

In Memoriam

Edmund Jacob Wolf, D.D., LL.D.



Truly Yrs E. J. Wolf

THE HIGHER ROCK.

SERMONS, ADDRESSES, AND ARTICLES

BY

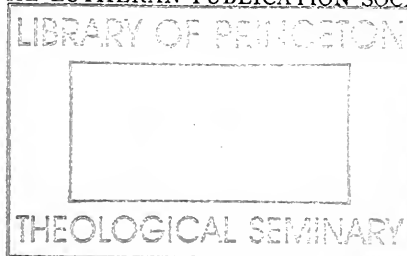
EDMUND JACOB WOLF, D. D., LL. D.,

Late Professor of Church History and New Testament Exegesis in the
Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa.

COMPILED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD OF PUBLICATION.

MEMORIAL EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. :
THE LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY.



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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

This book is not a commercial venture. It is not published for financial profit. It should need no advertisement.

The publication was suggested by and undertaken in response to the expressed wishes of numerous friends and former pupils of Dr. Wolf. Many of the sermons and most of the papers and addresses were selected upon the suggestion of those who had heard or read them. There was a very general desire to have them collected in permanent form. This made it evident that the expenditure was justified.

The book is, first of all, a memorial. Dr. Wolf held a warm place in many hearts. His intense nature often created antagonisms, but his lovable disposition appealed to the heart. He was loyally devoted to his Church and gave his time and strength to its service. He deserves an abiding place in our thoughts. We too soon forget those who do faithful service.

"When anything is done,
People see not the patient doing of it,
Nor think how great would be the loss to man
If it had not been done."

The book has intrinsic merit. The sermons and papers are rich in mature thought. They are the ripe fruit of a thoughtful and scholarly mind. Laymen and ministers alike will find the book not only readable but interesting

and profitable. It contains clear and strong presentations of truth.

The selections were made with great care out of a vast amount of material. With a few exceptions, the sermons have never been published. The papers and addresses have appeared in various magazines. Of several of these our limited space made it necessary to make extracts. Care has been taken not to break the logical connection of thought. These selections indicate a wide range of thought and interest. They are typical of the man. They reveal his profound insight of Scripture and the purely evangelical trend of his religious thought, and, at the same time, an intelligent knowledge of and interest in human affairs. The book brings him before us as preacher, professor, and citizen.

The family of Dr. Wolf have heartily endorsed this publication, and placed in our hands the material from which most of the selections were made. Indeed, it was in line with their desires and purposes that the book is published, and by The Lutheran Publication Society. The promulgation of such thought as this book contains is the proper and constitutional work of the Society. We send it forth with the hope that it may carry messages into the homes of the Church and strengthen the faith of many.

THE PUBLISHERS.

PHILADELPHIA, September 20, 1905.

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THE HIGHER ROCK.

DR. WOLF FROM THE HOME-SIDE.

BY ROBBIN B. WOLF, ESQ.

In the back of a small note book found after my father's death, I discovered the following brief notes of his ancestry:—

Great-grandfather Michael Wolf came from Germany and settled in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania.

Paul Wolf (his son)

(Born July 30, 1772. Died June 6, 1822.)

married Sophia (family name not given).

(Born March 2, 1772. Died January 29, 1833.)

Jacob Wolf (son of Paul and Sophia).

(Born January 26, 1801. Died October 6, 1853.)

Christian Gast

(Born April 23, 1726. Died — —, 1805.)

married Christiana Brandt,

(Born October 29, 1729. Died October 6, 1803.)

Both came to America from Wurtemberg early in life.

John Nicholas Gast (his son)

(Born April 21, 1760. Died December 2, 1810.)

married Anna Catherine Knipe,

(Born November 15, 1771. Died October 11, 1863.)

Mary Gast (their daughter),

(Born May 30, 1802. Died January 6, 1898.)

Jacob Wolf married Mary Gast.

Edmund Jacob Wolf was born in a quiet valley in Centre County, Pennsylvania, December 8, 1840. His ancestors on both sides were of German descent, remarkable, perhaps, in no respect save the consistent longevity of the maternal line.

Of his boyhood days I know very little. Dr. Harpster, who was a playmate, tells me that he was an out-and-out boy. Father himself has related to me some of his youthful experiences—but chiefly mere bits of mischief which haunted his acute conscience until later in life.

At an early age he gave some promise of future distinction, for his father when dying committed the lad, not yet in his teens, to the care of an older brother, saying: "Take care of Edmund; you can make something of him."

Fatherless at twelve, he began the struggle which the Almighty has appointed for us all. By means of teaching and with the assistance of a limited patrimony, he prepared himself for the sophomore year at Pennsylvania College, and entered it with the class of '63. In college he formed many close and valuable friendships, which continued a joy to him throughout his life. Here also he was won away from his purpose to become a politician; and, unable to resist the appeals of his conscience, he was led to adopt the ministry of reconciliation. He prepared many of his meals in his room, was a frequent caller up town, but found time for lots of hard study. Success crowned his work in the classroom, and upon graduation he was awarded first honor and the Greek Oration. This oration was never deliv-

ered, for about that time General Lee came marching into Gettysburg, and the little band of student volunteers, greatly outnumbered, sought *salutem in fuga*.

Father's military career was brief—I am not positive that he ever saw the enemy. He always seemed confident that he had never shot anyone. At the end of six weeks he was honorably discharged, and he ever after took pride in this small service to his country. In later years he became identified with the Grand Army and served as chaplain of the Gettysburg Post.

After graduation from college he entered the seminary at Gettysburg, but remained only one year—a year, however, which in great measure shaped the rest of his life. Dr Brown recognized his scholarship and was the moving spirit in his being called to Baltimore and subsequently to Gettysburg. In the academic year 1865-1866 he completed his theological studies in Germany at the Universities of Erlangen and Tübingen. A few years later, in broken health and with failing eyesight, he again visited the land of the Rhine, renewed his former friendships, and then crossed over into Switzerland, whose wholesome climate and rich scenery seemed to create anew the life which had threatened to pass away.

In December, 1865, he received his first call—to the Paradise charge, in Northumberland County, Pa. He at once married Miss Ella Kemp, of Edgehill, Maryland, and, in his own words, bade adieu to his weeping mother and started with his wife and library for the charge to which he had in God's guidance and providence been chosen.

Here he had four congregations, widely separated, and each with its German and English constituency. Night and day he labored, ministering to the sick, preaching the Gospel and jealously employing any open time in reading and study.

But the driving from church to church and visiting his flock, often in precarious weather, was too great a tax on his frail physique, and one rainy night he sympathetically remarked to his little horse: "I believe you would be more comfortable in a city charge."

The call to Baltimore came in 1868, and for six years he served as pastor of the Lombard Street Church. His sojourn at Baltimore was blessed with the formation of happy friendships which continued throughout his life.

In 1874, he was elected to a chair in the Gettysburg Seminary. At first he declined, but later accepted, and for thirty years gave his best efforts to preparing young men for the holy ministry.

These, in brief, were the chief epochs of his life. That life has been a public one in the full sense of the word, whether as the citizen or the man of God. But there was also the private side. It is not my purpose to lift the veil from the family sanctuary, but merely to portray enough of father's home life to show that it was consistent and in keeping with the holy office which he professed.

Four small words seem a complete summary of his daily life at home, viz.: struggle, prayer, faith and love. Father's struggle in life began when as a mere boy, largely dependent on his own resources, he began

the tedious process of self-education; it endured until the fatal disease successfully baffled his effort. Rising early in the morning, he was impatient for his breakfast. Having summarily disposed of that, he went to work.

If his mind grew weary, he would seek some brief recreation in the garden, then hurry back to work. At times he seemed to toil almost slavishly, and had not his weak eyes forbidden, the spark of his life would have burned itself out at even an earlier age. He wrote incessantly, and having no amanuensis, the labor was all his own.

The duty to save souls seemed fastened upon him, and whether as pastor or professor, he never lost sight of it. Sunday after Sunday, when the close of a hard week's work would naturally suggest rest, he left the leisurely comfort of his home to preach the Gospel.

In his teaching, he struggled. For thirty years he took his classes over practically the same ground, yet he prepared for each recitation as it came, being unwilling to appear before the class stale or unprepared. Every third year he completely revised his lectures. The old lectures might have sufficed, but that was not his standard.

Again, he struggled for his convictions. Even when seemingly alone, he stood courageously by them, sometimes, alas, at great cost, but little he recked. In his diary he writes: "I was enabled to fear God rather than men. May I never seek the smile of men, nor shrink from their frown." One struggling so hard, it seems, should feel some satisfaction, yet he writes:

“But O! coldly, how miserably I do my duty! Great God, have mercy on me. Deliver me from this infernal lukewarmness, from this frightful indifference. Give me zeal and give me courage in order that I may labor more earnestly for the Kingdom of Heaven. O, if they who have done all they can, must still reckon themselves unprofitable servants, where has language a name that is humble enough for me?”

He was a firm believer in the efficacy of prayer, and was habitually prayerful. He began and ended the day with a prayer, asked God’s blessing on each meal, always had family worship; and often have I come upon him in the twilight bowed in prayer, or in passing his library overheard him pouring forth his soul in divine supplication. He kept his ministerial diary in a small pocketbook, but he found room on nearly every page for a sentence of prayer. Each entry of a visit to the sick was followed by a brief prayer, e. g.: “May the Lord spare his life and sanctify this sickness for the welfare of his soul.”

As one by one six of his children were called to rest, he did not question the Divine wisdom, nor lament his lot, but knelt by their bedside in humble prayer for light to see the lessons of the affliction, and raised his voice in songs of praise to God.

He had faith which I have never seen surpassed. Faith was his dearest treasure, and though often sorely tried, he never seemed to doubt or waver for a moment. In reply to the charge that preachers are always biased in the matter of Bible criticism, he wrote: “Why should I not be prejudiced in defending that which sustains

my very life here by the promise of a better life beyond?"

At one period of his life, he was almost overwhelmed by care and work; the strife in the church was at its worst; the work on his second book was exhausting him; three sons, two of them just entering manhood, were taken from him at brief intervals; insomnia was preventing restful sleep; but throughout these trials and a hundred others, his faith in the providence of God was sublime. Faith was the balm for his every wound, the source of his greatest comfort. In perhaps the darkest hour of them all he wrote to a friend: "Pray that my faith fail not." His favorite sermon was "The Nature and Power of Faith;" his favorite hymn, "My Faith Looks Up to Thee."

Finally, his heart was full of love. Willie, his first born son, was scarcely six months old when he wrote: "How that dear child has twined itself around every fibre of my heart." Being a man of nervous habits and a zealous student, father was often annoyed by us children. Impatience was perhaps his greatest fault, yet his impatience was always tempered with love. He tried to bring his children up properly, and was generally positive, but never severe. The church stood first in his affections, but he was a loving husband and a self-sacrificing parent, and by the many manifestations of his kindness contributed the lion's share in making ours a happy home. We children inherited his fondness for narrative, and it was a common occurrence for the family to linger at the table by the hour in jolly conversation.

He reveled in the beauties of nature, was fond of dogs and horses and, I fear, it was a limited purse rather than any misgivings of conscience, that forbade his owning a span of trotters.

He was fond of a joke and had a good sense of humor. His brief review of a none too meritorious book was: "This book is exactly what we should expect from its author." To a young theolog who said he did know but had forgotten, he answered: "I am sorry, for you are the first who has ever known that."

He was argumentative and a fearless fighter. In the bitterness of ecclesiastical differences, he seemed to make many enemies, but even in the privacy of his home no word of hatred or resentment ever escaped his lips. As a family we deeply lamented the unpleasantness which his intensity brought upon him, but we were doubly glad that despite his untimely death, he lived to see the day of peace—the dawn of a better day in the Lutheran Church. We feel grateful that the General Synod saw fit to forget personal differences of opinion and to honor his integrity by electing him its President—a fitting climax to a life devoted almost exclusively to the work of the Church.

Six weeks before his death he told me, evidently with some premonition, that he would like to live about ten years longer, because of work which he wanted to do. Before that he had begun to let up a little in his work, but apparently was in the best of health. The end came rapidly: for several weeks he suffered excruciating pain, but was resigned and happy in that he had escaped so much suffering. Despite the fact that he

had mapped out work for years ahead, that he was in full possession of his powers, that he was for the first time in years at peace with all men, and that everything pointed to a comfortable enjoyment of his remaining years, he died fearlessly and without a murmur. Shortly after noon, January 10, 1905, the life that had known turmoil and struggle, passed sweetly and peacefully away. And as I looked for the last time at the lifeless face, there was an expression of triumph on it which seemed to defy the grave and to forbid to weep.

“He never turned his back but marched breast forward.
Never doubted clouds would break;
Never dreamed though right were worsted, wrong would triumph;
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake.”

DR. WOLF IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

BY REV. W. E. PARSON, D. D.

Carlyle, in his life of John Sterling, says:—

“A true delineation of the smallest man, and his scene of pilgrimage through life, is capable of interesting the greatest man.”

This it is that makes biography the most entertaining form of history. How much more true must Carlyle's dictum become when we look at the life of one who helped to make history.

Rev. Edmund Jacob Wolf, D. D., LL. D., was a writer of history, a teacher of history, and himself a great part of the history of our Lutheran Church in recent times. Therefore “his scene of pilgrimage through life” must have especial interest.

Dr. Wolf was born December 8, 1840, in Centre County, Pennsylvania. He came of earnest Lutheran parentage, and was from his childhood a son of the Church to which he gave all the years of his mature life.

After the usual preparatory training in the public schools, and in a local academy, he entered the sophomore class in Pennsylvania College, at Gettysburg, Pa. The writer's acquaintance with Dr. Wolf began in college days, and continued without interruption to the Tuesday, January 10th, when he fell asleep in the faith he so earnestly preached.

Two things stand out sharply in the memory in connection with Dr. Wolf's student days. One is the fact that he was President of the literary society when a large number of freshmen were initiated, *pars quorum fui*. He was a senior, and showed then, in his address to the initiates, all the intensity of soul and lofty ideals which characterized him to the end. The other incident touches the innermost life of the man. He was but twenty-three years old at the time. His room was immediately overhead, so that the sound of moving feet or the voice of one speaking above could be heard more or less distinctly. There was one voice that regularly occupied a certain few moments of the day in what seemed to be earnest reading. A little more careful inquiry disclosed to us that it was Ed. Wolf (as he was called) at his devotions. The fervency of that voice in prayer has lingered through all these intervening years. He never knew that we knew—for, like Moses of old, "He wist not that his face shone." Dr. Wolf graduated with the first honor of his class in 1863.

There were no commencement exercises. Most of the class were wearing blue uniforms, carrying guns, and sleeping in open fields, having responded to the call of the Governor of the State for troops to repel the invading army under Lee. Soldier Wolf was in the ranks. True to his impulse, as always, he joined with a hundred other students, who were the first company sworn into the service for what was called "the Emergency."

Every member of the Faculty of 1863 has gone the

way of all the earth; and now the bright, particular star of the class.

Dr. Wolf pursued his theological studies in the General Synod Seminary at Gettysburg. After a term of study in Germany, in the universities of Tübingen and Erlangen, the young preacher was ready for his work. He was called to a country parish in Turbotville, Pa. In this small village the elder Albert, father of Doctors Luther and Charles Albert, was living in retirement. To him the young pastor often resorted for advice and counsel respecting the problems confronting him. The second and only other church served by Dr. Wolf was in the city of Baltimore. He was called to the Second Lutheran Church of Baltimore in 1866, and remained pastor until in 1873 he was called to the Chair of Church History and New Testament Exegesis in the Theological Seminary of the General Synod at Gettysburg, Pa. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Franklin and Marshall College in 1876, and the degree of Doctor of Laws from Wittenberg College in 1901. Dr. Wolf was eminently worthy of these distinctions. He earned his degrees. As a theological student and teacher of theological students, he surely was entitled to the *Doctor Divinitatis*. As historian, translator, contributor to journals, encyclopedias, reviews, and church periodicals, he richly earned the title of Doctor of Law. His fugitive pieces, contributions to non-sectarian papers, editorials and unsigned articles, if brought together, would make many volumes.

He wrote a goodly volume some years ago, entitled

"Lutherans in America," a book which did much to make the Church better known in this country. He was the contributor of one volume in the series of Lutheran Commentaries, and had just recently completed the work of translating and publishing "An Exposition of the Gospels of the Church Year," on the basis of the German work by Nebe. This is a large volume of nearly a thousand pages, representing an amount of labor that could have been possible to the busy professor only through the most methodical use of his time. It was the last work of his hands, fittingly inscribed to his wife, who aided in preparing the volume for the press. Before leaving the period of his Baltimore pastorate, it may be proper to say a word as to the work of Dr. Wolf as pastor and preacher.

By exchange of pulpits, more common years ago than now, by personal conferences, and occasional correspondence, the methods of thought and work that marked "his scene of pilgrimage through life" were well known to many of his brethren.

