which is rarely seen in public. When it is seen it invokes an emotionalism which the modern world is just beginning to comprehend, much less to control. This separation of religion and polity is often used as an example of the modernity of western civilization.

In the Middle Ages the main concern was that of God and man; the church was the sun and the state, the moon. Separation of the entities was usually respected, but as the soul controls the body, the church was of a higher priority than the state. At one point in western history religion and polity crossed paths and polity became the predominant issue. An examination of history reveals that this phenomenon occurred somewhere between the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment, between authority in faith and authority in reason. Some historians place this reversal in insight in the Renaissance, claiming as roots of modernity the humanist trend to emphasize secularity, reason, and action over spiritualism, faith, and contemplation. Between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment
is a period of great religious and political upheaval spanning over two centuries. Some explain these two centuries by claiming the reformers of the sixteenth century as third generation humanists, thus continuing the triumph of reason and secularity.

The question immediately at hand is not that of the humanist tendencies of the reformers. The issue to be considered here is the relationship between the Reformation and the separation of reason and faith. The break with Roman spiritual authority began a period of religious struggle which coincided with a period of national development in Europe. The eventual triumph of the political state over the spiritual interest must have begun in this period, with Christianity providing certain internal elements which the political realm utilized to become predominant. This exchange was not purposeful, being but a result of assimilation of method and thought.

Martin Luther's rejection of Roman spiritual authority initiated a dramatic spiritual upheaval. Luther was definitely authoritarian, religious, and dogmatic. He definitely separated himself from Rome, dealt essentially with the problem of faith, and was convinced of his truth. Much has been written about Luther and his influence on subsequent history, secular and spiritual. The analysis of his contributions to religion are beyond the scope of this investigation, as is much of his influence on social development.
As Luther's political thought is an outgrowth of his religious convictions, an investigation of that thought in its original context is most valuable to comprehending its possible influence on the reversal of the predominance of spiritual over secular. Basic to this political thought is the doctrine of the separation of those two realms of life. In order to clarify his position on this doctrine, which he had believed to be one of his best works, Luther had to explain the difference between the two realms and in this process political thought of a religious nature may be ascertained. When the "modern" reader becomes cognizant of the nature of man as well as of the political realm in Luther's thought, such religious elements as calling, faith, and love may be revealed as being subject to the secular existence.

Evolving from these elements of faith is a framework of concepts the basis of which is the necessity of authority. Luther commented on the problems of freedom, equality, and obedience and their relationship with law, government, and nation within the authoritarian secular existence of the citizen. This society is dependent upon the citizen's finding spiritual and civic fulfillment within public experience. The very existence of the individual within two spheres of authority and thought implies an inherent duality which extends into the mental attitude, tempered by Luther's insistence on a feeling of conviction. Believing beyond all shadow of a doubt the truth of a conviction can lead to the "Machiavellian"
or even "modern" concept of placing the ends or purposes of an action above the means of attaining those ends. Above this increasingly "modern" sounding secular existence is a direct relationship between God and history, as Luther identified the evolution of history with the unveiling of God working through nations to reveal Himself.

It is the reality of these elements of faith and concepts of worldliness which are found in Luther that must be the basis of an investigation designed to comprehend the influence of a religious thinker on political development. Luther's emphasis on the separation of faith and reason is rooted in medieval thought, which grew as a part of the modern world and encouraged the rise of the nation-state. With no real political theory, only an attitude, no systematic political philosophy, only a faith, Luther is rarely considered a major contributor to the modern political world. It is precisely that attitude based on his faith and its subsequent implications which is Luther's legacy to the modern world. This contribution becomes clearer when compared with and placed in historical perspective with other political philosophy:

Luther's position in history is another key to his importance. His break with the Roman Church began a century of expanding horizons, scientific and geographic. Adding the turmoil of religious questioning to the political development in this intellectually expanding era lends credence to the view that the sixteenth century was a major turning point in
western civilization. The question arises whether it was the first evidence of the modern world begun by the Renaissance, or whether it was the beginning of modernity. Although this question is not directly considered here, it is pertinent to the political attitudes of Luther which may be seen in the modern attitude toward the state.
CHAPTER I

ELEMENTS OF FAITH IN THE POLITY OF LUTHER

At the core of every system of thought is an association of certain elements which cannot be altered and which is the basis of all further argument. To deal with the polity of Martin Luther is necessarily to deal with religious elements of faith. As Luther's thought was God-centered, what unsystematized political thought there is in Luther was based upon religious thought. The common central element for both his political and his religious thought was man and his relation to an authority beyond himself. In religion, man's relation to God is manifested through faith, explained through love, and revealed in a calling. In the political realm, man's relation to government is manifested through reason, explained in law, and revealed in the state. All of these elements were present in the political thought of Luther, which centered on man and authority.

Man, according to Luther, was incapable of living as God intended. All secular existence was molded around this fact. Luther accepted the traditional Christian view of the Fall in the Garden of Eden.

When he was created, Adam had a right will and understanding. He could hear and see perfectly, and he took care of earthly things perfectly with praise and faith in God. Through the Fall his will, understanding,
and all natural powers were so corrupted that man was no longer whole, but was diverted by sin, lost his correct judgment before God, and thought everything perversely against the will and Law of God.¹

Another gift of God corrupted in the Fall was reason, through which man gains his knowledge of all things, including God. All knowledge man has of God is somehow corrupted, in need of repair. This knowledge is repaired "by a reason or an intellect that has been illuminated by faith."² These two elements, faith and reason, are essentials in an analysis of human nature and are the framework for all further religious and political thought of Luther. Man in political society is essentially evil and may be saved in the spiritual sense solely through illuminated reason. These two elements also precipitate the two realms of life which exist for the individual.

As man lost his correct judgment and his reason became impaired, the need for restraint developed. "Moreover, there was no government of the state before sin, for there was no need of it. Civil government is a remedy required by our corrupt nature."³ This secular realm is ruled with impaired reason, governing all that is not spiritual, restraining sin. It is composed of laws for a society forced to care for itself so that peace may be maintained

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2. Ibid., 26:287. 3. Ibid., 1:64.
in which to serve God. The spiritual realm confirms citizenship through faith, rules over the conscience, and is headed by Christ. It is subject only to God, and is composed of Christians serving each other willingly in order to serve God.

The spiritual government or authority should direct the people vertically toward God that they may do right and be saved; just so the secular government should direct the people horizontally toward one another, seeing to it that body, property, honor, wife, child, house, home and all manner of goods remain in peace and security and are blessed on earth.  

By nature man exists in the secular world of reason, subject to restraint and rule of sin; by grace he may exist in the spiritual world of faith, subject to all others and the rule of love.

Faith and reason must be distinguished and confined to their respective spheres. Even as the two spheres are to be kept separate, so faith and reason cannot be reconciled. Reason is so corrupted it can not comprehend the truth revealed by faith. Reason is directly related only to wisdom but not to understanding, for "wisdom pertains to the knowledge of things, understanding to judgment."  

Correct judgment is made only through faith. Man uses reason to obtain written law in which wisdom is revealed to serve as a substitute for correct judgment.

4. Ibid., 13:197.  
5. Ibid., 9:56.
Luther seems to identify reason with the concept of natural law. Just as all men possess reason, so all men are capable of knowing natural law. Positive law, or written law, is the recording of natural law, or reason. Natural law and positive law are directly related in that both are God's gift of reason.

Natural law is a practical first principle in the sphere of morality; it forbids evil and commands good. Positive law is a decision that takes circumstances into account and conforms with natural law on credible grounds. The basis of natural law is God, who has created this light, but the basis of positive law is civil authority.

If government was established to point to sin, positive law is to be the guideline for those rules of society to be obeyed. As reason enables wisdom and the knowledge of things as they are, civil law "is de facto law, and it's both the law of nations and civil law."

Since all laws come directly or indirectly from God, there is a double use of law, theological and civil. Secular law, based on reason, points to sin; theological law disciplines, leading man to a knowledge of himself.

Those who are not to be justified are restrained by the civic use of the Law; for they should be bound with the chains of laws, as wild and untamed beasts are bound with ropes and chains. Those who are to be justified, on the other hand, are disciplined by the theological use of the Law for a time.

6. Ibid., 4:387.
7. Ibid., 54:293.
8. Ibid., p. 131.
9. Ibid., 26:309.
10. Ibid., 28:234.
11. Ibid., 26:344.
Three kinds of law then exist: natural law, written law, and law of the Gospel. Luther insists, "it is clear that these three laws differ not so much in their function as in the interpretation of those who falsely understand them." All three are God's own law interpreted in three ways for three purposes. Natural law is revealed in reason to guide the secular existence of man. Written law is the morality derived from natural law as necessary for restraining those not willing to keep God's law in the secular existence. Gospel law is that way of life taught by Christ for the Christian to exist in secular society.

The writings of Luther are filled with ambiguities and contradictions. Luther stresses the separation of the spiritual and the secular, including the uses of law.

For among Christians we must use the law spiritually, as is said above, to reveal sin. But among the crude masses, on Mr. Everyman, we must use it bodily and roughly, so that they know what works of law they are to do and what works ought to be left undone. Thus they are compelled by sword and law to be outwardly pious much in the manner in which we control wild animals with chains and pens, so that eternal peace will exist among the people. To this end temporal authority is ordained, which God would have us honor and fear.

If all law is from God and is to point to sin, all law is basically the same, just revealed in different areas of life.

At times Luther appears to have realized this while continuing

his insistence on the separation of reason and faith. The end of any law becomes the restraint of the wicked and the protection of the good.14

Without the provision by God for secular society "personal safety and private property would be impossible, and finally the social order would collapse."15 The dualistic existence imposed by Luther upon man begins to take shape. Given Luther's insistence that Christians belong only to the spiritual government, and the secular society existing for the restraint of the evil, the Christian obeys laws for two reasons. As has been shown, civil law is equated with that required in the law of the Gospel. Secondly, "love is the end of every law."16

Love, meaning love of neighbor, is not just the goal of the law of the Gospel, but it is also an essential part of natural law which is "written in the hearts of all men."17 When that love is fulfilled, all law is obeyed. Sin, defined as the separation from the will of God, becomes not only an essential element of law in the theological sense, but also in the secular realm. If secular law is a result of the will of God, any separation from that will in the secular realm, although termed criminal, is also sinful. Secular law points to the separation from God and the lack of neighborly love.

Love belongs also to the government itself. Out of love laws would be administered "severely and without mercy, to punish evil men, that the good and pious may be perserved."\(^\text{18}\) This severe administration does not include tyranny, but simply the demand that laws be obeyed. Luther does allow for moderation in enforcement, saying that the laws should be employed "correctly and prudently in accordance with the conditions of various places, people and persons."\(^\text{19}\) This opinion could well have been developed by Luther because of his belief that laws should be based not only on facts, but the intention of an act.\(^\text{20}\) If love is truthfully the intention of an act, it will not conflict with the law. If the law is based on the intention of love, no act done with the correct intent will conflict with the law.

The problem in law is that lawyers apply natural law as that which does happen in a given circumstance, ignoring what Luther claims to be the true nature of law—that which should happen.\(^\text{21}\) Law is \textit{de facto}, based on knowledge of things as they are. It cannot be \textit{de jure} because it cannot involve the true justice, which entails true understanding.\(^\text{22}\) Law then appears to be based on what has been ordered by God as necessary, although it cannot be kept

\begin{itemize}
\item 18. Ibid., 9:193.
\item 19. Ibid., 15:128.
\item 20. Ibid., 9:193.
\item 21. Ibid., 54: 104.
\item 22. Ibid, p. 131.
\end{itemize}
because of the faulty nature of man. The confusion on the nature of law is natural considering the corrupt nature of the creature possessing the divine gift. "Therefore civil justice and laws are in themselves full of defects, even though men obey them. Man's reason cannot comprehend all the various instances that might arise to make it necessary to amend the law." If the civil law can never be perfect, it becomes impossible to govern any earthly kingdom without sin. Government can attempt to approach perfection of governing through love; it can never completely achieve it.

Although law, itself, may be imperfect due to man's corrupt reason, law may be perfectly observed, for man "sins because he does not spiritually fulfill the law." That spirit is love, which is the basis of intention. The act of obeying law is meaningless if the purpose of the law is not completely understood. The purpose of all law being love, love must be existent before the act. In this way all instances pertaining to the law may be known and anticipated, making the action of fulfilling the law a spiritual exercise, even if the law is secular and the action is civil.

The true utilization of this knowledge of the spirit of law is limited to the true Christian.

This is indeed a great knowledge, to know well the use of law, namely, for outward government, not for the conscience. This has been set free by Christ, if only we believed. Having obtained it by faith, we can make use of all external laws in a godly way.26

Such a usage of external laws is only possible because Christians would act correctly if the laws did not exist, for they "are above every law and do more than the laws ordain."27 Christians obey the law not because it exists, but because they do as they ought. The action of obeying law in itself does not create righteousness, but the spirit in which the act was committed is the deciding factor "for laws do not make Christians."28 As love is the basis of all law and the purpose of law is to restrain those actions which would infringe on that love, Christians are free from the restraint in the bonds of love for neighbor, an automatic response of faith.