He was a most faithful and conscientious pastor. If any criticism were to be made on this part of his work, it would be that he was almost too conscientious. He so fully followed the divine rule to weep **with them** that weep that he exhausted his nerve forces, and was once on the verge of a physical breakdown. A few months' rest and vacation in Europe brought him back to his work completely healed. As an evidence of over-conscientiousness in Dr. Wolf, a visit to his study once found him in great anxiety over the spiritual condition of one in his parish. There was a sick man near the

end of his life, wholly unaware of his condition. Dr. Wolf was wrestling with that question which comes often to the faithful minister, whether he should plainly inform the man of his nearness to death that there might be time for due preparation.

"On my next visit," he finally announced, "I shall have to speak out and tell the man."

No doubt in the eternal world the redeemed soul will seek out the faithful pastor and thank him for his conscientious work. At the time it seemed a piece of spiritual surgery too cruel.

As a preacher Dr. Wolf was always inspiring. He had something to say in the pulpit that was fresh, instructive, hopeful. His pulpit work was well known in nearly every one of our Lutheran Churches, as well as in other denominations. The subjects announced last summer in one of our Washington pulpits supplied by him will suggest the helpful character of Dr. Wolf's pulpit ministrations. These subjects were: "Right Triumphant;" "What is Required of Believers;" "Union With Christ."

One of the most impressive, simple, forceful Gospel sermons it was the privilege of the writer ever to hear was preached by Dr. Wolf some years ago in St. Mark's Church, Hanover, Pa. The subject was "The Typical Penitent," from the text: "God be merciful to me a sinner." He rung the changes, as the Lutheran doctrine enjoins, on sin, humiliation, penitence, forgiveness, and all the divine truths involved in Christ's salvation. Every one in the congregation was roused by the intense earnestness of the preacher's emphasis of

the deep, searching truths drawn from this familiar parable.

In many respects Dr. Wolf was a model preacher, but especially in this that he preached God's Word, not human philosophy. He preached the comforts of the Scripture truth rather than the terrors of the law. So for about ten years he gave himself to the pastor's work. Dr. Wolf's real life-work was in the professor's chair. He settled down to the life of a student and teacher at the age of thirty-three, and for nearly that many years more was one of the most influential forces in the making of the pastors for our General Synod Churches. Yet it must be remembered that the sphere of Dr. Wolf's influence was not limited to the school where he taught. He reached into all our schools, by both voice and pen. He had lectured at Wittenberg; and only a few weeks before his death had been out as far as Kansas City, to assist in work that came to him by reason of his office as President of the General Synod.

Dr. Wolf, at the time of his death, was the senior member of the Faculty in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. His hold upon the students was strong both as teacher and man. The young men had confidence in him. They went to him with their perplexities. They found in him a friendly, sympathetic and safe counsellor. To those who did not fully know his inner thought he may at times have seemed harsh and over-exacting. But, as often happens with positive natures, there was an inner court to the temple of the soul, where all was gentle, forgiving, sympathetic. The

sense of honor was large in Dr. Wolf, and he stood in the Church as the most uncompromising Lutheran. Every position he took was held tenaciously through conviction. To some his views seemed extreme, but even his opposers always were willing to grant that his views were so carefully framed and so honestly held that there could be no yielding except through a change in conviction.

He seemed to many to be a partisan. In one sense he was. If by the term we mean a man always holding to his own party, always standing by his convictions; always willing to sacrifice himself for his convictions; always talking and preaching his particular ideas of the truth; always arrayed against any other conflicting views; always trying to convert the other man from the error of his ways; always voting for the man of his own school, and writing letters to see that all others were wide awake to vote the same way; if these things make the partisan, then was Dr. Wolf a partisan. But he was not offensive in his partisanship. He fought a fair battle in the open field, keeping himself so true that his antagonist must give him full credit for the high honor in which he held all his ideas of truth; for the loyalty he showed to friends, and the fairness he showed to his opponents.

An instance of the exalted sense of honor which moved him was once seen in the Maryland Synod, at a meeting held in St. Paul's in Washington, D. C. The question before the Synod was whether the members of the Synod had made themselves individually liable in voting aid to the Memorial Church to the extent of

five thousand dollars. There was a disposition on the part of some of the members of Synod to evade the responsibility. When Dr. Wolf rose to discuss the question, though not always agreeing with the pastor of the Memorial Church on general church questions, he quickly brushed aside all the specious arguments of those who would shirk their obligations, and in withering words held up to rebuke such a disposition among his brethren. "As for me," he said, "I count it a personal obligation, against which I set everything that I have until this Synod meets its pledge."

Dr. Wolf's view prevailed—the pledge was met, paid, and the Memorial completed.

The editor of the *Lutheran World* very truly described Dr. Wolf, and the liberality of the man, in these words:—

"Like most men of real convictions, he was sometimes misunderstood, but not by those who came to know him well. He held fast by his convictions, but was withal one of the most tractable men we have known. He could contend with vigor for his convictions when occasion demanded, but his friends knew him always also as a most humble and modest child of God."—[*Lutheran World*, Jan. 19, 1905.]

It was a rare honor he had, to be permitted for thirty full years and more to influence the minds of the young men who went out to mould the thousand other minds to whom they ministered. His students are on the roll of our Home Mission force; they are in the Foreign Mission work; they are in influential pulpits; in humble places such as their teacher first occupied; some

of them became teachers in turn, and so the work of one became the cumulative work of many. In this sense we might say that a thousand representatives are left to carry on the unfinished work which this good soldier of Jesus Christ has thus far so nobly advanced.

In addition to his other duties, Dr. Wolf served on many standing committees of the General Synod. He was for years chairman of the joint committee of the General Synod, General Council, and United Synod of the South, which prepared the Common Service, the Ministerial Acts, the Catechism, and is at work on the common Hymnal. At the time of his death he was engaged on the work of the Inter-Church Conference on Marriage and Divorce, expecting to press the subject at the recent General Synod. He was truly abundant in labors, yet showed no outward signs of weariness. Though the years ran on, Dr. Wolf did not seem to grow old. He changed with the passing time less than any man of his generation, seeming alert in mind, youthful in spirit, strong in body. In outward appearance he seemed to be the same as when he followed the flag forty years before; the same as when he served his country parish; the same as when he was the energetic pastor in Baltimore; the same as when he entered upon his duties in the professor's chair, thirty years before; the same as two years ago, when he was elected President of the General Synod in the city of Baltimore.

On the day of his funeral, January 13th, 1905, nearly a hundred of his brethren in the ministry gathered at Gettysburg in the College Church to do honor to his memory. He was buried in the beautiful ceme-

tery of the town, on top of the ridge where sleep thousands of his comrade soldiers.

Our sympathies go out to the stricken family. The whole church will be the poorer for his sudden taking off. No doubt he had already fixed in his mind some of the things he meant to say in the opening sermon at the convention of the General Synod at Pittsburg. But his work was done. The hospitable house, erected by his efforts, is empty of its master; the chair so ably filled is vacant; the pulpits accustomed to his eloquent words must wait for another voice.

The tree falls. The forest waves on for generations. The preacher, teacher, true friend and brother departs, but the Church he served abides, made more beautiful and fruitful by reason of his labors.

SERMONS.

I. THE HIGHER ROCK.

Lead me to the rock *that* is higher than I.—Ps. lxi. 2.

It was a noble conception which led His ancient chosen people to sing of God as their rock. In the earliest records of their faith this similitude of strength, security, grandeur and durability was to them a favorite symbol of Jehovah—first impressed upon their minds, perchance, when on their march they encamped before the awful cliff of Sinai, towering majestically against the sky. Such an eternal rock was the God of the Covenant. With this symbol they often combined the idea of an impregnable military defense. The cry for the rock is followed in the text by the testimony “Thou hast been a shelter unto me, a strong tower from the enemy.” And again “The Lord is my rock and my fortress,” “The Rock of My Refuge.” “He only is my rock and salvation, my defense.” The Psalmist, addressing Jehovah, calls Him outright “the God of the rock of my salvation.”

This title of God must have had a sublime meaning in the worship of the inspired liturgy. It forms the keynote of many of the richest songs of Zion. The mighty attributes of the God of Israel, His righteousness, truth, power, and faithfulness are bodied forth in the immovable, indissoluble, unchangeable rock, which pierces the clouds. And this yearning for the higher rock, formulated in our text, is the sighing of the soul for God, the hungering of our innermost

nature for a being that is above its range, the irrefragable attestation of the heart to a higher and a divine power. It is but another form of the prayer which occurs so often in the Psalter, "Unto Thee will I cry, O Lord, my rock," Ps. xxviii, 1. It is more than a petition of the Psalmist. It is a cry of humanity. It is the inspired embodiment of a prayer that rises from the heart of the race. It is the outflow of one of those instincts which make the whole world kin. It is a universal prayer.

Carefully analyzed these words articulate:

I. THE UNIVERSAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF A SUPREME BEING.

The sense of a higher power is one of the marks of our species. The existence of God is one of those essential truths which somehow are revealed to every mind. The conviction that there is something superior to man, something greater, higher, wiser, the consciousness of a supreme, all-embracing power, is found wherever the human race is found. Co-extensive with humanity prevails the idea that behind the visible lives the invisible, back of the natural reigns the supernatural, above the transitory abides the eternal, transcending the phenomenal world dwells the absolute, the Most High.

The thought is indeed not always present, even in the purest minds, but let the soul pause in its distracting pursuits, and it will be found that down in its deepest recesses the sense of God overshadows it.

Again, the thought may not always be vivid or lofty, the conception may, from the nature of men's

minds, often be confused, vague, obscure, distorted. Men may have base, grovelling notions of God, but the *idea* itself is stamped ineffaceably upon the consciousness as the image of the sovereign is cast upon the coin. And however insensible men may at times appear to the solemn truth; however heedless to its awful significance—in moments of extremity, when groaning under a great sorrow, startled by a dreadful calamity, or brought face to face with death, the slumbering consciousness is wakened and the vision of the eternal rests upon the soul.

The most benighted and depraved heathen have a feeling of awe before some mysterious and undefined power, a power not themselves, a higher rock, and altars to the great “unknown” are found smoking wherever the foot of man has trod. The religious instinct is a part of our nature, that part in fact which alone distinguishes human nature from the irrational species. Religious worship is the distinctive human faculty, and it is essential to the completeness of the mind of man as is reason or sensibility. This lofty faculty, this attribute of worship, points to an object of worship, to a higher rock, something above man, on which he is dependent and to which he is accountable.

Whence this conviction comes, whether it be innate or connate, an instinct or an intuition, the remains of a primitive revelation, or the result of a process of reasoning, I care not to discuss here or now. That is a question for philosophers and theologians. The fact itself, the universal presence of this feeling, admits of no question, however men may differ as to its origin.

On this point philosophers and theologians are all agreed, the foremost thinkers uniting with the most degraded specimens of the race in the recognition of an ultimate power, a persuasion inseparable from their very constitution. Alike from the highest realm of thought, "the rarefied atmosphere of ideas," and from the lowest strata of rude conceptions and sensuous passions, comes the testimony to an unseen, omnipotent something.

All may not designate this omnipotent something by the same title, they may not ascribe to it respectively the same attributes, they may not agree in their definitions and speculations concerning the supreme arbiter of all things, but the apprehension of His existence belongs to the universal consciousness. The rock above us casts His awful shadow over all. There is no escape from it. Constituted as we are, the recognition and belief of the divine existence is irresistible. God is left nowhere without a witness. "The invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen * * * even His everlasting power and divinity." Rom. i. 20.

David Hume remarked to a philosophical company in Paris that he had never seen an atheist. Men may deny the God of the Bible, may keep aloof from Christian worship, but the veriest leaders and titans of skeptical thought dare not disavow their belief in the Infinite and the Almighty. "We are driven by an inexorable logic," says Herbert Spencer, "to the conclusion of a first cause, including within itself all power, and transcending all law."

Matthew Arnold has written some of his most elegant periods on "the power not ourselves that makes for righteousness." And even Renan writes: "Under one form or another, God will always stand for the full expression of our supersensual needs." Frederick the Great pronounced it an absurdity to hold that a person possessing no such attributes could have endowed man with intelligence and conscience. So Goethe in a letter to Jacobi admits that he "needs a personal God for his personal nature as a moral and spiritual man." Surely no one who reads the cathedral scene in Faust, in that terrible climax of the judgment hymn, when the organ peals and the choir sings and poor Gretchen feels the sinner's helplessness, could conclude that this Titan had lost the sense of the eternal. Beautifully has it been said that "the consciousness of God is the transfiguring thing in Emerson." These mightiest of human intellects "cannot let go the thought of the absolutely perfect being." It is borne in upon their souls with irresistible power. They are unanimous and emphatic in the avowal that the existence of God is self-evident.

The scientific method will not allow the elimination of this idea from the human mind. Of the eight essential propositions of Theodore Parker's absolute religion the first declared "that man has an instinctive intuition of the fact of the divine existence—the consciousness that there is a God."

Humanity is not the climax of intelligent being. "The maker must be more glorious" than the thing made." Alexander, Napoleon, and others whose unex-

amplified exploits raised them to the pinnacle of power, felt after all their conquests, that there is one whom they could not conquer, that there were heights they could not scale, that there was a transcendent energy moulding their own career and fixing their destiny.

Socrates, Plato, Kant, Hegel, Faraday, Agassiz, men pushing their inquiries into the farthest reaches of thought matter, peering into the depths and soaring into the heights, from every point of their observation *beheld with awe* the outlines of a rock that is higher than all!

The universality of the belief in God is commonly regarded as an invulnerable proof of His reality. In scientific argument for the divine existence this stands among the first. The instincts are scientifically accepted as proof of the correlate. The law of correspondence is as true and unfailing as the law of gravitation. The idea points to reality. The idea of God involves of necessity His real existence. A universal conviction is not a universal delusion. The voice of all nations, tribes and tongues, a voice that sounds from the deepest, holiest notes of the human heart, must be the voice of truth. The universality, the persistence of this feeling forms an unbroken and an unquestionable attestation to God.

The consciousness of God must be His revelation in the soul. An idea graven upon the constitution of man bespeaks something real, not an abstraction, but a substantial something, a substance that towers over all, a cliff unmoved by the surging sea, an enduring

rock whose bosom is the throne of the universe and in whose cleft humanity finds refuge and peace.

II. THE HUMAN ASPIRATION AFTER GOD.

Although the rock is *far above us*, humanity boldly aspires to the high and holy place. "Inseparable from the recognition of God, is the inherent tendency to commune with Him." The finite spirit yearns for an infinite good. So far from being appalled by sublime conception of the absolute power above him, man seeks to ascend the awful height. The universal sigh of human hearts is "Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I." A craving for God is among the most powerful instincts of human nature. Man scorns to be satisfied with all which the world can offer him. He is the only being that is discontented with his lot. All other creatures have peace. The desire of every living thing is satisfied. They are of the earth, earthly—and earthly things suffice for them, but man is possessed of an idea that his destiny transcends his present limitations, and nothing earthly suffices for him. He is incapable of peace as long as the rock is beyond his reach. The impulses of our nature move us to something outside of, beyond and above ourselves.

"The world can never give the bliss for which we sigh."

Give man the wealth of Croesus and it only aggravates the insatiable lust for gold, lay the world at his feet and he only longs for other worlds to conquer. Raise him to the highest seats of power, and he is

still heard crying "Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I." Let his faculties be enlarged to titanic proportions, and he feels himself a child with pebbles, standing upon the shore of a fathomless sea.

The text is supposed to be the prayer of a King, it comes from out of the midst of royal grandeur, pleasure and power, it is the outburst of a mind itself more splendid than its environment. Yet out of this most favored situation comes the cry, O for something better, something higher! O for the Rock that is higher than I.

Whatever our hearts, our attainments, our possessions, our advancement, our elevation, the horizon only widens and the goal recedes. Man never *is*, but always to be blest. His labor is spent for that which satisfieth not. Employment, society, travel, culture, amusement, all avail not to still his cravings. The dreadful vacuum, the "aching void" remains. He yearns to see Him that is invisible. He finds nowhere a substitute for God. The spirit cannot rest until it touches the Infinite. It thirsts for God, the living God. "As the hart panteth for the water brooks," so panteth the soul for the living spring at the foot of the rock.

This aspiration may be undefined, unintelligent, or for the time really obscured or latent, if not grossly misdirected. Man wants he knows not what. It is the vague character of this craving, doubtless, that sometimes goads man to the wild pursuit of sensible objects in hope of thereby quenching this unrest of the soul, attempting to fill with a measure of the finite the unmeasured capacity for the infinite. But this

hunger is inarticulate. You cannot impose upon it stones for bread!

You may, like Goethe, resolve to stifle this longing of nature, attempt as by suicidal means to rid yourself of its presence, but this can only result in the sadder desolation of your spirit. "In my seventy-fifth year," says this philosopher and poet, this genius who received the homage of Napoleon, "I may say that I have never had four weeks of genuine pleasure. The stone was ever to be rolled up anew." "Whatever peace came and went had no perpetual source."

It is to be noted, too, on the other hand, that however unpropitious our circumstances, however forbidding our lot, whatever successive waves of disappointment and disaster may roll over our heads, man does not ordinarily *despair*. The soul's desolation only deepens the consciousness of need and inflames the longing for support and solace from the Eternal. The thicker the darkness, the louder man's cry for light. His unavailing struggle against a sea of troubles drives him in search of the rock which in the gloom peers high above him. Blinded by the spray, he yet descries distinctly above the billowy main something firm against the waves, towering above the tempest, a rock immovable amid the breakers, a pillar of eternal safety, higher than all around him, higher than the heavens! And for this rock he sighs, "out of the depths" he cries unto the Lord. An instinct of his nature prompts him to it, an instinct common to all races, tribes and tongues. Men are everywhere found seeking the Lord, if haply they may find Him. From

the end of the earth they cry unto Him, from creation's verge men turn toward the centre and source of all things! Wherever humanity is found, it is yearning for the primordial rock, exclaiming with the psalmist, "When shall I come and appear before Him." "My flesh longeth for Him in a dry and thirsty land where no water is."

Like the social instinct which longs for converse with congenial spirits, and makes solitude insufferable to a normal mind, we have an affinity for God, a yearning for fellowship with the Father of our spirits. A sense within us draws us toward the skies. Whatever the happiness of our associations, no earthly home corresponds to our ideal, no fellow mortal is perfectly the complement of my nature. Even in the crowd, in the bosom of our dear ones, at the social feast, the thought of loneliness possesses us, we miss the absent One, we would lean upon our Father's bosom, we pine for the smile of His face.

Whether or not we can trace this instinct to its ultimate source does not affect the fact of its existence. Some ascribe it to our sense of dependence. "Underlying the feeling of dependence there is a sense of that on which we depend. The one feeling is implicated in the other." Conscious of our impotence against overwhelming odds, we instinctively reach out for some power to sustain us. As one moves over the shifting sands, as one realizes the uncertainty and insecurity beneath him, he feels the imperative need of some firmer foundation on which he may safely plant his feet. Finding no peace or safety around us,

we turn to something above us. Where all that is known proves worthless we vainly lay hold of the unknown. Groaning under pains, sorrows and perplexities, the weary soul sighs for a rock on which it may lay its burdens down.

Certainly the consciousness of need ordinarily prompts our prayers. "In my distress I sought the Lord." "When my spirit was overwhelmed within me I cried unto the Lord." The sense of my insufficiency draws me toward the all-sufficient. The necessities of my spiritual nature reveal the need of God. The fathomless void seeks to be filled. My unquenchable thirst demands an inexhaustible fountain. "I need Thee every hour"—thy gracious arm, thy fatherly heart!

The aspiration after communion with God may be due also to a feeling that in some way we sustain a vital relation to God, that somehow our own mysterious being was struck from the Rock, which now looms so high above us. By an inversion of the law which makes water raised to the clouds seek again its ocean home, so the soul descended from the skies seeks again its native element. It presses toward the rock underneath which bursts the hidden spring of its own life.

"Man is a God in ruins." The indestructible impress of the divine spirit is found upon the human spirit, and some have claimed that inseparable from the feeling of God is the feeling of a relationship to him. Certainly the bonds by which we are drawn lay hold of every part of our spiritual organism, the intel-

lect as well as the heart; and even the conscience in torture over sins committed against God can find no rest until it attains to peace with God. This is the most surprising phenomenon of experience, and it is the most powerful demonstration that the soul must have God for its portion. The same anguish which inspires the penitent with an awful terror of God, makes him at the same time cry out after God. Conscience scourges him away from God, and yet prompts him to exclaim, "O that I knew where I might find Him!" Driven from His presence, yet struggling to come near Him—that is the sinner's dilemma. The more he is oppressed by his guilt the keener becomes the thirst for God. Escape from the Judge of all is possible only by flying into His arms. The awakened soul, the broken and the contrite heart feels instinctively drawn to the heavenly bosom. Just when we have the fullest vision of our fallen state, of the far-off land in which we sojourn, we yearn for the home of the soul, and for communion with Him by whom and for whom we are made.

III. THE UNATTAINABLENESS OF THIS COMMUNION BY HUMAN EFFORT.

The rock is higher than I—literally translated the text reads the Rock which is "too high for me." I may not approach it. Away above in the dizzy heights I descry the Infinite, the Everlasting One. But I find no way to get to Him. I have no means of knowing Him. I can have no communion with Him. The ascent to God is beyond my power. I cannot scale

the heights. I have no wings to soar. I can construct no ladder on which to mount to the habitation of the Eternal. I know of no marble staircase that leads to the audience chamber of the Most High. "The world's altar stairs," of which the poet speaks, do indeed "slope through darkness," but they do not bring me to God.

With all man's power over nature, and the subserviency of the elements to his purpose, with all his magnificent achievements, he flutters like a struck eagle upon the plain, incapable of soaring to his native skies—unable to escape from God and yet unable to find Him. He can cut a pathway through the mountains. He can traverse the sea, he can turn the elements into chariot wheels. He may yet by his bold inventions construct a highway to the stars, go flying through the ether, communicate with all the planets and complete the annihilation of time and space, *but he cannot* build a way to God, he cannot bridge the chasm which yawns between him and the Rock, he cannot lift himself to the bosom of his Father, he cannot by searching find out God. "Thy way is in the sea, and Thy path in the great waters, Thy footsteps are not known." "It is high as heaven, what can'st thou do: deeper than hell, what can'st thou know?"

Here too universal experience reaches one conclusion. With the same positiveness with which the unanimous voice of humanity declares that God is, it also declares that He is unsearchable. Held in awe by the conviction of the Highest, man's futile efforts to commune with Him have forced from him the sigh,

“Whom none can comprehend, and none explore,
 * * * * *
 Being whom we call God, and know no more.”

Man has surely sought to know God. The boldness and persistence of his endeavors have yielded to literature its richest treasures, but his uttermost searchings have been like

“Ships that sail for Sunny Isles,
 But never come to shore.”

Science and theology are at one, the testimony of revelation and that of reason. Herbert Spencer in his “First Principles” declares that “the power which the universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable,” and Martin Luther used language almost indetical with this. The cultured Greeks ignorantly worshipped the objects of their reverence; the unpolished Samaritans worshipped they knew not what, and now when the latest induction of science avows that God is unknown and unknowable, it simply registers the experience of the universal heart in the succession of ages. It is nothing new that God cannot be truly known. An inspired Apostle taught that God dwelleth in light that is unapproachable, whom no man hath seen, nor can see, and the Psalmist by a counter figure places Him in the midst of clouds and darkness.

The stupid creeds and the revolting rites of superstition are only so many confirmations of the truth that the knowledge of God and communion with Him surpass the boundaries, the resources and the devices of mortal minds. Agnosticism is but the inevitable con-

fession that human reason has reached its limits! It cowers before an unattainable height. Its proud waves cannot rise to the crest of the rock. Nature with all her forces and laws it can command and overcome, but God is above nature. Man's desires go struggling upward, but the rock is too high.

"From all sides comes the same confession." "In all places we see all sorts of men building altars to the unknown and unknowable God." Every seeker brings back the same report. Science scales all heights and sounds all abysses, counts the stars, turns over the granite leaves of the globe's history, bathes amid the light of the morning and broods amid the shadows of the evening, and comes back from ocean caverns and mountain peaks, from beds of fossils and from the silvery pavement of the milky way, with the same unvarying message: "There are footprints, but He that made them could not be found."

The heart sends out over the waste of waters the dove of its tender feeling, but the wearied wing finds no resting place on the boundless billow. The timid bird hurries back to its home, in its mouth no message but an olive branch, the symbol of peace.

"With sturdy resolution conscience goes forth to sound the dim and perilous way. But the scent is lost amidst the jungles and rocky passes of the world. Terrified by the glare of the tiger, the spring of the leopard, the coil of the serpent, the sting of the reptile, horror-stricken by triumphant iniquity and bleeding equity, shocked at seeing a Tiberius on the throne and a Jesus on the cross, * * * it loses the thread of

the moral law, and recoils from the problems it cannot confront.

“Boldest of all the soul plumes her wings of faith for a flight to the very empyrean. Her pinions of aspiration bear her above the earth; she distances vision * * * leaves time and space behind, with open eye looks steadily at the sun! But the sun itself is a shadow. Light there is, a shoreless ocean of light, * * * On its waves she floats serenely; in its silence she rests at peace. But no voice breaks the silence, no form of creative Godhead walks on the sea of Glory.” Vain, vain is its search to find the soft bosom of the parent in whose breast the child can nestle.

Most of all does the consciousness of sin reveal an impassable barrier between man and God. When once the sense of guilt can no longer be stifled, when the soul stands shivering and condemned before its own bar, then it is made to realize its incapacity for communion with God. Conscious of its shame and degradation, so far from rising to God by its own powers as it fain would, it finds itself sinking into the dread abyss. So far from having wings by which it may struggle upward, it is loaded with chains that drag it down to ever lower depths, while it calls out, O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me?

Salvation is infinitely above us gleaming like an Alpine cliff against the face of the sky, whilst we are toiling in the mire below, held in terror by the very majesty and height of the rock. The way to the holies

is not open, though the tabernacle stands in view. We may draw nigh to its altar of blood and smoke, and view our gifts and sacrifices ascending by fire, but only to learn that we are shut out from the Shekinah and that no voice comes forth to give us peace, only to realize on the one hand that without holiness no man can see the Lord, and on the other that in us lies no power to become holy, no possibility of atoning for sin, no means of effecting reconciliation.

What is there left for the sinner but irremediable despair? Is not the soul doomed to sink into an eternal abyss, with the everlasting Father upon an inaccessible throne? Yet despair cannot be the end of existence. The soul cannot give up—cannot surrender to remediless woe. Hope springs eternal in the breast. But how is salvation possible? In what way can I get to the Rock? In the way pursued by the Psalmist—the way indicated by the text—by a supreme act of faith, by an appeal for help.

IV. THE EFFICACY OF BELIEVING PRAYER.

In the agony of his thirst the Psalmist betakes himself to prayer. In the anguish of his heart he exclaims, Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I. As he comes to the realization of his own impotence and of his desperate needs, he sends out over the dark expanse a loud but distinct shriek for relief. Abandoning his own futile struggles he makes an affecting and effectual appeal that a line for his rescue may be thrown from the Rock. Lead me to it, he cries, lift

me up the way my feet cannot tread. Do for me what is beyond my powers, take me to the bosom of the Rock.

Some minds are perplexed about the rationale of prayer. What else is a man to do? What else can he do? What is more natural in an extremity than to pray? How can one help praying, calling for help, when his hold is giving way and the abyss yawns beneath? Prayer is the instinct of distress—man's only refuge from despair.

"When other helpers fail, and comforts flee,
Help of the helpless, O come near to me."

Prayer is the most rational act of the mind, the most *logical* as it is the necessary outcome of human reasoning. Given these three conditions, the sense of a supreme power, an inborn aspiration for communion with that power, and the realization of our inability to rise to that spiritual height, and the inexorable conclusion is prayer. That Rock is mightier than I am, this thirst of my soul is destined to be satisfied. My own inability is itself a prophecy of aid from without. Hence we *are driven* to implore the aid where alone it can be found.

Once roused from the stupor so common to the thoughtless, once seeing his little boat filling up with the sea, man will not go down without crying, "Lord, save, I perish." If there is no help in me nor in the wide world around me there may be help in Him. If my arm is too short to reach up, I am sure His is long enough to reach down. My resources are exhausted

in searching for Him. Surely His resources are inexhaustible. If God cannot be known from any data I possess, that does not debar Him from making Himself known. I cannot go to Him. Nothing, however, can preclude Him from coming to me. Clouds and darkness veil Him from my vision, but He can lift the veil and let me see His face.

I have no firm base on which to plant a ladder wherewith to ascend, but a ladder may be thrown to me from the crest of the rock. The knowledge of God, like every other good and perfect gift, is from above. Salvation is of the Lord. The grace that redeems us must come from the skies. Atonement and pardon, renewal and sanctification are the work of divine mercy. Man must be saved by a power not himself, lifted to the summit of the Rock by the arm of omnipotence.

Brought by faith to the apprehension of this, the human soul betakes itself to prayer. In the darkness it calls for light, in its overwhelming sense of weakness it begs for strength, in the bitterness of guilt it cries for pardon, in the thirst for righteousness it pleads for an atoning sacrifice and a renewing spirit, in the face of death it seeks the ultimate fountain of life.

"Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I" is the expression not only of a universal belief, of a universal aspiration, and of a universal confession, but also of a universal prayer.

The prayer is heard. The answer is here. God has mercifully anticipated the yearnings of our being.

He has provided against our inability of rising to Him. He has not remained beyond the stars unknown and at an infinite distance. He has come near to us. Before, we called a response came from the skies, a revelation of His face and of His heart. Through Moses and the prophets the veil was in part removed. But through the only begotten Son the fullness of the Godhead appeared among men in bodily form. The word of the Eternal was made flesh and dwelt among us. The divine has appeared under human conditions and men beholding Him were made to sing:

“Mine eyes have seen the salvation of the Lord.”

God was manifested in Jesus Christ. He that hath seen Him hath seen the Father, and he that hath the Son hath the Father also, and holds fellowship with Him through the Spirit. The Gospel is the response to the prayer of the text. It answers the yearning of the soul. He that drinketh of this fountain shall never thirst again. We could not rise up to the Rock but the Rock has moved down to us, descending into the depths of human woe. While a shoreless and tempestuous sea surges between man and his Maker, while with all his craving to pass over this great deep he has no ship that will bear him across, no compass to point the course, and no chart by which to steer, there comes in the middle of the night a bright form walking calmly on the angry waves, stilling the tempest, and calling to the affrighted soul, “It is I, be not afraid.”

It is the Rock itself, the Rock not cold and hard

and high and inaccessible. It has a living face aglow with love. It has eyes beaming tenderness, it has ears which note the feeblest pulsations of my being, it has a mouth from which comes words of power, it has arms reaching down into the deepest mystery. It has a soft bosom on which the weary soul may rest. O the Rock is as sweet as it is firm and sure! I look into that face and it gives me peace. I behold those fatherly eyes and their recognition is the pledge of my sonship. I pour my wants and sorrows into His ears and I feel the throbs of infinite mercy. I hear His heavenly voice and I know that all is well. I reach out to grasp a hand from heaven, and lo! beneath me are the everlasting arms!

II. THE THIRD SUNDAY IN ADVENT.

Art Thou He that should come, or look we for another?—MATT. xi. 3.

The greatest of prophets stumbling over the object of His prophecy, the herald of the Messiah doubting the identity of His personality! Surely such an inquiry is at first glance calculated to stagger believers, though on the other hand this most extraordinary question has drawn various satisfactory solutions from expositors.

To some it simply indicates doubt whether the marvellous works of which John had heard in prison were wrought really by Jesus, or by some other one. Who is the person of whom he heard such wonderful accounts? This was actually the question in the public mind. Some: Elijah, possibly Jeremiah, or some other prophet risen from the dead. John learning in his dungeon of this diversity of judgment seeks to ascertain for himself whether it was *another* reformer or prophet that wrought these works, or whether really the Christ Himself on whom he had seen the Holy Ghost alight was stirring up the people? Then the answer returned would have been: It is Jesus Himself who is doing these things, not some other great one. Or, the inquiry was made by John in behalf of his own disciples. Strong in their attachment to their master, they were slow to become followers of Jesus. They showed jealousy over his popularity, party strife was brewing,

and they felt a growing prejudice against the *spirit* of Jesus, whose freedom and cheerfulness and fondness for social intercourse antagonized the ascetic rigor of their master. Thus while it was the specific aim of John to make followers for Jesus, his most loyal disciples were standing aloof from Him as if He were a competitor. Instead of joining the Bridegroom they hold on to His friend, and the disciples of him who was but the forerunner of Him that was to come, are forming a rival camp. John perceives the growing danger, and hearing of some great miracles of Jesus sends several of their number to the spot in order that by ocular proofs they may be convinced of His Messiahship and transfer their allegiance to Him. But Luke says: The disciples of John *showed him* all these things. From which we conclude that it was not the unbelief of his disciples, but his own wavering faith which prompted the inquiry of the text, and that our Lord's answer was directed to John and not intended primarily for the benefit of his disciples.

The interpretation most naturally drawn from the narrative is that the Baptist himself was really staggering, that sore doubts for the time overpowered the mind of one who was more than a prophet, that after all his revelations, experiences and attestations his faith suffered a temporary eclipse. Like Paul, who after preaching to others felt it possible to be a cast-away himself, the forerunner whose special mission it was to bear testimony to Christ and to prepare the way for Him, now that Christ has come and is rallying the multitude, is himself wavering in his faith.