If the Christians are on the right side of the law it becomes impossible to impose laws, ecclesiastical or civil, upon them without their consent.29 True law necessarily being that which ought to be, the true believer does what ought to be done and voluntarily obeys those laws which are, by nature, faulty.

26. Ibid., 17:207. 27. Ibid., 9:144.
28. Ibid., 8:264. 29. Ibid., 36:72.
So a Christian fulfills the Law inwardly by faith--for Christ is the consummation of the Law for righteousness to everyone who has faith--and outwardly by works and by the forgiveness of sins. But those who perform the works of the flesh and gratify its desires are accused and condemned by the Law, both politically and theologically.  

Although Luther ostensibly makes a distinction between the spiritual and the secular law, the two are definitely identified as two aspects of the same rule. Law in one realm can not be obeyed unless law in the other realm is also obeyed.

"This is the true Christian liberty, to be set free from a conscience oppressed by law and outward things, so that we may not adhere to them with a conscience in bondage."  
The conscience is the only place for liberty, which is, in reality, freedom from law. The secular realm is meant to be an existence of restraint for the evil man. The truly saved person is the only truly free person. All acts done in accordance with the law are done voluntarily through love, with a free conscience, "for Christ has set us free, not for a political freedom or a freedom of the flesh but for a theological or spiritual freedom. . . ." Laws exist for those who have not yet received the spiritual incentive. "Yet it remains a Law for the wicked and unbelieving, it remains also for us who are weak, to the

30. Ibid., 27:113. 31. Ibid., 17:207.
32. Ibid., 27:4.
extent that we do not believe." 33 Luther confirmed his framework of human existence as the conforming to authority of law which is ultimately issued from God.

If the law exists only for the restraint of the unbelieving, it follows that if every man had faith there would be no need for laws, ecclesiastical or civil. 34 The secular realm appears to have been arranged for the non-believer during this life. The believer respects authority and obeys laws purely out of faith. Not only are laws made spiritual through faith, but the secular government "is an outward thing, yet it binds our faith, and is also an article of faith" 35 due to the fact that both realms were created by God. No matter how Luther emphasizes the separateness of the two realms, the likenesses of the two seem to outweigh the differences. The only real difference appears to be that the civil realm exists for the non-believer.

"Nothing can be so material, fleshly, or outward, but it becomes spiritual when it is done in the Word and in faith." 36 The believer in the civil realm is in no need of restraint, but he must coexist with those not in his freedom. He lives his whole life in faith, and this serves God in both realms, for "God is served by all things that may be done, spoken, or thought in faith." 37

33. Ibid., 26:162. 34. Ibid., 44:34.
35. Ibid., 37:137. 36. Ibid., p. 92.
37. Ibid., 44:24.
Seemingly, Luther erected a secular existence which, as he insisted, must be kept completely separated from all things spiritual. In actuality, "all government and all life rests on faith."\(^{38}\) Here Luther revealed the true reality of his thought. If all true usefulness of any secular element depends upon intention behind an action, everything in life does rest on faith. Faith is the essence of finding the true purpose of life. Faith must exist not only in God, but also in all means of serving Him through faith.

The Law has been done away, in order that faith may rule the conscience. If the conscience is not injured by the delusion of righteousness, then in external circumstances it can be kept, like other laws of civil society.\(^{39}\)

Faith is not only an essential religious element; it is an element of civil society. It is an element equal in necessity to law, as important as respect for authority.

Faith alone is the equalizer because it assures that the same things are desired by, hoped for, and accomplished by the faithful. "Laws cannot bring men into agreement. Faith in Christ creates unity and makes men equal. . . ."\(^{40}\)

Laws are the artificial bonds created to force men into agreement; these are broken. Equality necessarily means there is no one judge, no one lawgiver, for all are subject directly only to God through the conscience. If there is no

\(^{38}\) Ibid., 5:333.  \(^{39}\) Ibid., 12:275.  
\(^{40}\) Ibid., 16:123.
human authority in matters of conscience, each equally has "the power to test and judge what is right or wrong in matters of faith." All things which are done correctly by the saved are done in faith. Civil matters done in faith are done to worship God, and done in faith these civil matters become subject to judgment by all others in the faith. Luther's separation of the two realms has the flaw of spiritual activity within the secular sphere.

Christians may be equal before God, but they do not enjoy the same worldly privilege in the secular sphere. "For not all can be kings, princes, senators, rich men and freemen in the same manner, since the world cannot exist without persons of various and different sorts." Distinguishs are made in the secular realm because actions are of more importance than intent. Secular actions may be divided into kinds and subdivided as to category, increasingly depending on the distinction of social status. "In Christ, however, all things are common to all, all things are one thing, and one thing is all things." Faith alone is the equalizer necessitating no distinction. All actions in faith are equal in importance as they all have the same intent. As all the faithful are judges of all done in faith,

41. Ibid., 44:135. 42. Ibid., 9:145. 43. Ibid., 27:280.
and faith is not a visible element, a method emerges by which one believer may know another.

"There is a spirit of restlessness amid the greatest calm, that is, in God's grace a peace. A Christian cannot be still or idle. He constantly strives and struggles with all his might..."44 In this way one Christian may know another and judge his actions in reciprocity although one may be a peasant and the other a king. The faithful live for the benefit of others and find their only fulfillment in serving through action. Only the man who chooses his actions for his own selfish gain can possibly be master of his fate, captain of his soul. "We are never lords of our actions, but servants."45 Faith may be revealed in any action done through faith; that action knowingly committed in faith is actually a part of God's will in the secular realm. As every action is to reveal love, so it is by divine ordinance man must serve in love. "It is in accordance with God's creation that we must first be born as human beings, men or women; thereafter He assigns to each his office or position as He wills."46 The positions are the outward fronts or masks through which Christians appear unequal, yet equally fulfill God's law. As there are different social position and functions to be fulfilled, so "callings differ greatly in this life."47

44. Ibid., 24:88-89.
45. Ibid., 31:395.
46. Ibid., 13:332-333.
47. Ibid., 2:356.
Through the calling, neighbors in the secular realm are also served, as the believer fulfills his faith in love and God's plan of society. Logically, if these positions of servitude are ordained by God, man cannot remove himself from a calling of his own will. If man is desired to be removed to another calling, God will do the calling to the position. "For it is God's will that nothing be done as a result of one's own choice or decision, but everything as a consequence of a command or a call." The provision of maintaining one's calling is that nothing is done for the self. The position, or calling, exists for the good of others through which God will work His will. The social level of these assigned places in the secular realm is not important. These are just outward masks to hide the equality Christians have attained. No position should be despised, for all positions are equally good in God's sight.

If all Christians are equal in the spiritual realm and all positions or callings are unequal on the surface in the secular realm, the office and not the man is worthy of respect under secular rule. The man, himself, is subject to God, not superior to others except in his mask of a calling or position. All callings may be equal in the sight of God, but in the rational world of the secular mind, a social position definitely exists.

Therefore those estates that are appointed in God's Word are holy, divine estates, even though the persons in them are not holy. Thus father, mother, son, daughter, master, mistress, servant, maid, preacher, pastor—all these are holy and divine positions in life even though the persons in these positions may be knaves and rascals.\textsuperscript{51}

All that is concerned with God and the administration of His two realms are divine and holy; this includes the callings as they are utilized in God's work. The person as a secular member of society is a facade for the true meaning of the individual in relation to God. As social, and even family positions, are utilized with the correct intention, so the correct purpose of the mask is revealed and is correctly used. All is possible if the correct spirit is behind the action; the purpose or intention behind all actions contains the weight of judgment in morality. Man is capable of being moved by the spirit only in the spiritual realm, for in the secular realm "Christ gives the Spirit to the public office and not to a private person..."\textsuperscript{52}

The private person is nothing except in relation to God. His only purpose is to serve God through serving his neighbor. He does not do God's work except through his calling which has been instituted by God. Government, itself, as an institution ordained by God, is also a calling.\textsuperscript{53} When actions of the government are done with the spirit entrusted to the office, government is then fulfilling God's work and purpose through the secular realm.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 13:71.\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 50:90.\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 4:100.
If all actions are to be ultimately of the same intention and lead to the same ultimate goal, the reason for the distinctions among callings is raised. These positions are necessary "least the subjects rebel against their superiors, the chairs climb on top of the benches, and the children hold sway over their parents." The majority of the men in the secular realm are not believers and therefore do not fulfill the purpose of their calling. In order to enable the faithful to perform their calling, these distinctions must exist.

To be sure, those masks of judges, magistrates, teachers, doctors, and lawyers are necessary, but one must merely use them, not enjoy them. For you are not a man adored by the rest, but it is God's will that this life be governed and preserved, in order that the works of the devil may be abolished and peace and discipline may be retained. This must be the goal of all government. Callings also fulfill the function of giving man the recognition of his weakness that he may remain humble. Society is the result of those unaware of their calling, and those actively fulfilling their calling, the major difference being why they do what they do.

Man exists in society, according to Luther, because he is a social animal. The resulting social positions are given the major purpose of confirming the need to live in groups. Love is the essence of this community, as it is

54. Ibid., 22:94.  55. Ibid., 7:184.  56. Ibid.
part of the law of nature in the strictly secular realm, and a part of the law of God, in the spiritual realm. As the community is for the preservation of things, so the members in society serve each other out of love for neighbor to solidify the community. Love, therefore, is not just a part of law, it is duty. Law becomes enforced duty. Man may be equal in the spiritual realm in God's sight, but love is required equally of all men. Love is the object of spiritual life and of secular law. The only difference appears to be in enforcement.

A nobleman acts as the peasant's tormentor and vampire; a rich citizen bleeds a poor one; so the peasant, too, will skin and flay the townspeople. This is the general custom in all works of life. It has all degenerated into boasting and blustering. But God did not ordain it that way. This is not the purpose God had in mind with a king, a nobleman, a rich burgher. No, His plan was that these all were to be agents in the service of man's welfare.

Society had degenerated, in Luther's view, to the point that men used positions ordained as callings by God for his own outward benefit. The true spirit of the law was lacking except in the believers. In faith, these positions could be correctly utilized. "For if we live by the spirit and in love, we do not live for ourselves; then we live for our brothers."
Love is important in both the secular and the spiritual realm, but it is definitely an element of the spiritual realm when it is considered that love is a characteristic of freedom.\textsuperscript{61} As freedom belongs only to the saved, love is the essence of faith. "For freedom consists in this, that we have no other obligation than to love our neighbor."\textsuperscript{62} In obeying only love, all law is fulfilled; it is only the spiritually guided who fulfill love. The faithful need only love by which to live in secular society; but, laws must exist because love cannot be taught or forced.\textsuperscript{63} Law is the instrument of compulsion to force the unbelievers into agreement. The object of love in society is to preserve peace, in which love does exist. In this way the good and pious are also preserved.\textsuperscript{64} Love is precisely that which insists that the government of the community serves the people.\textsuperscript{65} The benefit of the totality of persons is the result of love. Likewise, man obeys and serves the state in the same kind of love.\textsuperscript{66} The most important rule for man is to love and to honor God. The second is to "watch for the welfare and improvement of your neighbor, in order that it may be seen that your faith is true and that you belong to Christ."\textsuperscript{67}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{61} Ibid. p. 347.
\item \textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{63} Ibid., p. 50.
\item \textsuperscript{64} Ibid., 9:193.
\item \textsuperscript{65} Ibid., p. 17.
\item \textsuperscript{66} Ibid., 45:94.
\item \textsuperscript{67} Ibid., 24:262.
\end{itemize}
If faith and reason are the two lights open to recognition of the truth by men, love is the binding factor. Likewise, God has instituted "three religious institutions or orders" directly below love. The church is the authority in the religious sphere, governing through faith. Parents are the authority to maintain discipline in the household. The government is the authority to "coerce the obstinate by discipline." As parents fulfill the position of lowest authority over individuals in the secular realm and are considered positions of calling in the spiritual realm, this authority bridges the two realms. Any individual occupying a position of authority is involved with dispensing God's will. Rightful administration of this position is "only for the benefit of those who are entrusted to him." Love is not the only insisting factor involved in rightly administering the office; duty to God is also important.

If authority is entrusted by God, and those possessing that authority are aware of that source, such authority has no need of being proven or being questioned. The actions of that authority will prove the authenticity of that authority for they will have grown from love and peace. Likewise, where peace and order are prevalent, there the authority of God is obeyed. As all authority is of God,

69. Ibid., 27:191.
all authority is to be obeyed. The freedom granted to the believer in faith does not here apply. The Gospel does not do away with civil laws and the obedience owed to the government.

Obedience to the government also entails the acceptance of the social order as the government is the authority upon which the social order rests. "For there is a secular rank and a dignity ordained by God which God wants us to honor." This secular rank is composed of those masks of the secular existence imposed to cover the spiritual realm. Accordingly, highest obedience is owed to God, as this secular rank also involves "degrees" of rendering obedience. Likewise, government should be obeyed only to the extent that it glorifies God. Although an unjust government dishonors its authority in so far as it is not just, it is to be endured and obeyed. Such a government has rights over the secular existence; it cannot harm the soul which must be in obedience to the conscience in the spiritual sphere.

As long as the conscience is safe in faith, so obedience is owed to the unjust government.

As long as an active way remains for faith to participate in secular life, rebellion, the antithesis of obedience, is not to be tolerated. Luther does provide that self defense

70. Ibid., 5:115. 71. Ibid., 6:115.
72. Ibid., 6:27. 73. Ibid., 5:114.
is not rebellious and that obedience ends when an authority
compels something contrary to the law of God.\textsuperscript{74} As the
calling, the office, or position is of the secular realm,
the private person has no place in the civil world. This
private person belongs in a relationship with God. Rebellion
in the secular, rational realm is then acceptable only in
defense of a spiritual matter where faith reigns. Beyond
these exceptions, any disobedience to any authority is
forbidden. The orders and authorities have been established
by God to preserve the peace for the activity of love.
Rebellion is an attack against that authority and that
necessary peace which God requires. "He will permit His
work and ordinance to be attacked by rebellion and dis-
obedience, but He will not permit it to be overthrown or
subverted."\textsuperscript{75} Rebellion, however, is not to be tolerated.
The true rebel is he who consciously resists authority.

To act contrary to a law is not rebellion; otherwise
every violation would be rebellion. No, he is an
insurrectionist who refuses to submit to government
and law, who attacks and fights against them, and
attempts to overthrow them with a view to making
himself ruler and establishing the law . . . that
is the true definition of a rebel.\textsuperscript{76}

Rebellion is contrary to the good of society because it is by
nature selfish, the opposite of the nature of love. It harms
the innocent, who must be served, and is thus never right,
"no matter how right the cause it seeks to promote."	extsuperscript{77}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 47:19; Ibid., 44:100.
\item \textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 8:369.
\item \textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 47:20.
\item \textsuperscript{77} Ibid., 45:63.
\end{itemize}
Luther condemns all rebellion on the premise that it is the result and the aim of force. The only way a governing authority is to be resisted is "by confession of the truth." This resistance is defense of self, as the soul rules the body; of neighbor, as love demands; and of God, as faith requires. There is only one truth. As the believers are the possessors of it, they are also the protectors of it. Authority is simply a way to the truth in the secular realm.

The major authority within this secular realm is the government. Possessing all power, given directly from God, it is the duty of this office of authority as well as the will of God, to punish all crimes. This is not, in the opinion of Luther, an invitation to tyranny, but a responsibility entrusted to certain officials. The government "takes no pleasure in such punishments. It would prefer to have everyone do his duty and not to deserve any punishment at all." Such punishments are meted out due to the love the government possesses for its citizens. As the people have no authority, they have no right to punish. Any dispute is to be appealed to the authority and justice of civil law, administered by the government. Disputes concerning spiritual matters belong between the individual and God, guided by the spiritual government. "Therefore

78. Ibid., p. 124.  79. Ibid., 3:328.
anyone who does violence to you sins not only against you but also against the government, itself; for the order and command to maintain peace was given to the government and not to you."\(^82\)

Since all vengeance and punishment must be left to the government, care must be taken that in maintaining peace, no punishment is overlooked. If an authority knowingly does not punish a sin, that authority takes the responsibility for that sin upon himself. If the government does not execute a punishment for an injustice which has been brought to its attention, that sin becomes a public sin.\(^83\)

Here it is possible to infer that the government is made of the public as a whole, i.e., that the people are the government. However, the government is an authority of God, not an organization responsible to the people. A social sin becomes a crime against government, and an evil against society concurrently. If government can not, or will not, correct a sin, which is a crime, then society must suffer, and government must carry the blame. It is impossible for the government to know all the evils being committed. This lack of knowledge is "an unavoidable sin--a sin just as inherent in the government as lust is inherent in everybody without which certainly no one can live."\(^84\) Luther seems to

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\(^82\) Ibid., 21:40.  \(^83\) Ibid., 3:279.

\(^84\) Ibid., 4:82.
view the government, itself, as a person who is inherently evil due to the participation of human beings.

The purpose of the authority of government within the secular sphere is the good of the citizens. As Luther identified the good with love, peace, and the absence of sin, these are the ultimate goals of good government. Luther suggested one way to accomplish the good for the community is to provide a community chest of a sort for the common need. Such provision would supply for the poor, eliminate beggars, provide for orphans, and help newcomers to the community. As these services are provided for the people, the people must contribute to the administrative function. Out of love these actions are provided for whomever may be the neighbor through an annual tax given to the government. Out of love the government secures the taxes to administer the social welfare.

One other benefit this general fund would provide would be education for the youth. The purpose of education is greater understanding of the Holy Scripture and for better conduct of the temporal government. It is, according to Luther, God's will that children should attend school. An educated youth grows into an educated citizen, capable of achieving self-knowledge within the spiritual realm and

85. Ibid., 45:189-90. 86. Ibid., p. 192.
87. Ibid., p. 358. 88. Ibid., 40:314.
correct facade and obedience in the secular realm. The two realms present two facets of the same truth which must be taught to the future citizens. For various reasons, parents may neglect the education of their children. The duty of insuring the correct education is that of the governing authorities. Teachers, controlled by the government, are a "necessity," just as the governing authority replaces the parents in administering education, so "if the authority of the father is lost, the magistrate takes his place." "We can get along without burgomasters, princes, and noblemen, but we can't do without schools, for they must rule the world." Children are the hope of a people, containing the promise of the future. "Therefore this kingdom must be governed in such a way that its population will continually grow and increase; otherwise Christendom will not maintain itself nor long remain a going concern." With children being the future, government encourages the growth of the nation, controlling their education into the truth. The governing authorities are the guardians of all— in place of and over the parents.

The immense authority of the government gradually takes shape in reference to both the secular and spiritual realms.

89. Ibid., 45: 354-5. 90. Ibid., 54:67.
91. Ibid., p. 403. 92. Ibid., 9:297.
93. Ibid., 54:67.
A function of the civil authority is to make a spiritual individual into a functional member of the state. The government must "see that a godly man is not only a good man but also a good citizen, who can benefit many people in faith and in works." 94 "Not every good man is a good citizen. A good man benefits many in private. A good citizen can benefit many in the state and government if he is elected to be chancellor, pastor, or preacher." 95 As the two realms must exist side by side, so they must complement and supplement each other. As spiritual government commends the secular to the honor and respect of the citizenry, so the secular government should praise and honor the pious as examples to be followed within the secular society. 96 The protection of the examples is the function of peace, the aim of secular society. 97

In return, the three things owed to government freely from the saved, forced from the rest of society, are taxes for the continuance of peace, respect so rebellion will be curbed, and honor in the recognition that government is given directly from God. 98 The duties of government emerge directly from its reason for existence: the benefit of the people. The faithful accept these benefits, humbly; the

94. Ibid., 17:291. 95. Ibid. 96. Ibid., 30:75. 97. Ibid. 98. Ibid., 40:281-2.
rest of the world tolerates these benefits, greedily. "The government is held in honor that it may benefit the state." The benefits, or duties, of government are for the people. The government is not the people, nor is it the state. The people are the state. The government is that organization of authority which is to benefit the state.

The government exists for the secular realm. It is an authority existing for the outward regulation of the body. The spiritual realm is the authority existing for the inward regulation of the soul. The faithful observe both and are aware of both. Those outside the faith are only aware of the compulsion imposed by outward forms. If all were true believers, there would be no need of secular authority. To ensure the closest possible likeness to this perfection, the civil government "should serve the purpose of peace in the kingdom of Christ." Although Luther conceived of the spiritual and secular realms as separate the two are undeniably united in service to God. The secular realm is to be used as a proving ground for faith, and government is to be considered a necessary authority ordained by God to maintain God's will. "Whoever, thus, might see God in government, would have sincere love toward government." To have that sincere love is to love the precepts, purposes and source of government.

99. Ibid., 5:112. 100. Ibid., 8:264; Ibid., 40:283.
God directs men to respect, obey, serve, and honor government. As government is God's gift for the administration of His will in the secular realm, it should be respected and honored. "For government is not feared because of the punishment it inflicts but is respected and honored on account of its virtue and wisdom." These virtues are given by God to be used in administration.

Power is involved in ruling, and the opportunity for tyranny within this plan of the political world is great. The possibility, although forbidden, of rebellion of the subjects is also present. These two factors, a wise ruler and obedient subjects, are also gifts of God. Either lacking is anarchy. Government is concerned in its administration with the power over everything secular, executing the laws for the glory of God. It involves the concept of a ruler, who will personify the law as an example. It thrives on its own authority which is maintained through justice and administration of laws. Unified, the government may continue as long as God permits, but "there is no more harmful plague for kingdom and state affairs than division." Because administration of government is inherently evil due to the human participation, this division is a constant possibility. Government, despite

101. Ibid., 2:30. 102. Ibid., 7:204. 103. Ibid., 4:211. 104. Ibid., 28:127. 105. Ibid., 2:226.
imperfections, is necessary and must exist for the state to continue in correct relation to God. "For a solici-
tude about the establishment and preservation of the state is certainly a fine virtue, in fact the highest virtue among men."\textsuperscript{106} Government of that state, as a gift of God, is the greatest among all human works.\textsuperscript{107}

Luther maintained that there is no contradiction in obeying government and obeying the laws of God. Obedience, in either case, is to God, although Luther insisted that his understanding of the two realms "makes plain distinc-
tion between the temporal and the spiritual estate and teaches, besides, that the temporal estate is an ordinance of God which everyone ought to obey and honor."\textsuperscript{108} The faithful understand this special relationship between the two realms, and "the first work of love among Christians is toward civil office."\textsuperscript{109} Proof of faith is not simply in action, but is also in that which is the object of the action. Civil office is not just the position in secular society occupied by each individual, but it is the relation-
ship between an individual and the civil government. The Christian respects, honors, and obeys government in order to serve the state because of his love.\textsuperscript{110} The state being the community, the believer utilizes all facets available

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., 15:24. \textsuperscript{107} Ibid., p. 196.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 13:42. \textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 28:256.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 45:94.
to him from the government to put his love into action. In obeying the laws of government, the duties and responsibilities to the state, or neighbors, are fulfilled, and the obedience owed to God is kept. "In this way God wants us to devote ourselves to the community life and society of men. When I show honor to a magistrate or obey him, I am not obeying a shepherd's son or a prince or a nobleman. No, then I am obeying the will of God and the need of men." 111

If the obeying of laws is the serving of government, and the obeying of magistrates is the serving of God, then laws and magistrates are agents of God and His administration of the secular realm.

For governing is a divine power, and for this reason God calls all magistrates gods, not because of the creation but because of the administration which belongs to God alone. 112

In obeying the ruler in his authority and power, the citizen obeys God. This responsibility should weigh heavily upon the government as a whole. Not only is the citizen engaged in a spiritual activity in obeying laws and honoring government, but the government, itself, is engaged in a divine mission, responsible to and working for God.

Although Luther endeavored to emphasize the separation of polity and religion, what ultimately develops from his thought is a glorified medieval conception of the relationship

111. Ibid., 7:185. 112. Ibid., 5:124.
between secular and spiritual. The state exists as the community which masks and serves as a cover for the small group of believers. Although the government ostensibly exists for the nonbeliever, it serves as an insurance of order for the believer. Luther would agree that the state with its government is the concern of God only for the sake of the faithful. Although the government is God's method of enforcement, the ultimate purpose for polity is for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the community. Responsible for the social welfare, the government continues the insurance of spiritual exercise for the believer. "If the governing authority and its sword are a divine service, as was proved above, then everything that is essential for the authority's bearing of the sword must also be divine service."113 The cooperation of the believer, administration of laws, obedience of the citizens, continuance of governmental activity, and respect for civil positions or callings are all essential for the governing authority to exist. All civil and secular life is essential for this authority and is therefore a divine service. Man is in a direct relationship with God in the spiritual realm through his perfect faith; he is in a direct relationship with God in the secular realm through the result of his imperfect reason.

113. Ibid., 45:103. 103.
CHAPTER II

CONCEPTS OF WORLDLINESS IN THE POLITY OF LUTHER

The association between man and another entity is the basic component of any religious or political thought. Usually, such thought is concerned basically with the necessity of the other entity, including its duties and rights. In religious thought, the qualities of God and their implications for man are emphasized. In political thought, the nature of government and its relationship to man is stressed. What is expected of man within these constructs is left to be inferred or interpreted, on the assumption that every man knows what is expected of him. Luther's unsystematized religious polity is no exception. Concerned with man and polity only in relation to God, Luther often supplied his own interpretations and implications regarding his thought. Attempting to separate secular from spiritual, he succeeded in separating outer nature from inner nature. Attempting to have the individual serve his fellow man, he succeeded in binding the individual to society. Attempting to balance the relationship between God, government, and state, he succeeded in uniting spiritualism, patriotism, and nationalism. These three attempts involve man, with both his political and religious natures.
The most obvious critique of Luther's polity is that it involves the relationship between the individual and the governing authority. So concerned was Luther with the separation of faith and reason, that he was blinded to the obvious fact that in his polity the spiritual and secular realms are united in being responsible to God. As the governing authority is a divine ordinance, secular existence is advanced under the guidance of God. According to the structure Luther claimed to exist, man must distinguish between one arena and the other when making a decision. He must determine if he is acting according to his relationship with God, or if he is using his secular position in a secular function. Ultimately, if man is a true believer, these two choices become equivalent. Luther would have his readers believe that even in this case secular and spiritual are distinct due to the apparent inequality inherent in the civil society. In defending his position of two realms, Luther instigated a system which evolved into an existence of duality for the individual.