The gloom of John's prison, the injustice and privations he was suffering, and the prospect of an early and violent death would naturally tend to work in a mind like his melancholy broodings, painful apprehensions and pessimistic doubts. So that he really fell into suspense concerning "the proper and full Messiahship of Jesus."

This is indeed somewhat astounding. We have seen John stand like a wall of adamant in the face of opposition. His courageous deliverances to Herod brought him into prison. Has *he* now become a reed shaken by the wind? He had with his own eyes seen the Spirit of God descending upon Jesus and abiding upon Him, he had with his own ears heard the voice of God from heaven, saying, This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. He had pointed Him out as the Lamb of God. Can it be that he distrusts his own eyes and ears? Oh the dreadful power of unbelief! Who is fortified against the assaults of temptation? The weakness of man, though advanced in grace, exposes him to doubt even under the most favorable circumstances. And the wiles of the devil are such as to make man not only disbelieve the word of God, but even to distrust his own senses. Is it really more unreasonable to doubt our own consciousness than to doubt the word of our Creator?

Look into God's word and into the mirror of human experience, and as astonishing as such a lesion of faith may appear, it is so far from being abnormal that it is actually to have been expected.

The sacred record contains a shining catalogue

of the *heroes of faith*, but it furnishes not a patriarch nor a prophet, nor apostle, in whom the light was not at times almost quenched. Abraham, the father of believers, gave way to unbelief; Moses, the most faithful servant of God, was overborne by the same weakness; David, the man after God's own heart, became a victim of his passions; Elijah yielded to despair and begged that his life might be taken. The same tragic experience runs through the New Testament. The Apostles were greater than John, yet each and all had their fierce temptations, their terrible conflicts with the powers of darkness, before and after Pentecost. Mary, the holy virgin mother, had a sword pierce her own heart, and found that the public excitement was unsettling her Son's mind. There is nothing impossible, incredible or unparalleled in this temporary obscuration of a believing consciousness. Why should John alone have been exempted from such a trial? Why should not he win a crown of life which is promised to all them that endure temptation? The Lord Himself was not exempted from this lot of His faithful followers. Even He had His forty days and forty nights of struggle in the desert, facing the interrogation, "If Thou be the Son of God." John's fit of despondency is not so extraordinary after all.

It will be interesting to inquire what was the ground or the occasion for these mental struggles? What offered Satan a handle by which to direct his assault on the forerunner? John had the strongest *proofs* of Jesus being the Messiah, and he bore clear and decided testimony to it, but this does not imply

that he had clear and full enlightenment as to the *nature and full scope* of the Messiah's reign. To proclaim *that* was not a part of his mission, and hence he had no revelation on that point. From his study of the Scriptures and from his education and public opinion in his day he doubtless had imbibed the idea of a powerful temporal monarchy. His views were indeed more spiritual than those of the Pharisees, and in his preaching he laid stress on the moral element in the kingdom, and the need of moral reformation as a preparation to its establishment, yet he labored undoubtedly under the misconception which fixed the eye on the aspects of majesty and power, judgment and glory in the Redeemer's Kingdom. At all events he could not reconcile the *methods* of Jesus with the picture which he had drawn for himself.

The Jewish mind at that time offers a remarkable example of a whole nation or church making a false interpretation of the Scriptures or laying such emphasis on one set of truths as to lose sight altogether of other truths.

The Messiah's reign was to be a *redemption* from the oppression of the conqueror, from the disorders under which the nation groaned; salvation for the righteous, destruction for the wicked. It was to be a *great* and dreadful day, a day that would burn as an oven. Who may abide the day of His coming? And all the proud and all that do wickedly shall be stubble, and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of hosts. It was to be to His enemies a day of God's vengeance, of *His terrible wrath*. John himself had

predicted: He shall baptize on the one hand with the Holy Ghost, but on the other hand with fire, and he had represented the Lord about to come as having an axe in His hand cutting away the very root of every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit and casting it into the fire—as standing with a fan on His threshing floor gathering His wheat into the garner but burning up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

The prophet Esaias and others had indeed foretold "He shall not strive nor cry; neither shall any man hear His voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall He not break nor quench the smoking flax till He send forth judgment unto victory." But the Jews had not apprehended those sweet and brighter passages concerning the gentleness, the lowliness, the grace and compassion which should mark Messiah's Kingdom. And while John had learned better the all-comprehensive character of that reign, he undoubtedly expected *judgment* as well as mercy to be exercised, the more awful and more glorious features, as well as the elements of mildness and tenderness and love. The ERROR of his mind was the confusion of the Second advent with the first, the failure to understand the perspective of prophecy, which embraces long intervening ages between the advent in the flesh, to heal and to teach, to suffer and to die, and the advent in glory, when He shall come a second time without sin unto salvation to judge the quick and the dead, and to put all His enemies under His feet.

John expected a sudden, glorious, overwhelming crisis, a crisis of judgment as well as of grace. How

different the issue! All things continue about as they were before. The Romans still defile the Holy City, Herod keeps on the throne, an adulteress shares, oppression is rife, iniquity abounds. The Pharisees still stalk in their hypocrisy and make their long prayers. His own activity is abruptly brought to a close. The prophet, if not stoned, is languishing in prison, and the supposed Messiah raises no hand for his deliverance. He is indeed working many and great miracles, but they are confined to healing diseases; to deeds of mercy, to the relief of individual misery or momentary want. There are no signs of a movement on a larger scale, no deeds of power with a national import. Only in a humble, unobtrusive way is Jesus gathering a company of followers, teaching them the rudiments of spiritual life and exemplifying the law of disinterested kindness.

Where is the other side, the judgment upon the wicked, the overthrow of unrighteousness, the righting of the wrongs of men? What can it mean? Instead of fire and storm, thunder and destruction, we hear nothing but the still small voice of grace and goodness. Power that could crush all unrighteousness is expended in healing sick bodies and comforting disturbed minds. This is the stumbling block! He has not surrendered to unbelief. He has not given up hope. He is not an apostate.

The very fact that he makes inquiry of Jesus himself concerning whom he doubts, shows after all a *belief* stronger than his unbelief, a faith prevailing over doubts.

The heavenly Father will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able. He sets bounds to the ordeal, and with the temptation He also and always makes a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it! There is relief for the troubled mind. There is a solvent for despondency. John's is a case of honest doubt, of real perplexity, of heartfelt fears. This does not lead him away from Jesus. Because of the things that stagger him, he does not cast away the things that comfort and sustain him. Because his mind encounters difficulties in connection with Christ, he does not turn his back on Christ. These very difficulties only deepen his interest in the Messiah, prompt him, as he cannot go himself, to send an embassy making further inquiry, and asking of him the solution of his trouble! The very nature of the question shows that he believes in Jesus, believes him to be the teacher of divine truth, from whom he begs the settlement of doubts. Paradoxical as it may appear the mission which exhibits his *want* of faith brings out strikingly the strength and tenacity of the Baptist's faith. He virtually says, I'm losing my faith, and, in the same breath, Behold my faith. It will not, it cannot let go of Thee. Only speak the word and my soul has peace. Jesus' own declaration will suffice. Art thou He, or look we for another?

He did not send in vain; no one ever made a fruitless application. No fear or doubt or sorrow carried to Jesus will fail of relief.

In that same hour, says Luke, He cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits; and

unto many that were blind He gave light. And then, fully sympathizing with the trial of His faithful servant, He kindly directs go and show John again, once more, those things which ye do *hear* and *see*. They could perhaps not at once gain an audience with Jesus. They had to stand off behind the crowd, where they might *hear* from others as well as *see* for themselves what was going on. They would hear the voice of gladness pouring out thanks for merciful relief and giving glory to God for the wonders wrought. They might hear also blessed sentences of the Gospel falling from the lips of Jesus himself. They would hear the multitude testifying to the resurrection of some that were dead, and with their own eyes they saw blind ones receiving their sight, the cripple leaping on sound limbs, the leper cleansed, and the deaf opening their ears at the voice of Jesus.

Thus they could return armed not with the testimony of their senses regarding the miracles of Christ, but with Christ's *own charge* to give this as His answer to John. The answer had a *yet wider scope*. This very message, while it clearly expressed what these messengers saw and heard, is at the same time the very language of the Scriptures, and therefore a reminder to the doubting Baptist that the solution for his difficulty was found in the prophecies. How readest thou? How couldst thou stumble at My course if thou hadst faithfully pondered the prophet who in speaking of My reign says: The eyes of the blind shall be opened and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped; then shall

the lame man leap as an hare, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing? Is. xxxv. 5, 6.

And finally He encourages his faith to firmness and fortitude. All things are not going as you had expected—as you wish them to go. My reign is unravelling very slowly; the wheels of the chariot are tarrying; the kingdom is not being restored at this time. It may be a FAR-OFF event; blest are those whose faith keeps them standing and watching and waiting. The day of the Lord is a thousand years. Blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in Me.

The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation. My reign is to be in individual hearts, to be established within men. The advent power of glory is yet to come. Divide your question, cut it in two. *I am He that was to come.* Search the Scriptures and you'll find My lineaments unmistakable. Prophecy and fulfilment unite in Me. *And you look for another.* Certainly another coming is in store, the counterpart of the first. The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God and that obey not the Gospel. He is at once the Lord *which is, which was, and which is to come.*

And what is this to us? How easily we can put ourselves in the Baptist's place, and out of the dungeon of our doubts exclaim: *Art thou He, et seq.?* Christianity has been on earth for nearly 2000 years. Its founder died for the sins of the world, and is possessed of all power in heaven and upon earth—and

yet 66 per cent. of the total population is heathen to-day, without God and without hope. "*Art thou He that cometh?*" And then consider what has transpired upon the planet since He set up His kingdom.

The fall of the Roman Empire, sinking under its own corruption and the waves of barbarism! The religion of the false prophet, spreading over the fairest Christian provinces of Asia, Africa and Europe and stifling and paralyzing the Church for more than 1000 years!

The monstrous imposture of the papacy placing its iron heel upon the body of Christ, and forging chains upon the hands and the feet of God's children! The Reign of Terror, the awful catastrophe of revolution in France, under the spirit of Atheism, and the deluge of blood which under Napoleon swept over a continent—and all this while Jesus was holding the sceptre! "*Art thou He that should come?*" Sad and staggering is the spectacle, and he who *reads* history superficially and riotlessly may easily lose his faith in Christianity. Yet he who *studies* history will find that down these centuries a stream of life has been pouring through the nations, purifying, healing, renewing and gladdening the race, a stream ever widening in its channel, ever increasing in its volume, so that while human wickedness and error continue to spread desolation and woe, the Gospel has turned the wilderness into spiritual gardens, and made the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose. It has freed the captive, it has rescued the oppressed, it has comforted the mourner, it has bound up the broken-hearted, it has

purified the home, it has spread a multitude of blessings in its pathway.

And with all this, whatever has opposed the progress of Christianity or stifled its beneficent influence was, we find, clearly foretold by the author of the Christianity, and by His apostles, who first preached it to the world. The wheat and the tares are to grow together. They are *growing* together. Think of the frightful atrocities in South Africa! Think of the unspeakable horrors witnessed in China! Think of the responsibility of so-called Christian nations for these monstrous crimes! Think of Christian Europe maintaining armies which aggregate 10,000,000, and grinding the people by intolerable burdens to build and maintain ships of war! Think of the colossal tide of sensuality, vice and crime sweeping over our land! And listen to the cries that come from the habitations of cruelty, suffering and woe! Stanley had hardly completed his volume on Darkest Africa, when it was followed by a volume on Darkest London, depicting conditions more revolting than those of the black continent, and if an author should dare to exhibit to public view Darkest New York, what a ghastly spectacle it would be. Think of the indescribable havoc in society made by the liquor traffic! Take in, if you can, the awful significance of a single issue of the daily press, or, for a specimen of the filth in which the world wallows, examine the contents of a Sunday sheet, and with triumphant iniquity grinning at you, with truth forever on the scaffold and wrong forever on the throne, the anguish of your soul must force from you the cry:

Art thou He that should come, or look we for another?

Yet over all this moral darkness there streams from the cross the light of the world, chasing before it the poisonous mists and miasms which nourish and promote human depravity, and he must be blind indeed who does not note the advance of moral development, the growth of righteousness and charity, the progress of religious thought and power among men. While the world itself may be growing no better, men and women in it certainly are, and the vital interest in religion and righteousness was never so profound and so marked as it is to-day. Christian charity was never so active, never so comprehensive and so pure-minded. Never before was so much done for the removal of poverty, for the relief of suffering, for the care of the friendless, for the strengthening of the weak, for the education of the ignorant. Never was there a more earnest purpose to right the wrongs of the injured; never was the bar of public opinion so merciless to private or to public immorality.

And if notwithstanding there is still many a stumbling block for our unsteady feet, turn to the good book and you will be amazed at its faithful forecast of the conflict the Gospel encounters in its march. And with the sure promise of another coming of our Lord in power and glory, it becomes us to judge nothing before the time, until the Lord's coming, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts.

Christ is the one that should come, and yet we look for another. And let this assure and comfort

every tried and tempted believer. What weakness, sinfulness, prejudice, uncharitableness; what pride, ambition, selfishness, what passion yet remains in each one of us! Who does not at times cry out: Art thou He that should come? And yet all is not vile. You have better impulses, loftier aspirations, a kinder disposition, more self-control, a tenderer conscience, and a more spiritual mind. You are making a good fight, and He who has begun a good work in you will certainly finish it unto the day of Jesus Christ.

The Scriptures show abundantly that it is by great tribulation that we enter the kingdom, that sanctification is a process long and slow, that it is by ceaseless watching and praying and self-denial that the new life is maintained.

Blessed is he who does not stagger at the slow unfolding of the kingdom within him or in the world. Blessed is he who so far from despairing over perplexing conditions, turns only the more to Jesus himself, and in childlike docility cast every problem and every mystery at his feet, confident that He who has come is the very one that cometh again, that the very thing which perplex and try His people now are but the signals of another coming, the port signals of another advent, not in weakness but in power and great glory. Not in some *future* world alone 'twill be.

Not in some *future* world alone 'twill be,
Beyond the grave, beyond the bounds of time;
But on the earth thy glory we shall see,
And share thy triumph, peaceful, pure, sublime.

III. THE MOTHER OF MY LORD.

Blessed art thou among women.—LUKE i. 42.

The poet speaks of the soul of good in things evil. With greater propriety may we speak of the heart of truth in forms of error. The most flagrant and pernicious error is often but a false garb thrown over truth, an exaggeration, a distortion of truth. And the surest method of exposing and dislodging false doctrine is to uncover the true doctrine of which it is a perversion, to understand the truth which lies at its root and to maintain the correct principle over against its corruption.

The exaltation of the Virgin Mary above all of her species was brought about naturally, gradually, with good intent and with a measure of consistency, in the early centuries of Christianity. The extraordinary glory which attached to her as the mother of our Lord, the terms of Scripture which made her the most blessed among women, the superlative purity of her heart and life, the gentleness, goodness, the grace and beauty incarnated in her personality, came in course of time to make her an object of devotion, of faith, until more worship and more prayers were addressed to the sin-born human mother than to her sinless and divine Son.

The history of ancient Christian art illustrates the progress made in the homage of many. At first the painter portrays simply the noble woman full of grace ;

gradually he represents the mother and the babe; later appears the Son on a throne and the mother crowned tho' sitting as yet below Him; still later the crowned mother is shown on a level with the Son; the next stage exhibits the mother on a throne above the Son, and, finally, the climax is reached. The eternal Son in wrath is about to destroy the earth, when the virgin mother interposes, pleads her maternal rights, and saves the world from His vengeance. Thus theology having in its endeavor to secure for Christ divine majesty, designated her as the Mother of God, proceeded by a false development to ascribe to her an immediate share, the chief share in the work of redemption, until she became the object of a scandalous and blasphemous idolatry. Her worship came in time to overshadow the worship of her Son; she was enthroned as the Queen of Heaven, adored as the hearer of prayer, virtually invested with supreme power in heaven and on earth.

From all this paganising of the Gospel, Protestantism recoils with horror, but such is naturally the force of the rebound that we strike another extreme, and withhold the meed of our reverence from her who according to the Scriptures is to be called blessed by all nations. As if Mary were responsible for these abominable idolatries, we seem to cherish harsh prejudice against her, to disparage her character, to overlook her resplendent office, and disdainfully to ignore what she was to God and what she was for us. Some people have well-nigh a feeling of aversion to the name; some would be ashamed to betray any special

reverence for the mother of their Lord. They would degrade rather than exalt her.

Says Robertson: "As the Romanist represents all connected with her as mysterious and immaculate, so is the Protestant disposed to vulgarize her to the level of the commonest humanity and exaggerated into rebukes the reverent expressions to her in which Jesus asserted His divine independence."

Between these two extremes is doubtless found the golden truth, and to the ascertainment and unfolding of this let us here give our attention.