The genesis of this duality is in the combined essence of man who is both physical and yet spiritual. Both natures have their own purposes and functions to fulfill in their own respective spheres in order to complete the whole person. Man must have both natures to complete his one entity.
And these two, body and soul, are so closely united that touching even one little hair of a man is regarded as touching the whole person. . . . Yet the two natures, body and soul, form one entity and being, and this despite the fact that there are two distinct natures. Body and soul cannot be divorced in a living being.¹

Although man is in two realms at once, he is one person. Man, the private person, is responsible to God. As a public individual, he is responsible to the governing authority. Inwardly he must satisfy his conscience; outwardly he must fulfill his office. Luther insisted that these two natures should be kept separate "even though the same man can represent both persons. . . ."² As the true believer lives in this double existence, he serves the same purpose in both realms. His private person becomes the instigating factor behind the public individual, using secular life and civic position for the results desired by the private person. In private the believer lives as his own person, and in public he lives Christ's.³ Ultimately, the only separation of the two realms which exists for the believer is in what is termed public or private.

Man's existence is not the only human concept in which Luther reveals dualistic tendency. Man's reality, that quality of how a man perceives himself, is also divided.

1. Luther's Works, 22:327.
2. Ibid., 49:383.
3. Ibid., 26:170.
According to Gerhard Eberling, Luther agrees with the Bible in believing that that which makes a thing what it is is obtained from something outside of the individual. Generally speaking, in contrast, philosophy maintains the view that this substance which creates reality is obtained from some internal element. According to this latter view, a man is rich because the nature of richness is in the wealth. According to Luther's view, the man is rich only in direct relation to how he comes to understand himself through the possession of the riches. If man comes to understand his true inner nature only by how he sees himself in relation to what is outside of him, every result of every action or thought is in constant review and is open to objective criticism. The inner self is that part of man relegated to the spiritual realm and reserved for attempts at understanding, not merely knowing. If all secular activities performed are to give man his ultimate inner understanding of himself within the spiritual realm, the separation of secular and spiritual is limited to the masks of social positions. "One's substance corresponds to the way one exists and the attitude one adopts." The corresponding attitude is the result of these introspective review of external relationships. If the believer

5. Ibid., p. 88.
adopts the attitude, the correct relationship to external entities will be achieved and secular life will become the stage for achieving self-knowledge.

It is this relationship between the inner nature of man and man's ultimate perception of himself which prompted Luther to encourage the use of secular things.

We must use other temporal goods, money, cattle, houses, homes; but we must not place our trust, hope, and confidence in them. To trust and use are two different things. The former is appropriate to God; the latter is appropriate to creatures.  

The possibilities of secular things are to be realized and used to achieve ultimate ends, which include a conception of self. The inner nature of man is to be understood, and is only understood to the degree that the outward nature of the other object is correctly utilized.

Luther maintained that Christ was teaching men "... how to live personally, apart from their official position and authority." Christ may have been instructing the person, but the true understanding in faith of that teaching can be obtained only in the knowledge of the secular realm and how it is used to satisfy the requirements of the spiritual teaching. The end of man, if it be to do God's will, may be achieved only to the same extent that outward callings are fulfilled. Such abstract values as

7. Ibid., 21:106.
trust, love, and faith are reserved for inner natures. Use, manipulation, and reason are all terms reserved for the other realm of existence from which all inner natures are formed.

If man achieves his true conception of self by means of outward relationships, Luther would appear to be emphasizing the lone individual. His theology is often termed individualistic since the major doctrine of justification by faith is a private experience. Individualism and universalism are the two poles between which vary all theories of man's importance in the world. In the ancient world, the argument developed from a comparison of Plato and Aristotle. In medieval thought the argument was the basis of contention between realism and nominalism. As Luther is often considered to be in the Occamist school of thought, he is often accused of nominalist inclinations. In that Luther does emphasize the individual person in his direct relation to God, this evaluation is correct. However, it is clear in Luther's writing that there is a distinction between man the individual and man the person.

The person is that element which is responsible to God alone. It is the essence of man which is developed and made known through use of outward forms. The idea of individuality is divisive. Each man may be thought of as equally individual, but no two men are the same person. 8 Man is a person

with a soul, and is unique. Man is also an individual with duties and responsibilities like every other man on earth. For Luther the idea of being an individual contains the connotation of living for one's own purpose instead of that of God or for others. This vice of pride is "the denial of the truthfulness and righteousness of God, the establishment of one's own righteousness and the defense of one's own wisdom, which renders men faithless, heretical, schismatic, full of superstition, individualistic, or particularistic." This is the non-believer who gains a knowledge of himself through the use of secular facilities, but does not inherit the understanding of himself and his purpose which is possible only in faith. Man is not faithful to his purpose on earth as long as he uses his secular life the same as he regards his spiritual life. He is individual in a personal sense to God; but, in the secular life he is compelled not to stand apart from others. "The natural man is a nominalist. Grace enables him to become a realist."10

In the medieval period, Scholasticism aimed at the enabling of each man to develop the capacity to achieve man's ultimate end in knowledge of God. The secular world was to be used to fulfill the need of men as spiritual


persons. This concept does not deviate from that advanced by Luther. To help the self achieve God's purpose, man must be a social being. Participation with others in the secular sphere, according to Luther, is to be assurance of salvation. It true knowledge of self is achieved only in a perception of one's relationship with the rest of society, it is only in being a social being that man becomes his true self. Man achieves his identity only in society. Position, or calling, is not identity, but a way to achieving personal identity within social participation.

Society, as conceived by Luther, is composed of a necessary inequality of positions. As individuals in the secular realm are unequal in positions, so are they equal in being individuals performing certain duties. The equality which does exist is in the persons of the spiritual sphere. Each person is equal in importance to all others in the sight of God, as are all works of the individual done for the further fulfillment of the person and his calling. Equally, each person is subject and yet judge, for no one authority may exist where all are equal. In the equality all are free, for freedom is the quality given to believers. Within the civil society, the equality and freedom is naturally maintained in observing one's own actions of faith and by keeping a watchful eye on those actions of others.
The inequality of society is the proving ground for the equality of faith. There is naturally an antithesis between freedom and equality. Unlimited freedom eventually infringes on the freedom of others. Such a combination of the two concepts which contain the possibility of contradicting each other must exist with identical comprehension by all concerned. By observing the inequality of society and the equality of righteous actions, and by evaluating one's own actions and relationships to the secular realm, the individual may grasp his own equality and self-understanding.

The actions by which the believer is judged are an important clue as to the sincerity and faithfulness of the individual. The conscience, however, is in a direct relationship with God. The action, in itself, is not good or bad. It is the belief or disbelief behind the deed which gives the action its quality. True believers may judge as to whether or not actions are the result of belief, but the truth lies in the conscience of the actor and his relationship with God. Every belief, attitude, and act becomes a means to an end, a way to further God's will or to prove one's faith existent. Everything in the secular realm is to be used by the believer as a means of faith. The calling is to show love of neighbor, the society is to prove authority from God, and the government is to enable God to be glorified.

Ultimately, despite Luther's emphasis on separation, the two realms merge. Everything is aimed so that man may attempt to gain access to God. "For with respect to God and in the service of His authority everything should be identical and mixed together, whether it be called spiritual or secular—the pope as well as the emperor, the lord as well as the servant." As the secular realm is to direct the secular individual to reevaluation of himself as the spiritual person, so all life is eventually lived with respect to God. This is primarily true of the Christian, as it is the spirit behind the action, or the belief behind the deed, that matters. Only in faith is the true understanding achieved; only in faith is the true nature of man understood.

The most obvious result of Luther's emphasis on separation is the erection of a system of duality. Luther conceived of man as body and spirit, existing in two realms, straining between knowledge and understanding, possessing reason, capable of faith. "This is our theology by which we teach a precise distinction between these two kinds of righteousness, the active and the passive, so that morality and faith, works and grace, secular society and religion may not be confused." Activeness involves morality, works, and polity, centering on man. Passiveness involves

13. Ibid., 26:7.
faith, grace, and spirituality, centering on God. Luther believed these things must be distinguished and kept in their respective spheres. Likewise, Luther indicated the difference between the civil and the theological ways of understanding law and the difference between the spirit and the letter of the law. Man is either good or evil, obedient or rebellious, free or enslaved, equal or unequal, saved or damned. There is no middle ground. Man either has the truth or he does not. As all life depends on faith and the importance of all action depends on belief, the only sin is in not believing the truth.

"Consciousness of truth does not thus waver and quake."14

Once the truth is found in faith, nothing else matters. Knowledge of the correct thing to think, to say, and to do is firmly embedded in not just the mind, the seat of reason and knowledge, but in the soul, the throne of faith and understanding. Although Luther's emphasis on separation eventually results in a union of secular and spiritual, the duality created results in a tendency toward polarity of conviction. Man is either attempting reason or he is attempting faith. The two are not mixed. When faith is grasped as the only truth, God has triumphed against evil. Man either dwells in civil law, depending on knowledge, being rebellious, captive and unequal; or, he depends on

theological law, living in understanding, being obedient, free and equal. The believer achieves understanding: the nonbeliever is content with knowledge.

The best example of courage of conviction is Luther, himself, who claimed to have "opened the gospel to the Germans."15 Convinced he had discovered the correct way of perceiving things, he knew he had the truth. Emerging from a medieval world with the emphasis on one God, one faith, and one truth, Luther saw himself as re-revealing the truth in his calling. As there is only one truth, he was surprised when others did not believe the truth as he perceived it. Luther had been convinced that when he gave the conscience to the individual person alone that everyone would see the truth as he knew it. He believed everyone would come to know himself in direct relation to society and reevaluate the perception of self accordingly.

Luther's polity deals with man as individual and as person. The person is the essence of each individual man and is completely revealed in the development of the individual within society. The government over society has certain responsibilities; in return, the individual has duties owed not so much to the government as to the state. As the individual finds himself only in participation in society, society must elicit certain responses from the

15. Ibid., 35:381.
individual in order to put into perspective the power of self-understanding in faith. If the correct belief, or knowledge of the truth, is not present in the individual to begin with, this contact with society will bring this fact to light. "But eventually these inward offences reveal themselves in public actions of disobedience, contempt, blasphemy toward God, or in final dispair."^{16}

It is because not all actions of all individuals are prompted by faith that government over the society must exist. Just as faith is made manifest by action, so disbelief is also made known in the secular sphere.

For the faithful, civil life is to be the outward manifestation of the state of the inner person and the secular sphere is to be utilized as a means of serving God. As the true believer is active and works for others, so all members of society are active, working for the good of all. The true attitude of the believer is to sacrifice his own self-concern for consideration of others. The citizen must gain his image of himself from society. "On the other hand, a citizen must endure a certain measure of suffering for the sake of the community, and not demand that all other men undergo the greater injury for his sake."^{17}

The individual in society must submerge himself in the

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whole in order to claim his identity as a person. His true spiritual reality is ascertained only in relation to the secular existence. For the Christian, this submerging into the mass is total, in forgetting all selfish needs and desires.

A Christian should be so disposed that he will suffer every evil and injustice without avenging himself; neither will he seek legal redress in the courts but will have utterly no need of temporal authority and law for his own sake. On behalf of others, however, he may and should seek vengeance, justice, protection, and help, and do as much as he can to achieve it.  

If every citizen were a Christian and all watched for the needs and desires of all others, forsaking the self, society would be perfect, in Luther's opinion. There would be no need to think of the self. The temporal authority is to force by law this perfection into existence for both evil and good men. "Thus when you see another man sinning and you warn and urge him to stop it, such anger is Christian and brotherly, yes, even fatherly." Each citizen is responsible for every other. As the individual is lost in society, each must be more concerned for the whole than for any one part. Law serves this function: to protect the faithful from the selfish desires of the nonbelievers.

Many things exist under the temporal government which are not of necessity for the true believer. Government,

19. Ibid., 21:76.
law, and punishment are not directly for the benefit of the believer as he already gives obedience to God, follows the command of love to all others, and exists willingly for use by God. As he is in perfection personally, he is the perfect individual socially. All forms of secular society are observed by him, however, for the good of all others. In this love, the believer must help his neighbor "that he may have peace and that his enemy be curbed, but this is not possible unless the governing authority is honored and feared."\(^{20}\) The good for the neighbor is possible only in peace, which is possible only with governmental authority. The believer observes government as an instrument of God for instituting this peace. The believer serves the state as that body of all men, who, freely or forced, form the society from which each person gains his identity. The government serves the state by observing holy laws and institutions ordained by God. All are serving God in love exhibited in activity.