In certain aspects the Mother of our Lord holds undoubtedly towards her species: 1. A position of superiority. In other aspects she holds undoubtedly: 2. A position of equality.

"Hail thou that art highly favored,
The Lord is with thee;
Blessed art thou among women!"

Such was the salutation of the Angel to Mary, and surely never before nor ever since was a mortal thus addressed, altho' angelical salutations came to Abraham, to Daniel, to Elizabeth, and to Zacharias. This language of Holy Scripture, we doubt not, finds its proper interpretation in the ascription to Mary of dignity and honor such as no other mortal has ever borne, such as none will ever bear again. She has a claim to the title: most Blessed. In what this exaltation consisted we may in a measure comprehend.

1. When the hour had come for the execution of God's eternal counsel of grace, when the stupendous mystery of the incarnation was to be enacted, when

a work greater than that of building and ruling worlds was to be brought to pass, the Virgin Mary was the elect instrument for its accomplishment. It may be assumed that this chosen vessel corresponded in a measure with the office she was to fill; while, on the one hand, her renown and distinction are justly associated with the glory of her mission, she must, on the other hand, have possessed personal elements of fitness for this transcendent office. With the dignity of her mission must be counseled the highest personal attributes. It verily looks as if the honor with which she was invested was held back, reserved for her, for one whose purity and piety, whose thoughtful, meditative, prayerful and believing soul qualified her beyond all others for the holiest and most mysterious union with God. Finding so fit an instrument, God Himself showed extraordinary regard for His lowly handmaiden. He vouchsafed an incomparable distinction to the Virgin. He made her the brightest star in the firmament. Of a truth could she sing as no other: "He that is mighty has done to me great things." In the superhuman work of redemption God drew her body, mind, and spirit into fellowship with Himself, overshadowed, took possession of her in such a way that she brought forth a child, and this child of hers was at the same time the Son of the Highest, meekly submitting herself to the divine will. The Holy Ghost, the life-giving creative power of God, came upon her and with a view to creating a new humanity the divine presence and power created in her womb a new man, the Second Adam, the infant God. In her heaven and

earth were united as nowhere else, the divine and the human met as they have met but once. A pure maiden was espoused unto God, in the holiest mystery of the incarnation. She was selected by divine love and divine wisdom for a distinction that has fallen to no other. She was raised to a pinnacle in which she has no fear, no rival. Within and through the blessed virgin God assumed human nature. Therefore, also, that holy thing which was born of her was "called the Son of God."

Surely in this mysterious, unfathomable, ineffable union with God Mary was highly favored, attained the highest eminence that can be reached on earth, and was the chosen of God to bring into the world the Savior promised long.

And this unique service to which she was chosen presents another aspect in which Mary has a glory above all other mortals.

2. She gave birth to the Savior of mankind. From her is the seed of the woman which shall crush the serpent's head. Prophecy foretold, a virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son. When the fullness of time was come God sent forth His Son, made of a woman. To her the human race is indebted for its Redeemer in as real a sense as this nation is indebted to Mary Washington for the father of his country. He is part of herself. All that is human in our Lord was derived from her substance, created from her nature. In her flesh, through her flesh, of her flesh, God sent His only begotten into the world to save sinners. She was His mother not in appearance or by semblance, but

she was to Him in absolute reality all that a mother can be to her offspring. Her blood flowed in His veins, her life nourished His life, with absolute truth as well as infinite tenderness, the divine Son could say to her, "My Mother."

"When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man:
Thou didst humble Thyself to be born of a Virgin."

That Mary was the subject through which this humbling of the Son of God took place entitles her to a singular distinction, and we say it reverently, we cannot doubt that our Lord Himself in His human make-up owed an inestimable debt to the elect mother through whom was mediated His incarnate existence and from whom He received all that is embraced in a mother's love. As His eyes first opened upon her dear face, so was their dying gaze fixed on her, while His blood was flowing for the world. Surely Mary is most blessed, because blessed is the first of her womb.

In the supreme hour for which the centuries had been waiting, in the focal point of the world's history, this virgin was chosen of God to act the mother's part, to fill the mother's office for a divine Redeemer.

He was born underneath her heart, He was fed from her life, He was folded in her arms, He was kissed by her lips, He was lulled to sleep by her voice, He was bathed by her hands, He was dandled on her knees, He lisped His prayers at her feet, He was nurtured and shielded by her, moulded and guided throughout childhood and youth, and not till He had lived in her presence and basked in her motional countenance for thirty years did He feel qualified to go

forth and enter upon the supreme task for which He had come into the world.

Aye, there is a most precious as well as a most profound meaning in the truth that our Lord was Mary's Son, that He was true man born of the Virgin Mary, as He was true God, begotten of the divine Spirit. When it is remembered what she was to her Son and what in Him she contributed to humanity, surely she can be awarded a meed of glory whose splendor dims every other earthly halo.

From still another point of view Mary is invested with a peculiar glory. She was exalted by God to be—

3. The ideal and type of Christian motherhood. The Roman and Greek Churches have emphasized the virginity of Mary. To magnify this they have invented the theory of her perpetual virginity. And the great system of monasticism, as well as the monstrous wrong of a celibate priesthood, seeks support from the virginity of Mary. But her motherhood is made far more conspicuous in the Scriptures than her virginity. Three times Mary is spoken of in the New Testament as a virgin, twenty-six times as a mother—a fact which points its own moral. That which transfigures Mary and entitles her to a blessed and resplendent distinction among all nations is the glory of motherhood.

It is not for us to say whether redemption was possible through any other expedient than that of the Savior being born of a woman. It is certainly conceivable that the incarnation might have been effected by creative fiat. The second Adam, like the first, might have appeared upon earth by direct creation,

without the intervention of a second cause, but infinite wisdom ordained that the incarnation should at the same time serve the purpose of exalting and glorifying motherhood. The word was made flesh through a mother. The Christ entered substantially our humanity by becoming the seed of the woman. The mother act, the mother ministry, shed lustre on Mary, a truth caught by the painters whose Madonnas are never without, always with, the Child.

She who shines brightest and highest in the splendid galaxy of woman, achieved her distinction not by a vow of perpetual virginity, not by declining the sacred office of parentage, not by denying her sex nor by exchanging it for man's sphere and aspiring to man's glory. Not by being false to her nature, but by being true to it; not by tearing away from her sphere, but by gratefully, contentedly accepting her God-given office: not by subverting the divine order of society, but by illustrating and magnifying it in bringing forth the Holy Child Jesus, has Mary become the most highly favored among women. Her glory was attained through her being herself—a lesson for her sex—never more needed than to-day. There is a glory of manhood and there is a glory of womanhood. One sex differs from the other sex in glory. The glory of each is of a different order, not only of a different degree. The glory of man is strength, courage, justice, sternness. The glory of woman is meekness, gentleness, purity and love, sympathy, long suffering; and it requires no extraordinary insight to see which outshines the other, that which is womanly,

or that which is manly, the feminine graces, the masculine virtues, the ministrations of Clara Barton or the work of a military conqueror, the love which by self-denial and sacrifice heals and saves, or the strength which wounds and slaughters. It is because Mary magnified the glory of what is womanly, it is because she wears the crown of motherhood, that she has a claim on the reverent contemplation of Christendom. She is to be venerated above others not as the Queen of Heaven, but as the Queen of home, not because she became deified, but because she was so perfectly humanized; not because of her own immaculate birth, but because she gave birth to Him who redeemed the world.

It is said to have been the ardent aspiration of every Jewish bride that she might bear the Messiah. While thus aspiring to the glory of the Messianic maternity these pious women testified to the glory of motherhood in general, for childlessness was abhorred by every Israelite wife as a peculiar calamity and disgrace.

Here, then, we have undoubtedly an expression of the divine will and order: that woman's highest glory is motherhood, that nothing raises her so near to the divine as to be a parent, to bring into existence and nurture immortals.

The humblest mother of a poor family, who, while cumbered with much serving, piously contemplates her offspring and tenderly, patiently, ministers not only food and material comfort, but instructs them and inspires in them hope and joy, transfiguring com-

mon things by self-forgetting love, what is lower and homely, by the spirit with which she attends to all, may experience hardship, servitude and sorrow, but she wields a dominion and she shares a glory and knows a joy that link her close with God. He that would be greatest among you let him be as one that serveth, and no other service, or ministry, reaches the height of maternal ministration, in the holding and moulding, guarding and guiding infant life. Woman must love, her God-given nature impels her to it, and what so fit an object of her sympathetic tenderness and self-sacrificing devotion as her own child!

Surely Christ's first public appearance, his consecration of marriage, his fixing the stamp of divine approval on this fundamental institution, must never be forgotten. Nothing is nearer heaven, nothing more pleasing to God, than this natural sphere of woman. Voluntary virginity is not to be condemned; it is nowhere condemned by the Scriptures; but motherhood is the supreme destiny of womanhood; it is the graduation of virginity. And Mary is greeted from heaven and honored in the creed not because she remained a virgin, but because she brought forth a Son. Jesus Christ our Lord, conceived by the Holy Ghost, was born of the Virgin Mary.

A most momentous truth shines out from these considerations, namely that the motherhood of Mary is typical of the place, the office, which woman bears in the salvation of the world. Motherhood is fundamental in human salvation. Mothers render the first and most effective and most abiding spiritual service.

Without mothers our preaching is vain. The work of the Gospel stops where woman declines her peculiar office.

Recognizing the uncommon glory with which Mary is invested, admitting even, as we do, that in her maternal office she was a connecting link between earth and heaven, yet we are constrained also to view her

II. ON A LEVEL WITH THE REST OF MANKIND.

Neither the President of the United States nor the King of Great Britain, lofty as is their position and great as is their power, are exempt from the common conditions, infirmities and needs of mankind. An elevation and purity of personal character ought to correspond with the height of official station, but in a fallen world, all flesh is heir to certain ills, and whatever honor and rank, whatever exalted office or service may have come to Mary, we have no warrant in Scriptures or in reason for making her an exception. If such were the case it could not have escaped the sacred writers. If Mary had been conceived and born immaculate how could the Apostles have failed to note a truth so remarkable? How could her own Son, the Light of the World, have maintained silence on a matter which casts superhuman glory on His mother? His own distinction from sinners, His exemption from every taint of depravity, is repeatedly noted by Himself and by His Apostles. He challenged His enemies to convict Him of sin, and the Epistle to the Hebrews declares Him "holy, harmless and separate

from sinners." But such testimony concerning His mother can neither be developed nor forced from the New Testament. It certainly never occurred to the first worshippers of her Son—the Magi—to divide His worship with her. The universal depravity of mankind is most attested by revelation. What is born of the flesh is flesh. We are all by nature the children of wrath. There is none that doeth good, no, not one. Mary must have been, therefore, born in sin. The dogma of Roman Catholicism, which holds to her immaculate conception, is derived not from revelation, nor from history nor from tradition, but from Pope Pius IX. It is a bold assertion of the Roman claim to decree doctrine independently of Scripture, of the principle that the Church is a source of doctrine. To overthrow this heresy we need no stronger weapons than were forged by Church Fathers whom Rome herself is wont to honor.

Several historic incidents reveal infirmities which would certainly not be expected in one untainted by original sin. When she lost her divine boy in the procession returning from Jerusalem, and when on finding Him she addressed Him with what sounds like a mild reproach, we can hardly associate such practical mistakes—whether of thoughtlessness or of anxiety—with absolute sinlessness. At Cana her conduct betrays perhaps maternal pride over the proposed exhibition of supernatural power, perhaps anxiety over material things and earthly comforts, and some detect "a tinge of impatience and a tone of rebuke in Jesus' reply." Again, when His brethren took alarm at the excitement

caused by the crowds surging around Him and went to draw Him into retirement, she may or she may not have shared their unkind suspicions. These three instances combine to show that she certainly had neither the faith nor the enlightenment required to comprehend Him. Evidently her own soul needed the washing which comes through the blood of her Son, and she obtained the white robe of the saints only by that efficacious medium. All were concluded under sin that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe. Christ is for her as for others, the door to glory—the only name given under heaven among men whereby they must be saved.

Already at Cana her Son signified to her that the filial relation was virtually dissolved, that no claim, no wish, no prayer of hers could be based upon her maternal status. And that He, after all, answered her request means necessarily no more than that He answers also our intercessions for one another. And Christ avails Himself very notably of another opportunity to declare once for all that *in the realm of grace* she was to Him no more than any other mortal who does the will of His Father. "Blessed is the womb that bore thee and the paps which thou hast sucked," shouted an enthusiastic woman. "But," was the reply, "Yea, rather blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it." Do we not in the Magnificat hear her spirit rejoicing in God her "Savior?"

She had grace no doubt above all others, but it was not inherent, but the grace which reflected from

the glory of her Son. A diadem may have encircled her brow, but she has cast it at the feet of her Son.

She stands on high not with God, but with the ransomed; not with the never-sinning, but with those who have washed their robes; not with the worshipped, but with the worshippers, nearest the throne, it may be, yet lowliest in her posture. The poet makes her sing

“Albeit in my flesh God sent His Son,
Albeit *over* Him my head is bowed
As others bow *before* Him, still my heart
Bows lower than their knees.”

Her glory in heaven is that of the redeemed sinner, not the mediator or intercessor; she swells, not divides, the song of Moses and the Lamb. She shines among the sanctified not in the glory which accrues to her from the unique honor she received from the Father, not because she brought forth the incarnate Son, not because she was the ideal mother, but because she was saved through grace. She believed on Him who loved and died for us all.

IV. THE NEW COVENANT.

For finding fault with them, etc.—HEB. viii. 8-11.

A covenant-keeping God is the splendid title with which God was honored by His ancient people. "He is God, the faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love Him and keep His commandments, to a thousand generations." He originates His covenants; of His own will He engages to bestow blessings; from pure love He contracts gracious relations with sinful men and binds Himself to confer on them extraordinary favors. And the word of God cannot be broken.

The first covenant we read of is that with Noah concerning the flood: "And thou shalt come into the ark; thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives, with thee." God kept His covenant.

Then follows the world covenant, in which after the flood God gave to creation a pledge of its preservation, covenanting with Noah and with his seed and with every living creature: in fact with the whole order of nature: "While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, day and night shall not cease." And this covenant He is keeping.

Soon thereafter the covenant of promise is established with Abraham, a covenant including the gift of a country, an innumerable posterity, and the divine

blessing to issue from that posterity to all races and all nations of the earth. And the course of history from that hour marks the fulfillment of this covenant.

Then, four hundred and thirty years after, came the great Sinaitic covenant, a system of ordinances, rites and precepts, the dispensation of the law, which had the two-fold purpose of giving efficacy to the patriarchal covenant of promise, and of typifying, foreshadowing and leading up to the inheritance of the new covenant, which is really the **everlasting covenant**, to which all others are subordinate and tributary, renewals, types and pledges of the fulfillment of the promises it contains. In the Mosaic covenant God made Israel His chosen and peculiar people; not indeed restricting to them His purposes of grace, but taking them into special relations that He might transmit through them His salvation to the world. In contrast with the heathen they were the covenant nation, they were a chosen generation.

They held this in course of time to be a fixed exclusive relation. The Mosaic covenant must be externally and universally binding, and while receiving the new dispensation, which by fulfilling its figures and types terminated the functions of the old, they were so infatuated with its ordinances and with their favored position under them, that they failed rightly to appreciate the gospel. Even after having tasted the heavenly gift, they continued under the spell of the ancient rites, and clove to the whole round of carnal ordinances which had been imposed for temporary and disciplinary purposes.

It was to break this spell that the Apostle wrote several of his epistles, showing that the new covenant was the preordained result of the old, prefigured and predicted by it, and that having served its purpose, having reached its goal in Jesus Christ, the old was destined to pass away.

The outpouring of the Holy Ghost, by which on the day of Pentecost the new covenant was inaugurated, was but a fulfillment of the promises under the old covenant. This, says Peter, is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh." And so in our text, to show the spiritual character of Messiah's kingdom, the Apostle cites the prediction of Jeremiah, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant," etc. The old covenant by its very arrangements confessed its inferior and faulty character, while its silent types as well as the lips of its teachers proclaimed a better covenant, a new and living way to God. Moses was the schoolmaster to Christ. His covenant was the husk holding the kernel, from which germ was developed salvation in Christ. The new covenant is in every way the legitimate successor of the old, its outcome, its fulfillment, its end, its crown.

The gospel in distinction from the old covenant has three characteristic features.

I. IT IS NEW.

It is not the old covenant modified, repaired, enlarged. It is a false view of Christianity to make it

an improved Judaism. The new covenant is not the same as the old. In contrast with that it is like a new garment, a new house, a new ship, a new institution, a new era. It is a new dispensation, specifically different in character and content from the old. The undoubted word of God declares that this covenant is "not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers." Christians are not Jews. Christ is not another Moses. His Church is a New Testament Church. After faith has come we are no longer under a schoolmaster. Having the antitype we drop the type, just as men put out the candle after the sun rises.