Temporal government must maintain the proper course of action, keeping society operating according to the laws and ordinances of God, enabling faith to be made manifest. As all actions are open to scrutiny by every member in society, so all actions of the government as the director and administrator of the state are open for criticism. As the government,

\(^{20}\) Ibid., 45:95.
operated by men, is inherently evil, not all political actions are done in the interest of the whole state, "for it has a large body, and the members of this body are rebellious and unsound in many ways." The citizenry must be aware of what the government is doing. When it errs, government should be informed. The government, in this respect, is no different from the rest of society. It is expected of the faithful to observe and evaluate their own actions as well as those of the rest of society. Likewise, government must be loved and respected and watched. Any sin which is observed should be reported, not out of self-righteousness, but out of love. The action of making the sinner, or the law-breaker, aware of his misdeed is a service to God. If the head of government is brought to greater awareness of his personal fault by nature of a negative response of the citizens, the good of that ruler, the good of the state, the good of the government, and the glory of God are all served. "The seeing eye is pious government, the hearing ear is pious subjects: neither of them is within the power of men; God must give both."

The duty owed to government is anything which will enable God's temporal authority to continue providing peace and order within the state. The helpful observation of the

citizens over one another is but one active role in this
duty. A second is the willing payment of taxes to the
government for the benefit of the state.\textsuperscript{24} Luther comments
that taxes should be proportionate to income and indicates
that the tithe is the perfect form of taxation, according
to both divine and natural law.\textsuperscript{25} Taxes are not to be
squeezed from the citizens, for the money is to return to
society certain social services.

If in a given year God were to bless richly, the
people would have a rich yield and government rich
tithes. But if He did not bless very much, the
government would bear the burden with the subjects
and would receive less.\textsuperscript{26}

As taxes are also to help finance schools for the training
of youth and to provide a community chest to create a form
of social welfare, all social functions provided by the
government are for the social well being of the members
of the state. Money is to be used first to glorify God
in all actions, and secondly to benefit all neighbors.
Money is to prove love grown from faith. The accumulation
of wealth is not condemned as long as man still perceives
himself as functioning for a purpose, not possessing riches
and finding his meaning of personal life in that possession.
In fact, every man has the duty to earn money. "Everyone

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 22:95.

\textsuperscript{25} Roy Pascal, The Social Basis of the German Reformation:
Martin Luther and His Times, (1953; reprint ed., New York:

\textsuperscript{26} Luther's Works, 9:138-9.
should earn enough to support himself without being a burden on other people, and to be able to help others as well." 27 The accumulation of wealth, itself, is an action of love for the rest of society.

The responsibility of the true believer is to his neighbors with whom he lives to create the community. All functions are to enable the continuance of this state; all actions are to be for the benefit of the whole. Although the aim of these believers is peace, the natural condition of man is disorder. When the community is in danger of any sort, it is also a civic duty and an action of love to defend that society. 28 If the government commits the state to war with another state, it is the duty of every citizen to fight for the nation. 29 The government is instituted by God, all actions done in service of that government are divine, so to fight for the government is a divine action done by civic individuals. In defending the state, the individual serves his neighbor, fulfilling his personal faith. It is a duty to defend the state and to strive for the good of society. It is a duty to declare the presence of sin and to try to eradicate it. There is only one truth and it must be proclaimed and protected. With this framework, Luther can maintain it is a defense of the state to fight for one's faith. 30

27. Ibid., 21:172. 28. Ibid., 30:76. 29. Ibid., 21:102. 30. Ibid., 54:279.
"For whatever God may vouch safe us, whether spiritual or temporary gifts, wisdom, understanding, knowledge, power, riches, money and goods all should be employed for the welfare and the betterment of our neighbor."\textsuperscript{31} Luther's separation of the temporal and the spiritual is not real. Everything in the secular realm is to exemplify the nature of the personal position within the spiritual realm. Civic duties are manifestations of responsibilities inherited by faith. It is no wonder Luther admitted that "real citizenship, when carried on in a Christian manner, is ten times as hard as a Carthusian routine except that it does not shine the way a monk does when he wears a cowl and lives in isolation from society."\textsuperscript{32} The difficulty of citizenship as defined by Luther is that it is always subject to scrutiny by the rest of society and the government. Citizenship is not a private matter, as it involves the responsibilities for the rest of society while being subject to it, concurrently. The importance of citizenship is enlarged even more when it is realized that in fulfilling civic duties, God is served.\textsuperscript{33} Civic duties are divine responsibilities. "For human society, as Aristotle said, is not an end in itself but a means [to an end]; and the ultimate end is to teach one another about God."\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 22:95. \textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 21:256. \textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 4:88. \textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 54:307.
The government is the instrument for maintaining order through law given to the people. The people are the state. The state in its relation with the government is the nation. The relationship between state and nation is based on the existence and the perpetuity of law. As all civil law evolves from reason, the various national laws of the different nations are much alike. However, no unity of all nations under law is possible because true unity is in faith.\(^{35}\) Every nation has its own laws which must be observed by its own people.\(^{36}\) National laws must vary for differing states because of the differing characteristics of peoples in the world. The main cause of the differing characteristics, customs, and ideas is the diversity of languages which was imposed upon men as a punishment.\(^{37}\) Men naturally like to hear their own language spoken, and are suspect of anything reflecting something foreign.\(^{38}\) Men then cling to their neighbors with whom they can communicate and work together, achieving mutual interests.

Over these groups of men governments must keep order and organization. These governments are given by God to certain chosen men to administer.\(^{39}\) This divine power is not a blank ticket for the whims of a public individual, but must be administered for the good of all citizens, as well as

for the betterment of the ruler, himself. Like all secular functions, governing is also a means to an end for the private person. "For men are not summoned to govern because they should arrogate to themselves perfect knowledge of everything, but because they should be taught and learn what God is and what He does through the government and their rulers, who are the instruments of God's works through which God rules the people." The wise ruler is he who realizes his trust and rules accordingly; the good subjects are those who accept his authority and live obediently. God gives both wise rulers and obedient subjects which are both created only in faiy. In this way all events of all governments are within the power of God. By His control all governments grow or decline.42

If God instigates the governing of governments and causes peoples to differ, the events of history are not in the hands of men.

It all adds up to this: histories are nothing else than a demonstration, recollection, and sign of divine action and judgement, how He upholds, rules, obstructs, prospers, punishes, and honors the world, and especially men, each according to his just desert, evil or good.43

History is not the events of men, but the works of God. The historians who "present nothing but what mankind has achieved by dint of reason and effort..." see only man working, not God. As every man is to be performing a

40. Ibid., 5:124. 41. Ibid., 4:211. 42. Ibid., 2:343. 43. Ibid., 34:275-76. 44. Ibid., 3:236.
divine calling in the service of God, God's work is being made manifest in the secular sphere. As only the historian of faith can see this work being done for this purpose, only the historian who is "called" should attempt to write history.  

History is a means to the end of teaching the conscience of the workings of God through the examples of previous events and men. "This, then, is the goal of all histories, namely, to teach and to learn faith, fear, and humility and to reprove pride, presumption, and trust in the faith."  

As the individual gains his personal identity through participation in society, so the nation gains its united personal identity through participation in history. The historian of faith can enable the nation to see its true nature, and mission, in relation to the whole of God's scheme. Each nation is as the individual participating on a larger field of action, interacting with other nations, or individuals, to come to a better understanding of itself as a unity working for God. As the individual progresses in his minute history of life to attain his identity and purpose, so the nation progresses in grander history of existence to its final goal, which is ordained by God and made discoverable to men and nations of faith. God alone

45. Ibid., 34:377. 46. Ibid., 16:169.
is in control of the past and the future; the meaning of both may be found in faith.  

The major problems in the polity of Luther are the relationships between the individual, the nation, and God. God is the guiding principle of all life, giving meaning and purpose to the existence of each nation and each individual. The nation, itself, comes to a full recognition of its mission within God's scheme of nature. The individual, in gaining self-identification through participation in the nation, develops a historical sense, realizing his own personal development is the result of God working His purpose through the nation. The secular society seems to be an association of forms, or shadows in the Platonic sense. The true reality is within, developed through relationships with outer shapes, understood through faith.

47. Ibid., 15:104.
CHAPTER III

POLITICAL LUTHER IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Individual political systems may appear to differ in the means of governing, but the question of authority, the rationality of man, the basis of law, and the pervasiveness of morality are elements in any political system. These elements are the basis for the philosophical polity behind a system and are responsible for the political attitudes of the citizens concerning their idealized conception of the state governmental system. In surveying major political thought in Western Civilization, often Martin Luther is not included due to his lack of a systematized polity. Luther instead deals with underlying basic factors which determine how and what is to be thought in the political sphere. In concentrating on the four main elements of authority, reason, law, and morality, Luther may be placed in an intellectual historical perspective with other political thinkers. In briefly surveying major political philosophy, a suggestion of Luther's overlooked influence on the development of political thought may be ascertained.

The polity of Luther is essentially medieval in attitude. The medieval mind understood one God, one Church, one Truth. The two swords representing the secular and spiritual realms, as advanced by Augustine and Aquinas, were aimed primarily
at a joint effort toward a spiritual end.\textsuperscript{1} The hierarchy
developed by Aquinas, built upon the conception that God is
the end of all life, may be claimed to be the best expression
of the medieval attitude.\textsuperscript{2} According to this concept, every-
thing eventually has a spiritual aim and purpose beyond the
earthly outward appearance. Man was considered sociable by
nature, in need of a form or order directed by an authority.
As all life is in a hierarchy tending toward God, so this
authority over the order of society is also provided by Him.
Unity under one authority, one leadership, and one interpre-
tation is the basis of medieval society.

The political realm fits into this system as a part of
the whole unit in serving God and God's purpose. Aquinas
maintained that God did not institute forms of government,
granting only authority to those governments.\textsuperscript{3} Authority
and power are two separate issues. The source of political
power is a legal question, admitted by some to be in the
people, by others to be from God. According to Augustine
there is no ideal form of government\textsuperscript{4} since God is directly

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Edgar M. Carlson, "Luther's Conception of Government," *Church History* 66(1960): 260.
\end{itemize}
related to authority, not power or form. The medievalist believed government was needed only because man did not remain innocent after the Fall. God grants the authority required to maintain social order. Order in a society implies inequality which can be enforced by divine sanction, as a part of the hierarchy tending toward God.

The concept of one God, one Church, one Truth was never denied by Luther, who never saw the Reformation as a permanent division. Luther's structure of the two realms was essentially the same as the theory of the two swords. He regarded the medieval emphasis of the joint effort of spiritual and secular as the downfall of the earthly church. He believed the church was so concerned with secular deeds, that it had fallen victim to neglecting spiritual priorities. The difference Luther employed was the emphasis on separation, not union, of the two realms. Luther considered God the ultimate authority within the spiritual realm, and God's will the ultimate authority within the secular realm. The Thomist theory of a hierarchy is evident in the Lutheran position that within the secular realm there are levels of authority, the highest of which is political government. As an agent of God, this government was to be respected. As one authority is over another, inequality is inevitable,

with true freedom and equality existent only within the bonds of faith. Outward forms are unequal, thus necessitating order under the direction of a God-given authority. As the welfare of the state is only preserved in peace, so structured society must maintain itself, being guided by the government away from internal dissention, toward unity of understanding.

The spiritual aim and purpose of existence within the political realm is in Luther's concept of the calling, or the vocation. Those exercising governmental authority are participating in the highest of all divine vocations, knowingly or unknowingly. The individual of faith uses his outward role to achieve a spiritual end. This same line of thought may be found in Dante who, like Luther, emphasizes that the office, not the official is of importance. How a vocation is accomplished is of utmost concern. The office will be used for the good of the whole and therefore requires respect for its divine purpose. The individual does not exist except in that he is the executor and is responsible for his purpose.

Luther and the medieval thinkers would be in agreement that the necessity of authority within the political realm is made clear by the intervention of reason. The most

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recognizable medieval concept of reason is that derived from Aquinas. In his attempt to systematize faith, Aquinas is often accused of the reconciliation of faith and reason. Reason, according to Aquinas, is in all men, and correctly used, is an approach to God. The hierarchy in life tending to God includes a hierarchy of forms of reason, the highest of which is Divine, the lowest being human. Reason is a means to achieve union with God through faith. Human law is derived from human reason as an application of natural law. Natural law is the part of man in concord with the divine reason of God. Through faith divine reason can be continually maintained; man can climb the hierarchy of reason to achieve union with God.

Luther does not appear to accept this hierarchy of reason, but does recognize the relationship between human reason, divine understanding, and God. Only in faith is reason perfected. Faithful to his Occamist tradition, Luther attempted to separate the rational secular and the faithful spiritual realms. Just as Luther emphasized their separateness, so Aquinas maintained the union. For Aquinas, the body depended upon the soul; for Luther, the body and the soul were related, yet independent. Augustine had also maintained the two realms should be

9. Ibid., p. 91.
12. Ibid.
distinguished, yet claimed man still must strive spir-

Luther held that if authority is not respected, reason
demands natural law be enforced. The semblance of order
in which man exists without the light of faith is a
reflection of man's impaired reason. With reason man
interprets natural law, the eternal and universal deduction
of divine law. Aquinas and Luther would be definitely in
agreement that human law cannot reach the perfection of
natural law, for natural law is corrupted, just as reason
is, by sin. It is faith which enables reason to grasp
and to understand divine law. Although Luther rejects
the Thomist theory of reason as a means to faith, both would
agree those who have achieved true faith have also achieved
divine and correct understanding of reason. The faithful
have the elevated, free reason to understand the purpose
of society and to utilize their faith for that purpose.
One uniqueness of Luther is that despite his claim, his
separation of faith and reason was never complete. Naked
reason may be the only tool for the political man to utilize,
but the faithful are at large in the political realm with
God's light.

13. Abbo, p. 79.

Luther was definitely in the medieval tradition in the acceptance of the essence of law as reason. Although he could not accept the union of reason and faith, he did recognize reason as a gift of God and as the source of civil law. Luther considered law, whether civil or spiritual, as correctly understood and fulfilled only through faith. Faith naturally obeys law which is coercive. Law exists as an agent of authority, emerging from reason's interpretation of divine law and will. God grants authority, provides reason, and determines law. The absence of faith causes men knowingly to exist only in the political sphere, forced by law to obey reason and to respect authority. The presence of faith causes man knowingly to exist spiritually within both spiritual and political realms free from law, with enlightened reason, subservient to authority.

Luther's position on the relationship between God, reason and law is much like that of Aquinas. In his hierarchy of law and reason, Aquinas conceived of reason as being based on the mind of God, and law upon His eternal law. Positive law, for Aquinas, is the ordinance of reason for the common good. This concept is basically that of Luther who essentially believed all civil law was a revelation of divine law, the gift of God's wisdom. Since all man's efforts should be directed toward his neighbor,

true faith is the realization of God's divine law which is the realization of that which is useful to society. Not seemingly coincidental, Occam maintained this identification of divine law and usefulness to society.17

In the placing of the whole of society as the major concern of law, Luther reveals his closeness to his Augustinian heritage. Luther would be in complete agreement with Augustine who maintained the greatest law in nature is to love God and one's neighbors.18 From this foremost emphasis develops the concern for all others with whom one is also united. Laws then created for a united state are in accord with reason and the mind of God. Assuming with Augustine that the state is a people associated in pursuit of common interests,19 Luther sees the common interests as only being accomplished in unity. These common interests are centered around mutual care, responsibility, and a goal towards God in their private lives. Just laws in accord with divine reason are those reflecting this goal.

Morality is an essence of civil law, in the basic medieval conception, built in with the source of reason and of natural law. Morality does not have to do with how law is administered, but with the fact that law does exist. Administration of law, in Luther's view, is the problem of the political realm; law is already spiritual

19. Abbo, p. 75.
in being only fulfilled completely and accurately with the correct spirit. The question of morality of law or of the political system, for both the medieval mind and for Luther, is only directly related to the truth of a law being inspired from true, natural God-given reason.

According to Aquinas, the aim of society as a whole unit under the guidance of a God-given authority, is the fullest development of the moral capability and progress of man to God.\(^2\) Since it is only through divine grace that man can approach this ultimate end,\(^2\) the eminence of God is evident. God must be in control of all facets of man's life, which is essentially true in both the schemes of Aquinas and of Luther. In Luther's view, the divine grace must be present in the individual for the political realm to attempt to help man to God, otherwise law is coercive. In faith, received by grace, man can accept the help of the government. Luther thus considers the political realm to be God's plan, as the organ through which man may work to fulfill his salvation in helping his neighbor. Likewise, Aquinas regarded political philosophy as an example of God's plan in the natural order.\(^2\) The society in Luther's polity as well as in medieval theory becomes the concern of the individual through the aid of and cooperation with the main government which is the authority instituted by God.

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20. Zoll, p. 89. \hspace{1cm} 21. Hyma, p. 36. \hspace{1cm} 22. Zoll, p. 90.
If natural law is the deduction of divine law by reason, law is moral as long as it conforms to reason's dictates. As long as a nation attempts to abide by civil laws evolved from natural law, morality will exist within the system. In Luther's polity, government, as an element of the nation, is not exempt from this moral commitment. With a mandate from God and a duty to the state, government must insure natural law is enforced by civil law. Government, responsible for moral law, is also responsible to moral law. The goal of government, for Luther, is also to serve God through being an authority to the citizens; as such, elements of morality are also to be applied to the actions of the political leadership.

Luther is thus further within the medieval tradition in agreeing with Augustine that political organization will fail unless based upon Christian principles.\textsuperscript{23} The truth for the medieval thinkers is the same truth for Luther. Governments must fulfill the goal of serving God and enabling citizens to serve God; governments cannot successfully exist unless based upon this truth. Both Luther and Augustine also insist upon the participation of the faithful in public affairs.\textsuperscript{24} The idea of the medieval insistence on a life of contemplation is not entirely valid.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p. 75. \textsuperscript{24} Hyman, p. 15.
Faith is evident in work for the good of neighbors, best manifest for the greatest number in the political community.

Unity is the key to serving one another within a political society. With unity of the whole as the only way to properly utilize the political realm created by God, peace is the ultimate aim of government in nearly all medieval thought. Dante's vision of peace includes the concept of dissension as the main political vice. Luther is cognizant of this concept, and allows no room for dissent within his definition of political unity. Within the one truth, there is no deviation; within the one resulting faith, there is no argument. In Luther's political society all are united in one faith in the nation, with one truth in the custodial care of the government. He rejects all hints of rebellion as firmly as the medieval thinkers. The only dissent allowed by Luther is that which is concerned with the correct interpretation of law. True law, the human revelation of God's will, is instinctively known by those "within the faith."

Aquinas regarded peace and order the first objectives of government to establish unity. He joins Augustine in the acceptance of the bonds of unity as being the bonds of love. For Luther, this unity is synonymous with the loss

of self in the community. Those who accomplish this involvement are considered to be the "good," the "right," the"saved," and the "moral." With this God-inspired unity accomplished spiritually or forcefully in the political sphere, the unity creates with the God-given government to form the nation, which obviously will be God-directed. The union first created in the mass subjection of selves a spiritualistic process accomplished due to a belief in something higher and more holy. That God should see fit to provide institutions for the advancement of his goal for man is a direct indication of His direction and involvement in the political realm. Luther maintains with Augustine that these institutions are the remedy for sin, not sinful in themselves. The sinful human is the element which may make the political realm appear sinful. God only provides the means. Man works his own way with his deficiencies.

The existence in the state was an implied means to an end in the medieval mind, and in Luther's polity. The end of all life, theoretically, was ultimately God. The "modern" notion of ends justifying means is not then correctly attributed to Niccolo Machiavelli, unless the Italian is assigned his historical place as a medieval, instead of

Renaissance, man. The theory of ends taking precedence over means is central to both Luther's religious and political thought. In the correct spirit any means is justifiable to attain God's will. While Machiavelli maintained political power is the end of the state, Luther would not have disagreed. The disagreement would have begun if Machiavelli should have claimed the attainment of political power as the end in itself.

The desire for power, according to Machiavelli, is central to the desire for personal glory, reflected in the glory of the state. Basically stated, men are essentially self-centered. This correlates with Luther's insistence on the depravity of man. When man enters the unity of truth, this selfishness is rejected. The man spiritually outside of truth would desire power for self-glory. If the believer felt his "calling" to be in service to the state, defined as unification of his neighbors, he would be justified in attempting to achieve the glory of that state for his neighbors and for his God. The glorification of God is the goal. For Machiavelli, any means to accomplish one's own purpose is justifiable. Political power for Luther is not the end, but the means, and any means to accomplish God's purpose is justifiable.

31. Ibid., p. 108.
Machiavelli followed the traditional medieval emphasis on the necessity of order and peace as the best means to a well-functioning political unit.\textsuperscript{32} Taking the concept of ends being justified by the means, he advocated war as the shortest route to state glory because it creates state unity.\textsuperscript{33} His desired ends serve a practical purpose, therefore the means are justifiable. The importance of peace in Machiavelli may thus be seen as a reflection of the medieval dream of unity. In peace, all parts of the political and social order are correctly being utilized and are functioning properly.\textsuperscript{34} This is the ideal situation, the good, just as Dante dreamed of the peaceful world, unified in faith, working according to God's plan. It is Luther's dream, also, in that a whole society living in perfect harmony would be the perfect Christian society in no need of laws, united in one goal.

Any morality in Machiavelli centers around the existence of political order,\textsuperscript{35} and has little or nothing to do with law.\textsuperscript{36} The morality in Luther centers around God, and has everything to do with law. The contradiction in the two systems is obvious. What is not so obvious is the parallel. Both thinkers have specific goals which are to

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{32} Abbo, p. 137.
  \item \textsuperscript{33} Zoll, p. 113.
  \item \textsuperscript{34} Abbo, p. 137.
  \item \textsuperscript{35} Bowle, \textit{Political Thought}, p. 259.
  \item \textsuperscript{36} Abbo, p. 139.
\end{itemize}
be accomplished. Whatever is necessary to achieve a predetermined end is to be done. Luther's political morality is God-centered. Machiavelli's political morality is self-centered. The argument may be raised that Machiavelli emphasizes the means by which something is to be accomplished while Luther stresses the goal which is to be attained. The fact remains, however, that both presuppose a necessary end for which any means is to be utilized.

Luther is in the medieval tradition in his attitude toward the existence and the necessity of authority. He accepted the origin of law as the will of God, a coercive element to those not possessing the truth, a guide to believers. The political government, in the pre-Reformation view, is to morally guide man to a predetermined end. This is not far from the purpose Luther has ordained for the political sphere. The properly functioning secular government administrates for God and actively operates within historical perspective as a mask of God's activity of revelation.

Most "modern" concepts of political philosophy are usually traced to attitudes identified with the Enlightenment, the term usually describing the period of time immediately following the Reformation era. Termed "Enlightenment" by Immanuel Kant because it seemingly

emancipated reason from faith, life was generally viewed during this period as a dualistic struggle between reason and unreason. The oversight of not including Luther in the consideration of the development of political thought ignores his contribution to the separation of faith and reason. However, modern interpretations of such political thinkers as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau often seem to reflect social and political elements present in Luther's thought.

The basis of Thomas Hobbes' political theory is his belief that the natural state of man is war. In the acceptance that man is reasonable enough to recognize this, Hobbes grants that the laws of nature, as dictates of reason, are the revelation of God's divine law. With reason, man knows the correct way to establish a political authority to hold men in check. Once the agreement is made, it cannot be broken as the chosen head of government is "God's Lieutenant." Hobbes' interpretation of reason is basically that it is a God-given gift to aid man. Both


41. Bowle, Political Thought, p. 325.
Hobbes and Luther view man as evil, Hobbes seeing man naturally in war and Luther regarding man as depraved. Both regarded the exercise of reason as the use of a form of God's law. Luther also calls the head of government an officer of God.

Luther would also agree with Hobbes in recognizing authority as a necessity for the preservation of society, which is the result of reason given by God. Hobbes believed that society is rational self-preservation so the basic function of government is the preservation of order and peace. This increasingly medieval conception of government also insists that laws are a form of restraint, preventing the state of war from erupting again. Luther's emphasis on order and the natural essence of law as restraint has been previously discussed in relation to the medieval mind. This concern is still apparent in Hobbes' thought. These laws which are formulated are the result of a relinquishment of freedom which is necessary to achieve union within society. What liberty which is given to the individual is given by the union of the whole. Men do not have liberty; the individual is free only within the political union.

Luther's concept of freedom is much related to this. Luther's medieval conception is that government is to keep

man from his inevitable erring as much as possible. In entering into true faith, whether spiritual union or in political union, the believer becomes a servant to the whole, yet in this servitude, all believers are equal. Only within the whole does the individual receive meaning. The nation, for Luther, as the union of the state and the government is the whole in which the people and the government must be emersed. The good of the nation is foremost in the minds of all citizens, for the political government is the administrator for God. What freedom each citizen has is derived from respect for the union of all the parts of the system. The citizen has no political meaning apart from identification within the nation.

As Hobbes emphasizes the evil in man, so John Locke is often placed in contrast due to his optimistic attitude concerning man as a rational being. Although Locke advances the theory that man is born with no preconceived ideas, with *tabula rasa*, Locke agrees with the medieval tradition that man does have God's gift of reason. As man is born neither good nor evil, he must use reason to discover morality which is the will of God. As morality is obtained from rational experience (the extent to which man understands his experience) man knows God. Although man is not naturally a social being, he must unite with other men in a

community for a rational experience. God's will is revealed to man only within a community united purposely for that revelation.