The old was a system of restraint, of legal impositions and prohibitions, of outward barriers and bonds, of servile fear and physical force—a yoke of bondage dooming the soul to an endless, hopeless struggle between the law in the members and the law written on tables of stone. The new covenant brings glad tidings, reveals divine love, fulfills ancient promises, offers forgiveness, creates a new heart, awakens the spirit of childhood, begets moral strength, makes man free, and fills him with joy and peace.

In the nature of things the new covenant takes the place of the old. The free act of God, promising through Jeremiah a new covenant, stamped the old as antiquated, as about to terminate.

We cannot emphasize this truth too much. The Church has suffered greatly from attempts to perpetuate a dispensation that has passed away, although some carried their opposition to the Old Testament too far. It must be admitted that it contained the germ of

Christianity; but we are no longer concerned with the germ since we have the fruit. The gospel unfolds, embodies and conveys the great truths and blessings which the Mosaic covenant typically represented. Its love had, indeed, a place in the old, and the law of the old has some place in the gospel; but this does not change the fact that the new is throughout original, distinct, unique, further removed from the old than the east is from the west.

Of not many things can it be said that they are new. There is very little originality. We borrow from Shakespeare, and Shakespeare owed a large debt to the past. There is no new thing under the sun, some one hath said. Ideas, institutions, inventions, bearing the stamp of novelty, are but the resurrections of what had long been buried; or they have been slowly evolved through successive forms and stages, making it difficult for one to tell what was the original form or stage.

But Christianity is original; it is a new thing on the earth. It establishes itself everywhere in the face of the sacred customs and opinions and maxims of antiquity. Jesus Christ, by His teachings and His life, gave a shock to saint and sage. He was a revolution. He was so far out of touch with the ideas of His time, so far in advance of His age and of all ages, that the wisest were incapable of comprehending Him, and He was supposed to be either demented or possessed. His conceptions of God and of man, of truth and of duty, of law and of liberty, of labor and of worship, of earth and of heaven, confounded the wis-

dom of Oriental and Greek philosophy, and were condemned as superlatively absurd. It was a new philosophy, a new religion, a new covenant.

Who had ever taught disinterested love, the self-expiation of deity for human sin, redemption by substitution, salvation as a free gift, with works as the result and not the condition, the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all men, the transformation of human nature, the forgiveness of injury, the resurrection of the body, and, most surprising of all, the conquest of the world by the cross, the sign of helplessness and ignominy?

By the reflex light of the gospel we may, indeed, find here and there traces, anticipations, or even prophecies of such things in the Old Testament, but they are dim and indistinct, and belong obviously to those things which the prophets vainly sought to understand. It is possible to find hints and presentiments of them even among lofty heathen minds, but their expression of such ideas is no proof of a consciousness of their import.

Christianity is something new, a leaven dropped into human thought, a column of light falling from another world, a remedial economy transcending the highest reaches of human thought and aspiration. It is not according to the covenant made with their fathers. It is something new, a force so original, so powerful, that it proposes in due time to make all things new: to produce not only a new spirit, a new life, a new man and a new song, but even a new heaven and a new earth.

II. IT IS INTERNAL AND SPIRITUAL.

"I will put My laws into their mind and write them in their hearts." Nothing of this kind appears in the old economy. The law was written on tables of stone. Every command, every impulse, came from without, and consisted in some outward arrangement or practice.

Nothing shows so well the contrast between the two covenants as their externality and internality, respectively.

In the one case an outward law, a material sanctuary, an endless routine of observances, the burning of incense, the slaughter of victims, the manipulation of blood, the consumption of sacrifices, "meats and drinks and divers washings and carnal ordinances," a system of rules, a wearisome round of regulations and mechanical performances, a yoke of legalism, which neither the fathers nor the children were able to bear. No one could approach God save through the service of a priest. No one could be a priest unless he had a particular lineage. No sacrifice could be offered except at the one local altar, and none could be accepted unless it was physically perfect.

In the other, no locality is prescribed, no routine observance, no regulations or precepts imposed from without. Everything centres in the heart. Every good is conditioned by the mind. Every interest is dominated by ethical considerations. An invisible throne of grace is accessible to all; an unseen High Priest stands at God's right hand; the sacrifices required are spiritual, and they may be laid on the altar

anywhere, for faith consecrates every place into a sanctuary.

Christ enters the spiritual domain of man. He touches the heart by grace and truth. He introduces at the centre of our being a new life-force, which acts upon the conscience, the emotions and the will. He creates a new life at the springs of action. He assures the sinner of forgiveness, and brings him into a life communion with God, exercised in a spiritual worship and evidenced in an ethical transformation. He deals not so much with outward conduct as with the inner mind from which it proceeds. He aims at the things which are unseen, while Moses dealt with the things which are seen.

The external and the visible still have their use. As long as man consists of soul and body mysteriously united, and our life is largely conditioned by the external world, the outward element remains an indispensable medium for the inward. The mystic Quaker advocates, indeed, a purely spiritual worship, going the length of omitting the sacraments and depreciating the written word, but the carrying out of his principles has demonstrated them to be quite too ethereal for our present composite existence.

But, while the spiritual requires as yet an outward embodiment, the new covenant is not content with the visible form. It holds on to the letter, for the spirit requires it as its vehicle and expression, but it lays the stress upon the spirit. It desires truth in the inward parts, which it is the office of the Holy Spirit to employ for our sanctification. It lays down no

rules and legalistic bonds which only provoke resistance, but aims for the inner life, the thoughts, the affections, the aspirations and the activities of our spiritual nature. Giving its attention primarily to these, and converting the body into the temple of the Holy Spirit, the fruits of the Spirit will most certainly appear, to wit, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, temperance, faith. And they will appear not as the result of mechanical effort, not from outward constraint, "not for the sake of winning heaven or of escaping hell," but from a vital force hidden within, from the impulse and constraint of love as the ruling principle. They are the spontaneous outflow of the heart, the product of the soul's free activity under grace. Truly, this is a better covenant. The thunders of Sinai cause men to fear and quake, but the spectacle of Calvary moves them to swift and loving obedience. It transfers the law to the tables of the heart, and there it enforces itself.

III. IT IS EFFICACIOUS.

It accomplishes what the law of Moses could not do in that it was weak. The old covenant was a failure. The very promise of another stamped it abortive. If that first one had been faultless, if it had effected salvation, there would have been no occasion for a second one. It was the capital defect which made another desirable and necessary.

"They continued not in My covenant," is the sad lament of Jehovah over its miscarriage: and "I also," He adds, "was not concerned for them." Scarcely had

it been promulgated when it was ruthlessly broken, and its subsequent history records only disobedience, provocation and revolt.

The confession of the inadequacy of the covenant runs throughout this epistle, serving as an argument to wean the Christian Jews from their infatuated adherence to a worn-out, antiquated, impotent system. "There is a disannulling of the commandment going before, for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof," vii. 18. It was only a shadow of good things to come, an unsubstantial, shadowy outline, devoid of power and life, only "a figure for the time present." It could "never with those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually make the comers thereunto perfect," x. 1. "It could not make him that did the service perfect as pertaining to the conscience," ix. 9. Hence the endless repetition, "every priest standing daily ministering, and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins," x. 11; "for where remission of sins is, there is no more offering for sin." As long as the offerings for sin are continued, it is self-evident that no remission has taken place. The conscience is not relieved. In those self-same sacrifices there is "a remembrance again made of sins every year," the terrible, ineffaceable record is called up afresh. "For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins," x. 4. And yet the removal of sin is the first requisite in the soul's redemption, for only the forgiven soul springs into newness of life.

The new covenant guarantees its efficacy by mak-

ing forgiveness the first and underlying basis of the whole economy: "For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more." Thus what the old covenant with all its rites and its shedding of blood struggled to obtain, is realized under the new covenant. What the ordinances of the old covenant represented, the sacraments of the new convey. The shadow turns to substance, the blood of dumb animals is replaced by richer blood than theirs. "Christ having come a high priest of good things to come by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, neither by the blood of goats and calves but by His own blood, He entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us." ix. 11, 12. *Once* He entered—a second offering would have been superfluous.

His sacrifice was efficient, for it was a spiritual, voluntary, moral act, not merely the ceremonial manipulation of blood drawn from slain victims. Of His own will, and from a deliberate self-sacrificing purpose, for the glory of His Father, for the redemption of man, He offered Himself, through His eternal spirit, unto God—and this free ethical act of His "purges your conscience from dead works to serve the living God," ix. 14. Spiritual forces are mightier than material forces. Christ's supreme surrender to the will of God, in our behalf, rent the vail of the most holy place. It opened for us a new and living way to God. It was an act of the highest love, and such a priestly act is efficacious not only for the pardon of our sins, but for genuine communion with God and for the birth

of a new heart of trusting obedience. The gospel is the power of God. It effects in the world what no human power, no combination of human powers, can effect. It is incomparably the mightiest force ever introduced into our world, and its results are the loftiest and greatest known to man.

The gospel breaks a sinner's heart, it gives balm to a sinner's conscience, it changes a sinner's nature, it purifies a sinner's life, it makes the drunkard sober, the dissolute chaste, the miser generous, the surly sweet, the rude soul refined. It changes malice into charity, pride into humility, envy into brotherly kindness. It turns sorrow into joy, and makes the desert bloom as the rose. Its march through the world is a pathway of light, and its transformation of society reveals a leavening power to which nothing short of omnipotence would be equal.

Thus the new covenant is life and power, for it is spiritual. It rests on spiritual conditions, an offering of the Mediator's own blood freely shed by His eternal will. And so it enters man's spiritual domain. It starts the vital energies within. It enspheres "truth" and love.

A few practical lessons:

We are not under Moses but under Christ, not under the law but under grace. Let us not imperil the sweet wine of the gospel by putting it into old bottles. Let us hold fast the spiritual and internal character of the covenant we are under. Let us seek holiness not by rules, bonds and commands, which sustain to us only an outward contact, whereas we need ever to be

quicken and nourish and fire at the heart, and if we open our souls to the Lord and Giver of life, we shall know what fullness there is of saving power.

Then, too, shall we see that grace is mightier than law, that its incitements infinitely transcend the constraints and the restraints of an outward authority. None live so correctly as those who follow virtue from the love of it, none are so strictly righteous as those whose righteousness springs from the love of it, none give so largely as those who are moved to give by the spontaneous action of love, and only those serve God truly who love and trust Him with all their heart.

V. THE PRESERVATION OF THE JEWS AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

[From Pulpit Treasury.]

For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place; . . . and who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this? Then Esther bade them return Mordecai this answer: Go, gather together all the Jews that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night or day; I also and my maidens will fast likewise, and so will I go in unto the king, which is not according to the law; and if I perish, I perish.—ESTHER iv. 14-16.

The condition of the captive Jews under the Persian monarchs was by no means oppressive. A strong sympathy obtained in fact between the two religions, since Magism, like Judaism, was violently set against all forms of idolatry. Repeated instances are given of special reverence for the God of Israel by the Persians, and an edict from the throne immediately upon the conquest of Babylon, gave liberty for the captives to return, authorized the rebuilding of the Holy City and made appropriations from the royal exchequer for the building of another temple.

So favorable was the lot of the exiles and so contented with their condition were most of them that but a small proportion of pious patriots—only some 50,000—embraced the privilege of returning to their sacred fatherland extended by Cyrus, the Persian king. Those who preferred to continue their residence in the

far East appear to have enjoyed considerable prosperity, and some of them, after the fashion of this people in their successive misfortunes, rose even to high distinction and power. Daniel, who had enjoyed exalted rank among the Babylonians, reached under the Persians the very first position of a subject, being preferred above all the presidents and princes. Others like Mordecai attained prominence at court, basking in royal favor and rendering important services to the government, while one of the women, having by her beauty captivated the great king, came to share the royal diadem, and the devotion of Queen Esther has secured for her the foremost place among the illustrious women of the world.

But while his race was held in considerable estimation and enjoyed a fair degree of worldly prosperity, one of the Jews, who evidently filled a post of honor, gave mortal offense to his superior who had just been promoted to a seat above all the princes, and by this wanton insult precipitated the whole nation to the verge of extermination. Haman, like Mordecai, was a foreigner, an Amalekite, a nation which of all others the Jews had abhorred from the time of their wanderings in the desert. And with heroic scorn Mordecai declined to render to this high representative of the crown the customary and extravagant honors demanded both by his dignity and by a special executive mandate. Stung to the quick by his daily experience of personal contempt, and writhing all the more because it proceeded from a Jew, Haman resolved upon a terrible revenge. His own people had ages

ago been extirpated by the sword of the Jews, and now personal resentment unites with the spirit of national hate in planning a frightful retribution. The extermination of his ancestry must be avenged by the utter extermination of the detested race through whom that had been effected. With one blow he will close forever the chapter of Israel's history! In an absolute despotism and with no one between him and the throne nothing stood in the way of his diabolical purpose. The king believes his lying accusation against the loyalty of this nation whose "laws are diverse from all people," and, persuaded of the danger of having such an element scattered over the provinces, gives plenipotentiary authority to his minister to carry out his awful deed of blood. "And there was written according to all that Haman had commanded, unto the king's lieutenants, and to the governors that were over every province, and to the rulers of every people of every province, according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language; in the name of King Ahasuerus was it written, and sealed with the king's ring." At the hand of couriers—and here is the first record of the postal service, an institution which civilization owes to Persia—the horrible decree was swiftly promulgated through all the king's provinces "TO DESTROY, TO KILL AND TO CAUSE TO PERISH, ALL JEWS, BOTH YOUNG AND OLD, LITTLE CHILDREN AND WOMEN, IN ONE DAY, and to take the spoil of them for a prey."

What a terrible fate overhangs this devoted people! And there appears to be no alternative. No

appeal, no refuge, no escape seems possible. The good offices of the queen might perchance intervene in behalf of her kindred. But was not she herself one of the doomed? And even apart from this, could she be expected to attempt interposition when instant death would in all probability be the penalty for such a venture? Or should she even be inspired with a courage to defy death, could any success be hoped for from an effort by one who was included in the impending massacre, and whose very opposition to the fatal decree would bear the impress of treason in a government whose laws were never changed or revoked? This, then, was the only visible possibility of securing deliverance, the last earthly resource, the frailest shadow of a hope, and to put any reliance upon this desperate venture must have seemed the madness of despair. And yet, though this forlorn hope should fail them, though the queen, quailing before the ordeal, should prove deaf to the piercing cry of her kindred, though nothing apparently remains for them but to await the tragic doom which was rapidly approaching, an indomitable faith sustains their leader. Deliverance must come from some quarter, is the sublime assurance of Mordecai. "For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time," is his message to the queen, "then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place."

The text presents for our consideration,

I. A FIRM CONVICTION IN AN OVERRULING PROVIDENCE.

The last visible hope of escape would in all prob-

ability vanish. There was no reasonable ground to expect any relief through the services of the queen. The unappalled confidence of Mordecai, to whom Esther stood endeared like his own daughter, it is evident, did not rest upon her possible interposition. She might hold her peace altogether. And yet the Jews will not be destroyed. Deliverance for them shall arise from another place. The great king has indeed issued the bloody decree, and under the principle of the Medo-Persian laws there can be no recall. And the fiend whose infernal hate had devised this plot will see to its execution. And if executed—it must wipe the Jews out of existence. There was probably not a Hebrew on earth outside the limits of the vast Persian dominions. And the decree for their destruction had been promulgated in every language of the one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, so that the massacre would be coextensive with the frontiers of the empire, and not a soul would be left to tell the tale of horror! But deliverance will come. Relief will arise at the extreme moment. Faith is imperturable.

But whence *can* it possibly come? From Babylon? It has never recovered its independence since the night of Belshazzar's feast. From Nineveh? The proud capital of the Assyrian had fallen before the united assaults of the Medes and Babylonians more than a century before, and was still prostrate. From Egypt? That great power had been annihilated by the Persian arms, and its very gods hewn to pieces by the sword of Cambyses. From Greece? Those petty republics had not yet attained sufficient importance to tempt the

eye of Persian conquest. From Rome? Will mighty Rome, by an army of invasion, avert the impending slaughter of the Jews? That great empire, which subsequently subdued every nation but the Persians, had as yet hardly a place on the map of the world. From whence then does this man expect deliverance?

Aye, there is an empire of yet vaster extent than the one embraced in one hundred and twenty-seven provinces. There is a Ruler of still mightier power than the great king who now held universal sway. There are laws even more unchangeable and inexorable than the laws of the Medes and Persians. An invisible hand wields the sceptre of the world, and the march of events is held under absolute control. There is one who is supreme over all potentates, King of kings and Lord of lords, and every moment on the stage of history must bend to His sovereign will. Human relief may fail the Jews. To all appearances the die is cast. They are defenceless, they are doomed. But the Jews will not perish! They are people of Jehovah. They are the chosen instruments of the world's salvation. They are the depositories of great and precious promises which have not been fulfilled. There had been revealed to their fathers the far-reaching purposes of God concerning Israel, and these have not yet been realized. The hopes of mankind are bound up with the Jews. And while they may be destined to endure great sufferings, inhuman and atrocious oppressions, it was as certain as God's throne that they could not be destroyed. DELIVERANCE WILL COME.

Deliverance did come. Mordecai's undaunted

and inextinguishable hope was not the chimera of superstition, not the wild dream of a deluded and disordered brain. The issue justified his perturbed conviction that the arm of Omnipotence would save his people from destruction. More than three thousand years of Jewish history have warranted the faith that they are under the protection of heaven. Century after century has witnessed the determination of kings and nations to blot out the hated race "whose laws are diverse from all people," but the stars in their courses have fought for Israel, and the waves of the sea have opened a path for their rescue. Even at that day Mordecai might look back upon a never-to-be-forgotten deliverance from a fate as imminent as the present one. Egypt, at the summit of its power, had put forth its bloody hand for the destruction of the Hebrews, but its mighty hosts were at last engulfed in the sea, while the song of Israel's triumph arose from the farther shore.

So at a later day the conquering Assyrian had crushed the kingdom of the Ten Tribes and the irresistible Babylonian had put an end to that of Judea, and had transported beyond the desert the bone and sinew of the nation, but at this very moment the walls of Jerusalem were rising from their ashes, and the temple of Jehovah was again lifting its towers over Mount Moriah, whereas Nineveh and Babylon were never to see a resurrection. And from that day till the present day what persistence and malignity have characterized the purpose of every great power in its turn to extirpate this unique nation. The Syrian

Antiochus, in the second century before Christ, plundered the city and sanctuary, defiled the altar, profaned the temple, committed the Scriptures to the flames, and by every imaginable species of oppression and torture sought to put an end to their nationality and religion.

Rome, with its colossal dominion and its valiant soldiery, Rome, that could conquer and conciliate to its rule almost every other people, was somehow never able to absorb or to assimilate the Jews, and failing in every effort to make of them loyal subjects, it resorted to almost incredible butcheries, turned Judea into a desert, established heathenism in Jerusalem, and prohibited the entrance of a Jew into the sacred city.

Even Mohammed, so closely allied to them by blood, raved against them with implacable hatred to the last moment of his life and dispossessed them of all their territory in Arabia. And as we come to the Middle Ages, with all their barbarism and monstrous cruelties, it is very evident that their savage thirst for blood was never so keen and so insatiable as when whetted by the remorseless purpose of eradicating what Constantine called "that most hateful of all people." Frightful persecutions were inflicted upon them by the Franks and Visigoths in the sixth and seventh centuries. During the ninth century the kings of France, "bishops, barons, and even the municipalities all joined in a carnival of persecution. From the eleventh to the fourteenth century their history is a succession of massacres." Their goods were seized, their treasures confiscated, again and again the whole

body was banished from the kingdom with all the accompaniments of horrible cruelties, and sometimes *in whole provinces every Jew was burned!* And what occurred in France was repeated in almost every city and principality of Germany. Even England, so vain to boast of its preservation of free institutions during that period, after persecuting, plundering, and by incredible brutalities maltreated for ages the detested people, finally under Edward I. drove them in a body from its shores, "pursued by the execrations of the rabble, and leaving in the hands of the king all their property and treasure."

And Spain—it makes one's blood curdle to read of the inhuman atrocities endured by this devoted race at the hands of the Spaniards. The culmination of their oppressions and robberies and murders and massacres, and of the fiendish work of the Inquisition, was at length reached in the horrible fate of their expulsion from the country, without being permitted to carry with them either their gold or their silver. About half a million of souls were thus ruthlessly driven out, with almost every land under heaven shut against them, with apparently no alternative before them but to plunge into the sea and disappear forever from history. Even the illumination and liberal spirit of the Reformation effected hardly any relaxation of the singular and universal hostility to this despised yet irrepressible nation. The Jews were driven from Bavaria in 1553, from Protestant Brandenburg in 1573. They were outlaws in England even in the days of the Com-

monwealth, they were expelled from Russia in 1743, and were prohibited from touching the soil of Lutheran Norway until the year of grace 1860!

And to this very day the spirit of murderous hate against them is so rampant in many parts of Europe that neither the civilization of the nineteenth century nor the vigilance of its most efficient police is able to restrain it. Yet the Jews have not been destroyed. They are still here, everywhere, the most homogeneous nationality, the most vigorous stock of the species. No weapon forged against them has prevailed. Mordecai was not a fool. His prophecy rested on enlightened conviction. He knew who was the God of Israel. He knew in whom he believed. He knew what hands hold the balance of power.

And his people, it ought to be further remarked, have not only survived all the bloody crusades and butcheries which infernal hate has organized against them, but even in their dispersions and oppressions, and while universally detested, they have asserted themselves, and have risen, like Joseph, and Daniel, and Mordecai himself, to the foremost positions of honor and influence and culture. Abundant illustrations of this meet us at the present day. A Rothschild awarded a seat with the proudest aristocracy on earth! A Disraeli, born a Jew, and by all accounts keeping to his ancestral faith in the dying hour, guiding for years the most colossal empire of Christendom! The bankers of Europe, without the opening of whose vaults no great power can decide upon a war! The trade of the world under their control! The press of

Germany and Austria almost exclusively in their hands! The judiciary of those countries largely held by Hebrew jurists! The proportion of Jewish students at the universities far exceeding that of either the Protestant or Catholic populations, while many of the most important professional chairs are occupied by the cultured representatives of this people. What a race! From Abraham to Jesus the Christ—from Jesus to Sir Moses Montefiore! Four thousand years have passed since their ancestor was selected as the founder of a nation to which were committed the oracles of God, and from whom salvation was to proceed for mankind—and though every powerful nation has by turns attempted to crush them, though they have for long ages been scattered and peeled, and trodden down and despised, and detested, and tortured, and massacred, they have proven the one indestructible race of the human family. Deliverance in the supreme moment has never failed to come.

“Show me a miracle!” said a scoffing Prussian king to one of his faithful chaplains. “Sire,” was the response, “will your majesty have the grace to send for your principal banker?”

Notice here also,

II. THE RECOGNITION OF HUMAN INSTRUMENTALITIES IN THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

That a supreme, all-wise and righteous government determines the course of all earthly events is the epic of history. That human destiny is fixed by an omnipotent will is the profoundest conviction of the

best minds of the world. But how is this effected? It may not be for us to know. And yet if the Sovereign Disposer of all things employs intermediate agencies in His government, it becomes our duty to recognize and contemplate their presence. Some appear to deny such secondary agencies. God governs by fiat, they say. He speaks and it is done, He commands and it stands fast. But the more we study the economy of Providence, the more evident it becomes that God employs means to work out His sovereign will, and that these means are visible. The devout eye can recognize them.

The great forces of nature undoubtedly continue in the employ of their Creator. He makes winds His angels and flames of fire His ministers and executioners ;

"Clouds arise and tempests blow
By order from His throne."

But the chosen agent of God's intervention in human affairs is man. His government of this world is not only of man and for man but emphatically by man. Whenever His interposition in a momentous crisis has been clearly discernible, the instrumentality of man could be just as clearly distinguished. And so when Mordecai, in the face of the horrible slaughter which was impending over his captive race, is perfectly secure of deliverance, he yet makes the memorable appeal to the queen: "Who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" Who knows but that you are the chosen instrumentality of our deliverance? Is not your sacred relation to the throne,

your supreme place in the heart of the king, itself the stroke of Providence by which the threatened destruction of your kindred is to be averted?

And it may be noted in passing that his conviction of certain deliverance did not make Mordecai personally indifferent to the employment of means to bring it about.

It is by man that God executes His purposes for man. By man He delivers man. Even in the case of our eternal redemption it behoved the Son of God to become a man in all things, sin excepted, that He might accomplish the salvation of man.

And besides cherishing an unalterable conviction that God reigns, it becomes a devout duty and an inspiring study to recognize the chosen instrumentalities through whom He reigns, to discern in the great revolutions of history the notable persons whom God signally brought to the kingdom for such a time—in each momentous epoch always the very man required by the occasion, the only one properly endowed and adequately equipped for the hour.

Let us look at but a few famous examples. Not going back to men into whose career it might be charged too much of the supernatural element entered to serve as illustrations of the general government of God, such as Noah, Moses, David, Elijah, Paul, we think of a Charlemagne coming to the kingdom just at a time when his coming was indispensable. When the barbarian hordes had overrun Europe and like a deluge swept away the very foundations of its ancient and rotten civilization, when the demons of social and

political chaos were everywhere holding their bloody sway, there arose a man endowed with almost super-human penetration, foresight and executive force, who like a giant established civil order, founded schools, erected churches and organized an empire which rescued Europe from Gothic and Vandal barbarism and became the bulwark of civilization for a thousand years.

Coming down seven centuries later to a period when the old systems were tottering, when a corrupt hierarchy had brought on the greatest crisis of modern history, when Europe was quivering in a universal ferment and the old institutions were everywhere passing away and new ones waiting to be created, a Luther was at hand to grasp the mighty forces, to impersonate the tremendous revolution and to control the introduction of a new era.

Coming nearer to our own times, when on the virgin soil of this continent there was to be founded a new empire embodying the wisest principles of civil government that had been wrung from the conflicts of ages, and establishing a home and a model of freedom for the world, a Washington stood ready to lead an army and a nation to the magnificent achievement. Charlemagne, Luther, Washington. Suppose the order of their appearance had been reversed, what a mess they would have made! Each came to the kingdom at the time for which he was uniquely fitted and qualified. And so it has been with thousands on a less conspicuous theatre. Whenever the clock has struck, the man for the hour has appeared upon the stage!

The text further emphasizes,

III. THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-SACRIFICE WHICH ENABLES MEN TO BE ACCEPTABLE INSTRUMENTS OF THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

In this awful crisis it was pretty clear to the mind of Mordecai that the one possibility of human help lay with the queen, that her place on the bosom of the king must at this supreme juncture afford her the opportunity of interposing for her people. Then, again, her own feelings must be such that the appeal from their distress becomes irresistible. And, doubtless, if the customs and privileges of the court had made this an ordinary office for her, if Persia had been the United States and the palace our own White House, she would quickly have fled with her remonstrance and prayer to the presence of the sovereign. But in an Eastern despotism such a course is not to be thought of. In Persia it involved almost certain death. "All the king's servants, and the people of the king's provinces do know, that whosoever, whether man or woman shall come unto the king in the inner court, who is not called, *there is one law of his to put him to death*, except such to whom the king shall hold out the golden sceptre, that he may live: but *I have not been called* to come in unto the king *these thirty days*." This indicates at what peril Esther would enter uncalled the royal presence.

This law was no dead letter—no extravagant oriental phraseology. Nor could she have the least ground for presuming upon any especial forbearance

or grace on the part of the monarch. Her own marriage with him was the result of his stern and remorseless disposition. A former queen, who had dared to oppose his wishes, he had driven out from his palace, though her remarkable charms had made her the pride and the joy of his heart.

This cruel, inexorable tyrant, who for thirty days had kept his queen from his presence, she was asked to approach, in defiance of sacred and inviolable usage, with intercessions for her doomed people, and that, too, in the face of a decree which by his authority had been already promulgated, and which no principle of Persian law would suffer to be revoked. To make the endeavor was to enter the jaws of death. And she would have been more than human had she not shrunk from the dreadful encounter. But the appeals of her dear kinsman, the gravity of the situation, the appalling calamity that was lowering, the convictions and hopes of her religion, all combined to bring her to the heroic decision. Fully sensible of the hazard assumed, and prepared for the issue, whatever it might be, she resolves, in language never to be forgotten, to make the venture: "*I will go in unto the king, which is not according to the law—and if I perish, I perish!*" Noble daring, majestic courage, sublime self-sacrifice! No need of marble or brass to enshrine for immortality this act of moral grandeur. For the relief of others she perilled her all. For the deliverance of her people she put at stake her exalted station, her diadem, her very life. And her name will never die.

It is self-devotion like this to the good of others,

self-forgotten services to our kind, a willingness to stand in the breach that others may escape, an unflinching readiness to brook danger, trial, loss, dishonor, death itself, in behalf of those whom it is possible for us to relieve, or to bless, that makes men heroes in the strife and furnishes the moral requisites for the amelioration of humanity.

But for this act of self-sacrifice there was to human reason no possible deliverance for Israel. But for the similar self-devotion of Moses, who chose to suffer affliction with his kindred rather than enjoy the treasures and pleasures of Egypt, the chosen people were destined to perish on the banks of the Nile. But for the crowning example of this principle upon Calvary there would have been no redemption from sin, no escape from the wrath to come. The Son of Man came to give Himself a ransom for us; He died, the just for the unjust, and became propitiation for the sins of the whole world. And by His own provision this principle of self-sacrifice was made the standard of discipleship for His followers: "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow Me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it." Without this principle no service for God or man has any intrinsic worth or any accredited marks of genuine beneficence. It is doubtful whether any progress, any social reform, any good work has ever been accomplished for mankind without the exercise of self-devotion. Certainly no state has ever risen to independence, no nation has ever

achieved glory, no people have ever been freed from bondage or from barbarism without the sacrifice of many for the good of others. No beneficent institutions are possible. no home can be founded, no family can live together, no children can be reared except by the law of self-sacrifice.

Its application is of universal force. Who would board a vessel to cross the deep, who would even trust to ride for an hour on the railway but for the confidence that those in charge will peril their own lives before they will suffer ours to be endangered? That virtue, then, of which the text furnishes such a thrilling and illustrious example, is what in other spheres and in an obscurer lot is constantly required of every one of us. That we ever find it in us to spare ourselves to secure first our own advantage and safety, only shows how we may become lost to the best instincts and noblest capacities of our being, as well as recreant to the clearest teachings of nature and revelation. O, if by grace we should rise from our self-seeking, and quench the supreme care for our happiness, what relief for our fellow-men and what improvements we might effect! What moral heroism we might achieve! What blessings we might diffuse! How sublime we could make our lives!

VI. THE REJECTED PHARISEE.

[From Homiletic Review.]

The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself: God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortionists, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess.—LUKE xviii. 11-12.

The various persons which figure in sacred history possess, as a rule, a typical interest. They personate respectively certain varieties of the species. The variety represented by the Pharisee is not extinct. The characteristics of that class were not merely an outgrowth of corrupt Judaism. Their appearance was not limited to the peculiar religious circumstances which attended the introduction of the Gospel. Pharisees flourish on Christian as well as on Jewish soil. Without being organized into a party or a sect they still abound, scattered among all sects. Their presence may be detected in every congregation. They sit disguised often as leading members; as of old they occupy chief seats in the synagogue.

It is unfortunate that this particular Pharisee, who went up into the temple to pray, has been much misunderstood and grossly misrepresented. According to a popular impression he was a base fellow, altogether devoid of principle; a vile, despicable, superlative wretch. Now there is nothing in the record to justify such estimate of the man before us. There is positively no reproach cast upon him. His conduct,

so far as it is outlined here, stands unaccused of any criminal actions, free from every serious irregularity. The facts as they appear make him

1. *A moral man*, according to a common acceptation of morality. He is chargeable with nothing criminal. He is guilty of no wrong. There is no evidence of any scandalous vice. His own portrait of himself as he stood praying, is accepted as faithful and correct. The man's naive claim to various virtues is not disputed. He is better than many others are. He is confessedly no "extortioner"—that is, according to the interpretation of the original word, he does not seek to possess himself of his neighbor's property by force. His hands are free from violence and blood. Nor is he unjust or unfair in his business relations. He has wronged no man, either by force or fraud. This is clearly the import of the first two terms. And he does not wallow in the filth of uncleanness. He is no adulterer. He is represented, likewise, as being

2. *A strictly pious man*. He is conscientiously attentive to all religious ordinances. He is a devout worshipper; stands reverently in the temple of God, engages in prayer, not only there, but, as we well know, on the corners of the streets and in the house of mourning for the solace of the widow. He makes thankful acknowledgment of the divine favor which has distinguished him above others, especially in religious character. He maintains, twice a week, a solemn and severe fast. He is shown to be eminently and systematically liberal, and, as we learn from the practices of

his sect, he is uncommonly scrupulous in keeping the Sabbath day.

In fact, church members possessed of the qualifications of this Pharisee are to-day held in very high esteem by pastors and congregations. They are in demand everywhere. A church made up of such people would rank as a model. Its Christian zeal and saintly piety would attract universal attention. God's favor is presumed to rest signally upon the organization. What solemnity reigns on the Sabbath! What devoutness marks their worship! How full their prayer-meetings, and what readiness on the part of every one to lead in public prayer! And what sums are given to the Lord! The tenth of everything! Apportionments are raised to the uttermost farthing: the pastor is promptly paid according to contract; no church debt is ever possible. Such a people are, indeed, exemplary—in their way. They may well thank God that they are not as other men are, either in the church or out of it.