This interpretation does not apparently correlate with that of Luther. Luther would regard Locke as much too optimistic concerning man, ignoring the essence of original sin, an element in Luther's political society. Locke does concede reason is a device to achieve knowledge of God, an almost pure Thomist position. The possibility of achieving knowledge of God using reason is foreign to Luther's approach. He would agree with Locke that morality is a result of the will of God, but the achievement of that morality is not the result of participation in the political sphere. In Luther's scheme, participation in the political sphere is the result of morality.

According to Locke, the function of political society is to retain order and to set up an authority to govern the political society. This order is only rationally achieved by laws which exist for the good of the whole political society. Since the authority is responsible for the order created by the laws, government is responsible to the whole community. Each individual, equal in God's

49. Abbo, p. 208; Bowle, Political Thought, p. 364.
sight as God's property, within the whole, may expect the government to protect the individual's natural rights of life, liberty, and property. 51 These rights are the hardest to preserve since the state of nature is opposed to the political state; therefore, natural rights are those which government may tend to enfringe upon. 52 Logically, the less governmental interference within the political community, the healthier the society. 53

The state of nature, in which man is naturally, is outside the possibility of rational knowledge of God. This is the closest correlation within Lock's thought to Luther's belief in original sin. Both Locke and Luther agree upon the necessity of authority and that it is related to divine guidance. For Luther, authority is given from God alone. For Locke, authority is a necessary guide in the unnatural political experience for the discovery of God. Locke and Luther both regard laws as a form of necessary coercion. Government is responsible to the state in both schemes, but for different reasons. Locke believes the authority is given by the state; Luther believes the authority is from God, and the government is under an


52. Abbo, p. 207. 53. Bowle, Political Thought, p. 368.
obligation to have the state's interests as its first concern. Locke argues that the government should reflect the interests of the subjects.\textsuperscript{54} Luther, in principle, would accept the idea of minimum governmental interference within the political society. The perfect political realm, after all, is that in which every citizen obeys God-given authority willingly, in the correct spirit.

Locke, however, seems to indicate that if society were left to develop, a healthy community would result, with government a mere guardian.\textsuperscript{55} This would indicate the faith, which is the unifying factor in any union, is elsewhere than ultimately in God. Luther demands government be more than a watchdog. It should participate actively in the welfare of the state. Luther and Locke do agree the interests of the state should be of utmost importance to the political government. The government, for Luther, aids the state in attaining a morality in the right way, with the right spirit. For Locke, government guides the community to the right, with morality developing during the guidance. For Luther, political society exists as a substitute for God's direct guidance. For Locke, political society exists as a means to find God.

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., p. 361. \textsuperscript{55} Ibid., p. 368.
Luther, Hobbes, and Locke all believed in the necessity of a political authority over an order organized by coercive law. According to Hobbes, the purpose of the political state is restraint of the natureal evilness in man. For Locke, the political state is a means to an end, a way to obtain understanding of the one truth. For Luther, the political realm was an arm of God's will. Luther considered man to be naturally sociable. The political realm was considered an artificial creation by Hobbes and Locke. Jean-Jacques Rousseau also regarded the political order as unnatural.

Rousseau's conception of the natural man is almost the reverse of Luther. For Luther, man is innately evil; for Rousseau, natural man is good, being corrupted by institutions. Luther admitted institutions may be evil, but the evilness is the result of the depravity of men working within those institutions. Rousseau sees man living within a political unity existing with evil institutions. The healthy political framework is that in which men are fulfilled in their citizenship. The fulfillment is only achieved in a political union; as individuals, men are helpless. The state is that collective moral person,

also referred to as the general will, which is formed by the union of the citizenry. The government is that method by which the general will is made manifest. This general will has complete authority, is always right.

This general will concept includes the loss of the individual within the majority. Closely allied with the general will is Luther's description of spiritual unity, necessary to both the spiritual realm, and the political realm. For Luther, the whole is of utmost importance; the individual must submit to the will of the whole. If the citizen is a holder of the truth, he immerses his individualism willingly, for the good of the whole, acknowledging the right of God's given governmental authority to guide the will of the whole in the correct direction. Rousseau's citizen is only fulfilled in his citizenship which is obtained in surrendering of self-interests for participation within the general will, acknowledging the right of the general will to ordain what is necessary for the majority will be necessary for the whole. If the citizenry as a whole truly are within the general will, there is no majority, for the political union is complete. The source of morality in Luther, Hobbes, and Locke is ultimately from God. For Rousseau, what is right is determined by what the general will desires.


62. Zoll, p. 185; Bowle, Political Thought, p. 419.
Luther's spiritual state is greatly akin to Rousseau's political ideal. The individual is lost, the united whole of the citizens is the state which is the prime concern of the government, merely a tool to aid the whole. Those not within the unity must be coerced to obey the will of the whole. Rousseau and Luther agree that a true society of true Christians would no longer be a political society of men. For Luther, this would be perfection, impossible to achieve on earth, yet an obligation for believers to attempt. For Rousseau, a Christian society is impossible since he considered organized religion a threat to the nation.

Rousseau's authority, law and morality center on the political union, itself. The state is the central focus, the sum total of what is needed. As such it provides not for the individual, but for the whole. The union is the state and is spiritual in the creation of one general will, one good, one concern. The faith that the self will be nurtured is placed in this union. The union is a selfish act, based on self-concern, but once created the self is internalized in a larger unit to be perpetuated. The same spiritual union is evident in the union of belief in Luther's spiritual realm. His political realm is of the same

63. Bowle, Political Thought, p. 421.
64. Ibid., p. 420.
description in that the state is not correctly served unless God has been accepted by the citizens. The creation of Luther's "state" is one of rejection of self, with God the initiator. Rousseau's state is one of rational self-preservation, with the general will as initiator.

The basic Enlightenment bequest to modern political thought is the concept that man can understand everything as long as the proper order of things is comprehended. Luther emphasized God's role in the political existence, while thinkers as Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau emphasized the role of man in the political union. Somewhere between Luther and Rousseau God was locked out of the political realm. Luther tried to accomplish this, but his correct political realm led eventually to God, as a first cause and as a goal. The cry of separation of church and state became a popular issue, and by the time of the Enlightenment many believed this separation had neared reality. God had been aptly separated from actual experience and the church-state question degenerated into a epistemological study of experience.

This basically philosophical, not political, turn of thought is best expressed in the opposite positions taken by Immanuel Kant and David Hume. Hume, apparently reacting against the rationalism of the eighteenth century, declared reason morally neutral and rational values relative.65

65. Ibid., p. 409.
He regarded natural law as based upon learned behavior. Knowledge, for Hume, came from direct experience, not God's reason. Accordingly, man has knowledge only insofar as he has experience, morality only in relation to what he has observed, and law only based on the correlation of that experience and morality. Man's political behavior is judged only on the utility of the behavior to obtain a goal. The authority of government is obeyed only on the basis of how that authority directly benefits each individual.

Hume eliminated natural law, as Luther knew it, relegated morality to experienced observation, and centered man as the basis of all action. Reason became for Hume a mask for the selfish intentions inherent in man. Refusing rationality, yet accepting passion, Hume cannot exorcise the influence of Luther's thought in this trend in philosophy. Knowledge for Luther was human, achieved without God, external to relevation. Morality followed by man with this knowledge would be accepted by Luther as based only on experience. Man in this situation is a selfish being. In all of this Luther concurs. The only exception is that Luther attributes this to reason, which Hume rejects. Luther contends the political sphere takes the special

68. Bowle, Political Thought, p. 409.
meaning he gives it only when God is allowed into consideration. The meaning comes then through those who understand reason as inadequate and recognize the existence of an eternal wisdom.

At first glance, Immanuel Kant seems to be diametrically opposed to the non-rationalism of Hume. Influenced by Rousseau, Kant is best remembered by the layman for his Categorical Imperative which simply stated is that the rational action is that which each individual would wish others to do also. In so doing, reason and morality are both upheld. Kant agreed with Hume that man's only knowledge is from experience; however, Kant would agree with Luther that man's experience is a result of reason. A decision which is reached by reason is the stimulus in the individual to accomplish a given goal. The actions, themselves, are not of importance; the goal is to fulfill the aim of the created will. Reason's proper function is this production of a will to accomplish.

Luther would not object to the simply stated Categorical Imperative. He would continue the logic in that the rational action is ultimately determined from God's will. Accepting that knowledge is from experience, Luther would add that

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wisdom is from faith. Kant apparently identifies wisdom and knowledge, contending that since man cannot experience God, he cannot know God. What wisdom there is, for Kant, and perhaps for Hume, is knowledge related. Luther's emphasis on the goal is evidenced in Kant's created will from reason, as well as in Hume's selfish political individual. Although Luther's concept of the will is motivated by divine guidance, both Luther and Kant see the will and the goal of primary significance over the actions which are taken.

Hume and Kant, differing on the role of reason, agree on the existence of the problem of knowledge. The political existence of man is an issue also related to the issue of epistemology, and is not a subject necessitating study for its own merit. One of the major influences on what was left to be called political philosophy was the utilitarian theory, the basis of which has practical origin in Jeremy Bentham. Luther's polity may also be termed utilitarian in that there are many parallels with that of Bentham. Luther would agree with him that the only test of goodness of an action is its contribution to human happiness.71 Although Luther would stress that the motive behind an action must be good to attain a morally good result, Bentham maintains the morality of an action is

dependent upon the results achieved. Both men do agree the good results must be obtained. The means do not matter to Luther or Bentham.

For Bentham, the only rational end of action is happiness revealed in pleasure. Pleasure is in good which is that in one's own interests, one wishes another to do. In applying this pleasure theory to government, Bentham maintains the goal of any society is the ultimate attainment of the greatest happiness for the most citizens. Government exists over this society for the utilitarian purpose of providing happiness for the majority of the citizens. Within this theory, the individual only considers others' happiness in so far as it involves his own. For Luther, every action attempted with the correct conviction will end in universal happiness, which in turn is pleasure. If the proper conviction is held by the citizens and government fulfills its function ordained by God, Luther maintains that government will provide the happiness for the citizens. Not all will appreciate this happiness since not all are within the grasp of the correct conviction.

73. Ibid., p. 188.
74. Ibid., p. 189.
75. Ibid., p. 190.
76. Ibid., p. 191.
Luther's correct conviction is based upon the concern only for others. Bentham's happiness is based upon self-interests. Both emphasize the happiness and the good of the whole. Bentham's citizens are individuals consenting to government, seemingly with the hope their interests will be included with the greatest interest of the majority. Luther's citizens are believers in consenting to government, willing to submit personal needs and desires to the needs of others.

Not including this utilitarian attitude, Heinrich Hegel reacted against the philosophy of Kant, who reacted against the philosophy of Hume, who reacted against the general rationalism of the Enlightenment. Much of Hegel's system is concerned not so much with a political system as with an attitude which is applied to a political existence. The similarities between Luther and Hegel do not end here, as much has been written of possible connections between the two. Hegel is in definite agreement with Luther that an Absolute Spirit works through the state.\(^77\) What God Hegel admits to existing is expressed in his term "the Absolute" which, like Luther's God, is revealed in history in the conflict of the nations and cultures.\(^78\) Both see this God

\(^{77}\) Abbo, p. 217.

using individuals and states as instruments to effect His will. Both agree states and nations rise and fall because they are predestined by God to reveal His will.

Hegel emphasizes that the only way reality is to be understood is in terms of history. God's will since revealed in history is constantly in the process of being revealed, or in the process of becoming. This will is completely within the possibility of being understood by man's reason, since what is rational is real. Man is capable of understanding anything real through reason, and anything not understood by reason is not real.

The complete awareness of this will and any spiritual reality for every individual comes only from participation within the political state. As such, the state is the highest level of human rationality, epitomizing all moral and spiritual abilities. Hegel's state seems to be much like an individual soul being used by a superior will to effect a movement in rationality which is on such a grand scale man may but attempt to understand. Luther's state is a collective individual through which God chooses to reveal his power in a movement of faith which only the believers

82. Ibid., p. 57. 83. Ibid., p. 56. 84. Abbo, p. 217.
may attempt to understand. Hegel would agree with Luther that individuals have rights in this existence only through their participation within the state. The questioning of the state is the same as questioning reason, according to Hegel.

For Luther, the state is not questioned because the authority of the state is God given. This is extremely close to the Hegelian position. Questioning a God-given authority in Luther is also questioning the source of reason. Such questioning in both systems denies freedom. Freedom in Luther is achieved only in union. Political freedom is achieved only in the spiritual sense. Hegel's freedom is the same as the submission of self within a whole, within the state, from which all spiritual reality is achieved. Hegel and Luther are close in the agreement that only in obedience to the political realm is true freedom found. Hegel's freedom is in rational obligation, Luther's is in spiritual acceptance. For Luther, faith in God is necessary before being accepted into the union of freedom; for Hegel, the faith in the rationalistic state must exist before being accepted into the union of freedom. For Luther, the believers are few; for Hegel, all true members of the state are believers.

These corresponding likenesses concerning history, the state, and freedom do present one important difference in emphasis. Hegel's faith concerns an evolving rationalism evidenced in the existence of states which cannot be contradicted. His faith is a political explanation for the reason of existence. Luther's political philosophy concerns an eternal God evidenced in the existence of believers who have obtained the truety. His polity is a spiritual explanation for the reason of earthly existence.

The theoretical relationship between Hegel and Marx has been often discussed. If there is such a close alliance between the two, there should also be a likeness between Luther and Marx. Although denying all things spiritual, Marx concentrated on the development of the disappearance of the state with the emergence of a new classless society. In such a political realm there would be no authority. However, Marx's authority is the whole. Within the whole, with no identifying mark, all are equal in all respects. The authority is the union. The individual as a unit has no existence. Law becomes the will of the whole, reminiscent of Rousseau's general will. The union wills only what it needs. The will generated is much like Hume's will which must be obliged, and is as powerful as Hegel's state which participates in a closely related universal will. The call for revolution which Marx issues to achieve this perfection
in society is issued since reason has failed the desired achievement. Luther insists reason is a necessary element in the political sphere, as a God-given gift to enable correct functionings in the secular sphere. If, as Marx contends, reason has failed, then God has failed.

Marx admired Luther's defiance of authority, but rejected his spiritualization of freedom. Marx has theoretically spiritualized the concept also, however, as his complete freedom is obtained only in the acceptance of the faith of the revolution. Without the acceptance of the necessity of revolution, the code of Marx can not be accepted as he presents it. For both Marx and Luther, separation is to be avoided. Luther rejects separation from faith and separation from joint political society as sin. Marx rejects separation from acceptance of his creed as an error of reason, a fall into self and cultural decadence. Marx is probably correct in accusing Luther of replacing the bond of devotion with the bond of conviction. However, devotion is usually based upon a firm belief, a conviction concerning the object of devotion. Likewise, Marx uses the conviction of a classless society to develop a devotion to the exploited and their needs.

91. Ibid., p. 549. 92. Ibid., p. 551.
93. Ibid., p. 557.
The dream of a union of individuals in need of no government because their will is the same is the obvious tie between Marx and Luther. Marx does not accept religion, as such, in his scheme, although the devotion and conviction required of the participants is religious in character. Luther accepts two realms, with devotion and conviction necessary, even in the political realm where faith is evidenced. For Marx, there is no freedom in obedience, only obedience in freedom. The only rule in the classless society is freedom, the enjoyment of the end of revolution. For Luther, the only freedom is in obedience obtained in faith. The basic rule of faith is the rejection of self. Both Luther and Marx presuppose the union of the group into the unity of one which is the only source of freedom and equality. It is not really necessary to note that Marx employs the Lutheran idea of the necessity of obtaining the end, ignoring the means. Revolution is the only incidental to the attainment of true freedom. The simplified aim of the Marxian theory is the participation in perfection, not participation in obtaining perfection. Luther's simplified aim of polity is the same. The admission to a union of agreement in conviction is the ticket in both theories.

The medievalness in Aquinas and Augustine, the morality in Machiavelli, the negativism concerning man in Hobbes,

94. Ibid.
and the respect for law in Locke are all evident in the polity of Luther. Aspects of the general will in Rousseau, the selfish individual in Hume, the Categorical Imperative of Kant, the utilitarianism of Bentham also seem to have a relationship to Luther's polity. The much discussed correlation between the Hegelian system and Marxism also is parallel in many ways with Luther's thought. These relationships to Luther's polity could be incidental, or be artificially constructed, or could be indications of a definite pattern in intellectual history. If this political philosophy pattern is present, the question of what the pattern is remains.

Luther is a central pivot in this problem due to his historical position. Following the so-called Medieval Period, appearing in the midst of a developing Humanism, Luther sought to correct the misconceptions of God and society, of Church and the political order. The basic error, in his estimation, was the marriage of faith and reason. Attempting to separate the spiritual from the secular involved the separation of reason and faith, knowledge and wisdom, body and soul. In desiring this separation, Luther evolved a conception of spiritual life active within the secular sphere. Luther's believer does not leave his beliefs when he enters the rational world, for that rational world is based upon God's will, the source of the spiritual realm. Within faith all is the same. It is
only the non-believer who becomes conscious of the contradiction of faith and reason. He is inferior to the union of equality, subject to unenlightened reason, condemned to self-interest.

Luther admits his political realm is a union for the benefits of others. What he does not realize is that only his believers will accept this definition of a political society. The faithful enforce God's law for the benefit of the majority, whether the majority know what is beneficial, or not. This union for the good of all is the state. The non-believer is a forced participant in this union to serve in God's plan. The nation is created, directed and used by God to unfold history. In this divine mission, the union, if correctly following the good of the whole does God's will. As such each nation becomes as an individual within a union, each having a purpose, a calling to accomplish in the panorama of God's revealed history. Luther attempted separation, but did not completely achieve it. Faith remained within the secular realm because the faithful remained in a God-conscious secular world.

Luther's attempt at separation did succeed on another level. In emphasizing so strongly that reason and faith relate to different needs in man, Luther enabled faith to be considered a unique element unto itself. Outside of this intellectual development, the resulting spiritual faiths, or convictions, which emerged unsquelched by Rome,
became rallying points for developing nationalism. Luther's emphasis on the difference of the two realms influenced the continued existence of faith dependent upon the arena of reason. Such a development in the importance of reason is evidence that reason was well on the way to being considered completely autonomous from spiritual influence. Reason was becoming a faith unto itself in its own realm. The faith existed that reason could preserve the spiritual realm, reason could choose the correct conviction. This glorification of rationalism grew into full flower in the Enlightenment.

The discussion of epistemology and the analysis of reason were a reaction against the faith of rationalism and its ally knowledge. In the midst of this philosophical attack and the development of skepticism concerning reason, all that remained in Luther's realm was a faith concerning the existence of a political order. With reason questioned, morality became challenged and survived only in being attached to the good of the whole. With realities of a secular existence and a faith remaining, commitment to the political order as a whole was the only intellectual choice. Law, once viewed as founded in reason, became the implementation of the good for the whole. The only authority remaining is the whole, the political state, the good of all. The faith in this authority, in law for beneficial
group care, in the human power of knowledge, and in morality sanctioned by the state is the binding factor guiding the modern political nation to its known to exist glorified destiny.

In the last analysis, Luther was right. All life is based on faith.\(^9\)

\(^9\) Luther's Works, 5:333.
In general, the modern world would like to think of itself as a direct creation of the Renaissance, or at least of the Enlightenment. Considering his individualism as priceless, modern man likes to see himself as a rational being, devoid of superstition, in search of a scientific basis for all aspects of life. Everything must be based upon empirical fact and knowledge. Usually any concepts dealing with speculation or spiritualism are relegated to the personal side, separated from the normal day to day process of living. Attempts are made to reconcile science and religion; excuses are made by the religious scientists and the scientific religious. If Luther's two realms could be easily reconciled in the modern mind, no excuses would be necessary. Reconciliation would be a fact unnecessary to defend. Luther has indeed separated the spiritual from the secular in our awareness.

In reality, Luther could not separate the spiritual soul from the secular world. With a system entirely created by and responsible to God, the state of the conscience remained a concern of daily secular life. This typical medieval mind was directed by the Church in secular and spiritual affairs. Dismissing this authority, Luther left man searching for a conviction to be accepted by the soul.
to serve as his own authority. That soul-conviction is evidenced in participation in the secular world.

In leaving activity of faith within the secular realm Luther enabled the merging of spiritual wisdom and secular knowledge. If a conviction of an extra-secular nature is assumed and corresponding actions are taken in the secular realm, wisdom and not knowledge is the basis of action. Convictions produce the wisdom, empirical facts produce knowledge. When faith became placed in the existence and necessity of empirical fact, knowledge became wisdom. This identification of knowledge and wisdom also occurs in each person. According to Luther's dogma, if the correct conviction is maintained, the correct outward relationships will evolve. Man can understand his inner nature only as far as the outward secular nature of other things are used for the goal of the conviction. Using reason to correlate the two, the individual may come to greater self-knowledge. It is also wisdom of self and of the world since the knowledge has its source in a spiritual essence—the conviction of a faith. In both ways, wisdom is obtained in the rational world.

Correct outward relationships are the evidence of the correct inward conviction. According to Luther, these relationships are only accomplished by submerging willingly within the whole of society in secular existence. Within that merging, each becomes an individual; only in relationship
with God is each a person. That personal identity is gained only through participation as an individual within society. This merging of the group with individuals, in the spiritual context, is the result of love, evidence of faith. In the political realm, the acceptance of a state is the acceptance of a necessary unification of the citizens. The binding factor in the spiritual realm is devotion to God; the political realm is held together by devotion to the state.

The seemingly easy merging of men into society, or into one faith, was based upon Luther's medieval assumption that there is only one truth and one faith. This did not seem to be the case once Luther left the problem of conscience and soul for each man and his own comprehension of God. Luther invited every conscience to find its own truth, assuming there was only one. The dawning of the realization of the possibility of multiple truths for multiple individuals emerged in the Enlightenment, after the exploding period of history following the life of the unmartyred Luther. Emerging science or the standby -reason were generally accepted in the secular realm as ultimate authority. The quest for the ultimate "truth" camouflaged the possibility of multiple truth. Such a possibility was termed "individualism." This individualism is a spiritual manifestation in that every man's truth is the result of his own personal conviction. That conviction is reflected in outward secular activity. The old adage "be true to thyself" exemplifies
that truth is only within the personal recesses of each
man. This individualism is the expression of these indivi-
dual truths as each person knows them. Individualism is
developed only in association with others, for it is only
achieved in a universalism where it is expressed.

Since the actions of men are the results of convictions,
every man observed actions of others to ascertain the
correlation of every man's truth with his own. Every action
of every man is questioned and every motive of every action
is reviewed to determine the convictions of others. Emphasis
is placed more on the intent and the goal of an act than
on the act itself. After all, if the intent is in correct
faith, the act is acceptable to attain the goal.

Luther's political realm is not limited to the workings
of government. The political realm is that which is outside
of the individual soul. Because the soul may only reveal
its convictions within this political society, the exis-
tence of man within this realm is a major concern. The
government is the tool existing for the good of the state,
restraining those without an acceptable conviction. Involved
in the whole, man as an individual sees the results of his
conviction only within the state. Just as the individual
becomes a person only through his conscience, so the nation
gains its personal identity through the state. As the
individual substantiates his personal identity through his
calling in his life, so the state substantiates its personal
identity in a destiny in history. Each individual is a portion of the state need which becomes the purpose of the nation. If man sees his true self or calling in the continuance of the state, and the nation sees its purpose or divine mission in history, man sees his own existence as continuing in the continued existence of the state, helping it to fulfill its mission in time.

Faith in the nation is a guaranteed stage for the revealing of convictions. The existence of this faith implies that all individuals are united in the state. As such, it becomes a crime, or a sin, to be unpatriotic or not to support the nation in all aspects of policy. Within this spiritual bond created by the nation, citizenship is conferred by birth, just as membership into Luther's original spiritual realm is a rebirth. The nation, as necessary to all social development, is indirectly in control of the consciences or attitudes of social responsibilities. The chosen are the patriotic and the saints are the statesmen who exemplify perfection which is dedication to the whole. Each nation believes its philosophy, its conviction, to be correct. The United States will save the world; Communism will triumph over the capitalist oppressor; the third world will survive despite these other two evils in the modern world.

Modern nations, however, are not so far removed from each other. Systems of government differ, but the underlying
similarities of states remain. Elements to support most basic governmental systems can be traced from results of Luther's two realms. The equality of believers which Luther expounds is reminiscent of the equality of citizens within a democracy. Equality in both systems can only exist when all members are believers in the same thing. Luther claims all are equal in being granted certain equal callings, which may involve differing social positions. The tendency to oligarchy is thus defended by the claim that God gives everyone a place to remain to further God's ends through the state, for the nation. Divine right can be defended by Luther's insistence on heads of government being granted authority by God alone. As such, obedience to the king is obedience to God. Enlightened despotism accepts this order of things. Like Luther, it further regards governing as a trust form God to help the citizens to a better way of knowing themselves, the state, and God. The tendency to totalitarianism is also present. The state finds its total meaning in conjunction with the nation which is in a divine place of action. All done in service of God is divine, there the nation is divine. As such, the nation is to be honored and served above all else as it is in the service of God. The subjection of the individual within this whole, the tendency to socialism, is manifest in the insistence that all in one's life must be for the benefit of others.
Whatever the term used for the ideal government ascribed to by any state, the major emphasis is on the benefit for the whole, the existence of the state, and the necessity of faith in the nation. Luther contributed to enabling every nation to become a medieval universe in miniature, with one truth and one faith in political existence as the unifying factors. Attempting to purify the attitudes concerning the two realms in a medieval world, Luther unwittingly provided working tools for the emergance of the concept of the modern nation. Insisting on the separation of spiritual and secular, the modern world developed on the concept of separation of church and state. Insisting on the use of the rational realm to reflect the faith of conviction, the modern world became consumed with the necessity of authority and commitment. Insisting on the separation of faith and reason, the modern nation-state emerged with faith depending on reason to survive.
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