What more could, in fact, be expected or required? How can a soul endowed with all these excellences be rejected and condemned by a merciful judge? Who can be saved, if that strict Pharisee was lost? Ay, there's the rub! That one possessed of these conspicuous moral and religious attributes was held up by our Lord and Savior as lacking the essential requisites of salvation, is enough to startle every one that has felt secure and sat at ease in Zion. If a vital defect somewhere vitiated and nullified this man's morality

and religion, it becomes a matter of intense practical interest to ascertain the nature of that defect; in other words, to examine into THE GROUNDS OF THE PHARISEE'S REJECTION.

We mention:

I. HIS SELF-SATISFACTION IN VIEW OF THE POSSESSION OF A FEW VIRTUES.

The man boasts that he is not a robber, not a cheat, not an adulterer. Of these offenses he is, happily, blameless; but is this the extent of the moral law, the sum total of human duty? Do three negative virtues comprise the entire range of obligation which is involved in man's relation to his fellow-man? Is every bond of humanity canceled, every debt discharged, when a man requires no police to keep him decent, no judge to make him honest, no jealous husband to protect females from his lust? Might he not pass muster on these points, and yet fail in a thousand others and be lacking every positive moral quality? There is no evidence that this Pharisee had the faintest vestige of benevolence, sympathy, generosity, or kindness in his breast. His heart was probably devoid of every tender feeling. He may have been supremely selfish, without one spark of human pity, without one thought of doing anything to ameliorate the lot of the unfortunate.

Correct behavior in some respects is no proof of a sound moral character; and morality is, at all events, not a matter of figures—three, seven, ten virtues! It is a state of mind, the exponent of a sound conscience

that seeks to observe every duty and to be faithful in every human relation. No robber, no rogue, no rake! How much, after all, does that say for an individual? What sort of a neighbor was he? What had he ever done for the poor, for the orphan, for the sufferer? Whose tear had he ever dried, whose wound had he bathed, whose burden had he borne? What sort of a husband, what kind of a father, was he? With his boasted virtues, he may have been a brute, with whom no wife could have lived; a monster of hatefulness and cruelty from whom children would flee in disgust and dismay. Strange as it may seem, the most horrible traits of depravity dwell often side by side with some shining virtues, and the most execrable specimens of the race have not been without redeeming qualities. To hope, therefore, that with a few virtues you may reach heavenly bliss beyond the deep waters of death, is to attempt, with a few fragile stones, to spring an arch across the vast abyss. If but one stone be wanting, this passage to eternal life is impossible. "For whosoever shall keep the whole law and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all."

II. HIS SELF-SATISFACTION IN VIEW OF HIS EXTERNAL RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES.

In that which constitutes the outward forms of piety the Pharisee doubtless excelled. He kept the Sabbath strictly, he was regular at divine worship, rigid in fasting, diligent in prayer, glowing with zeal, and giving a large proportion of his income to the

Church. If only God could be satisfied or duped with punctilious masquerading in religious service, this Pharisee must have drawn forth the smiling approval and fervid encomium of Heaven. But God is a Spirit. The worship which He requires, the only worship that is consonant with His nature and consistent with His will, is spiritual worship. He requires truth in **the** inward parts. The trick of drawing nigh unto **Him** with the mouth and honoring Him with the lips, while the heart is kept far removed from Him, was long ago exposed. God's abhorrence of this mummy has not been specially concealed. It argues, indeed, very poorly for human intelligence that any one should insult the divine perfections with such a parade of hypocrisy! There must be, in the nature of things, an outward form in our public worship, a **sensible** manifestation of spiritual states and exercises. **Out** of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. But the outward must be a faithful transcript of the inward. Otherwise the devotional act is a lie unto God, as glaring and wicked as the lie of Ananias and Sapphira. Speech and action must be true mirror of thought and affection. The lips and the life must be the correct expression and index of the heart.

The proper relation between the external and internal always forms an attractive study. Each has its place, and when they harmonize, when the former fitly corresponds with the latter, when the outer world reveals and embodies the inner and invisible spirit, the intrinsic worth and office of each are very striking.

But with what mockery that which is without sometimes attempts to disguise what is within.

What a difference, for instance, between outside finery and genuine refinement! How ludicrous and pitiable the efforts of a woman, arrayed in all the elegance and splendor of millinery art, to pass for a lady, as long as she lacks the elements of real gentility, polish and culture! To what purpose is all her parade of extrinsic ornamentation and style while she is inherently coarse and vulgar! Only stupid people are imposed on by such affectation of quality; only barbarians take tinsel and trumpery in exchange for commodities of real value. Enlightened and acute minds generally distinguish shadow from substance. And God is not mocked by the affectation of pious conduct. Men may be deceived, not God. He knows your hearts. True religion is in His light something more than easy observances and cheap formalities.

Sacred, appropriate and necessary as the ordinances of religion are as vehicles of spiritual exercises, they can never, before the eye of Omniscience, become a substitute for a broken heart and a contrite spirit. Not he that keeps the Sabbath, not he that goes to church, but the pure in heart, shall see God. Not he that gives, nor he that fasts, but he that loveth is born of God. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing."

Underneath this outward show of godliness there may have been a heart as destitute of love of God and man as an adamant, as black with malignity as the spirit of a fiend, as full of bitter envies as the breast of the first murderer who slew his brother "because his own works were evil and his brother's righteous." That commendable exterior, like a whited sepulchre, was but a covering for putrescent rottenness within, a beautiful screen for the foulest affections, the most odious thoughts, and the most wicked purposes. Pride and greed and selfishness, hatred and cruelty and spite, may have reveled in that soul like reptiles in a putrid pool.

Herein lay the overwhelming deficiency, the monstrous sin of the Pharisees. They gave supreme attention to externals. Having cleansed with great scrupulosity the outside of a bowl, they swallowed the filth of the contents without a qualm. "Ye also appear outwardly righteous unto men," said Jesus, "but within ye are are full of hypocrisy and iniquity." They were singularly absorbed in externality. Appearances were everything. They did their alms sounding a trumpet before them, that they might have glory of men. They offered their prayers in conspicuous places, that they might be seen of men. They performed their fasts disfiguring their faces, that they might appear unto men to fast, perverting thus the holiest rites of religion into instruments of low ambition and sordid self-interest.

And then, what is most astonishing of all, they depended on this horrible pervasion of sacred ordi-

nances for salvation. Because of these things they considered themselves, *par excellence*, the heirs of the kingdom of God. No wonder that these hypocrites evoked the fiercest denunciation of the world's Savior, that large portions of His discourses are occupied with the woes denounced upon them.

Let us beware that we do not fall into the same wretched system of externalism. We are as liable to this danger as were the Jews of old. We are given too much to parading our religious character. As some one has forcibly put it, "our religion is too much below the elbows." It consists mostly in outward activity and publicity. There is too great a disproportion between the closet and the platform. To be a regular church-goer, to pray in public, to be a habitual communicant, to give largely—are these not the things most emphasized in many pulpits to-day; and are not those who excel in these held up as pillars, and pointed to as blessed examples? Yet, almost every issue of the press contains disclosures of atrocious villainies perpetrated by persons whose outward devotedness to religion had won them universal confidence. Tithing mint and rue, they passed over judgment and the love of God.

"These ought ye to have done," says the Lord, "and not to leave the other undone." "Keep thy *heart* with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life." "The fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, goodness, gentleness, faith, meekness, temperance." "The greatest of these is charity." "The kingdom of God is *within* you."

III. HIS SELF-SATISFACTION IN VIEW OF HIS FAVORABLE COMPARISON WITH OTHERS.

After estimating himself from the standpoint of the moral law and by the standard of outward religious requirements, he next institutes a comparison between himself and other men, and comes to a very satisfactory and proud conclusion. He first tests himself by the conduct of men in general, and, enumerating extortioners, unjust and adulterers, the result is highly favorable. "Thank God, I am not one of the criminal class!" Finally, how striking the contrast between him and the publican, who followed an unpopular calling and who might be considered a prodigy of sin!

All this is quite natural. We are constitutionally disposed to be imitators. And in consequence of this, we are sure to draw comparisons between ourselves and others, and ascertain what degree of equality or of superiority obtains. And in this forensic process we always judge ourselves quite partially. For we see others' defects and faults much more easily than our own. Then, too, we are sure, like the Pharisee, to select for comparison some one of unsavory repute. He might have found for this purpose better specimens of society than swindlers, libertines, and publicans; but the result would not have been so agreeable. To have discovered that some men were better than himself would have been galling. He was not engaged just then in cultivating humility. He was no John Bradford, who, on seeing a man led to the gallows, exclaimed: "There goes John Bradford, but for the grace of God."

We generally adopt the Pharisee's method. We hold up to disparagement and condemnation some of the baser sort. How quickly and how gladly we perceive our superiority! We are not like them, thieves, swearers, drunkards, outcasts. How good we are, in comparison, thank Heaven! It does, somehow, not occur to us to compare ourselves with those whose temper and life are confessedly noble, lovely, and stainless. This betrays our insincerity, our disinclination to find a higher plane of living, our unwillingness to rise to a truly good and holy life. We are entirely satisfied with our pitiful attainments. The kind of comparisons we draw strengthens this satisfaction. We are good enough, better than many we know of.

Measuring ourselves by others, if honestly and fairly conducted, might not be altogether unprofitable; but there is only One whom we are warranted in making our model. Jesus Christ is the one touchstone by which men are either to rise or to fall. Only an absolute standard is of any worth in testing moral qualities; only the likeness which one bears to Christ is sure of the kingdom of heaven. Let a man bravely view himself in this mirror, and he will see another picture than that drawn by the Pharisee. He will fail to notice his superiority to others, even the worst of men. He will abhor the sight of himself, and will probably, like Paul, call himself the chief of sinners.

And only such a one has the promise of mercy. "I came not," said He who came to save, "to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance." As long as a soul is puffed up with spiritual self-assurance and

boasts even before God of its superior moral and religious excellence, it can have no part in the divine mercy. Let us be warned by this example to put no trust in ourselves, no confidence in our virtues, no faith in our outward religious exercises, no reliance on our supposed superiority. Not the Pharisee, but the publican, points us to the way of life, and that more pleasing subject we hope to consider at an early day.

VII. THE ACCEPTED PUBLICAN, A MODEL CASE OF REPENTANCE.

[From Homiletic Review.]

And the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner. I tell you, this man went down to his house justified.—LUKE xviii. 13-14.

The publican represents the lower classes. I use the term "lower" in its moral significance. High and low are strangely intermixed in the strata of human society. Some who stand high in the world are exceedingly low and degraded in the moral scale. This publican may have been rich like Zaccheus, who belonged to the same caste; but wealth was not a passport to good society among the Jews. To see these specimens of abandoned character enter into the kingdom of God was a terrible shock to the righteous feelings of the Pharisees. In this they had evidence enough that the Rabbi from Nazareth was not the Messiah. The company of these social outcasts was all-sufficient to invalidate every claim to be put forward to a divine commission. To receive sinners and to eat with them, this was horrible in one who professed to fulfill all the law and the prophets.

Well, this central truth of the Gospel is hard to understand—for the natural man, and these Pharisees had been especially blinded by their own perversions and falsifications of revealed truth.

The fact that the publican, when he cried for mercy, was accepted, must not be construed as implying any extenuation of his wicked courses. This parable puts no premium on sin. The man was, indeed, not justified because his life had been any better than that of the Pharisee. It had, in all probability, been much worse. The real, vital and ultimate distinction between the two men did not arise from the essential moral dissimilarity between their characters. There was, doubtless, more for God to approve in the past life of the Pharisee than in that of the publican. The real contrast lay in their present attitude, as they stood before the altar of the Holy and Omniscient One, and it admits of a familiar illustration. Of two men, both affected with with a dangerous malady, the one obtains relief, the other does not. In the case of the former, the disease develops very alarming symptoms. The victim realizes his great danger. He feels the urgent need of a physician. He avails himself of the proper remedies, and thereby succeeds in the recovery of his health. The latter, though a prey to the same terrible disorder, does not become aware of his diseased condition. He makes light of any mild symptoms that reveal themselves. He feels strong, well and hardy. No medicine for *him*. No physician with his Gilead balm. Though his friends clearly discern the wasting progress of the inward malady, he persuades himself that all is well, he has need of nothing. He attends to his daily avocation with a vigor that indicates perfect health and soundness, and knows not that he is wretched and miserable. While he dreams of health,

the fatal malady is slowly consuming him. Apparently in a far better condition than the other, his surface symptoms deceive him, and he dies a victim to the horrible disease, from which the other, though almost in the jaws of death, was rescued by a never-failing remedy. The one who seemingly suffered the lighter attack perishes, the one whose case was most critical escapes. The one accepted the aid of a physician, the other spurned it.

In this relation to God the primary and fundamental distinction between men rests not in the varying extent of their sinfulness, or in the relative grade of their moral obliquity; but a dividing line is drawn by *the self-consciousness of their sins and the desire to be freed from them*. Here alone can parallels be run which are recognized by God. Not more or fewer sins make any difference as to our acceptance, but the presence or the absence of the desire to be pardoned and cleansed from all sin.

Hence the publican presents to us

A MODEL CASE OF SAVING REPENTANCE.

I. IN HIS CONVICTION OF SIN.

He has come to the true knowledge of himself, making the discovery that he is a sinner. Like the Prodigal, "he has come to himself." He has gained a proper estimate of his condition. He views his moral state in its true light. A consciousness of guilt burns within the soul. His heart is not right toward God.

This self-knowledge is the starting-point for all true religion. A man must know the truth concerning

himself, must realize his alienation from God, his spiritual poverty, the enmity of his heart to the fountain of all good. Illumination is the first stage in conversion when the light of divine truth reveals to the sinner his moral nakedness, the great length to which he has wandered away from his heavenly Father, and the dire wretchedness in which he is involved by his violation of divine law, the dawn of a new life begins to glow in his breast. The voice of God is becoming effectual within him.

But do not all men, especially under the general diffusion of the light of the Gospel, have this conviction of sin? With conscience witnessing against him continually, with all the teaching, writing and preaching that is done in the Christian world, surely every one knows that his life is not what it ought to be, that he is guilty of sin, and that his sinful condition cannot have the smile of God. Yet the Pharisee who stood in view of the publican felt nothing of his sins. In his prayer it never occurs to him to ask forgiveness. The young man who came to the Master asking what he should do to inherit eternal life, had no sense of guilt, for when referred to the Commandments, he replied, "All these have I kept from my youth up." He never, in his estimation, was guilty of a single transgression. Even when the more intense light of the Gospel begins to penetrate the minds of men, they can draw down the blinds, close the shutters and darken the room, until, after all, nothing is clearly distinguished. Loving darkness rather than light, they keep out the unwelcome rays of truth, they shut themselves up in the

darkness of their own understanding, they try not to believe the terrible facts of their spiritual ruin and strenuously resist the truth until they succeed in eluding its piercing power. The light shineth in the darkness, but the darkness comprehendeth it not. "Ye do always resist the Holy Ghost," said the martyr Stephen to the stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears. Hence, blindness happens unto them, and in their self-chosen ignorance they stagger on to irremediable ruin.

It was otherwise with the publican. A conviction had been wrought in him that all was not well, that all was not right between him and his God. The sacred bond was broken. His soul could have no peace. He saw, he knew, he felt, that he was a sinner. He may not have known the magnitude of his sins, the awful depths into which he had fallen, or the terrible heinousness of an ungodly life. He probably understood but little of the philosophy of the theology of sin, of its classification into original and actual, venial and mortal, omission and commission. He simply realized that he was lacking true righteousness, that he had been disobedient to his Maker, a transgressor, an offender against a holy God, and that he now stood condemned before the Supreme Judge of all the earth.

II. IN HIS CONFESSION OF SIN.

It is remarkable that, even when men come to recognize their sins, they find it exceedingly difficult to confess them. They hedge about it and avoid it as long as possible. They invent some soothing pallia-

tions or specious excuse which put a somewhat altered aspect upon their conduct, and place it in a false light. They have great fertility of apologies, comforting defences, and crafty evasions by which, after all, their sins do not look so exceedingly sinful.

Let us notice a few of the shifting attempts by which men seek to cover up the iniquities of which they know themselves to be guilty, and by which they endeavor to shield themselves from the penalties due to those who are really and undeniably wicked.

Some take refuge in the thought (*a*) that they were born in sin. They cannot help their evil dispositions and sinful propensities. The wrong they are doing grows out of their nature. They do not consider themselves responsible for being what they are.

With shocking blasphemy Burns could sing :

"Thou knowest that Thou hast formed me
With passions wild and strong,
And listening to their witching voice
Has often led me wrong."

They are sinners, no doubt, but the fault is God's, not theirs!

(*b*) Or they ascribe the blame of their evil-doings entirely to the subtle power of temptation, to the wily seductions of the devil. "The serpent beguiled me," was the excuse of the first sinner. And one would think to hear the plea set up by sinners ever since that this excuse was accepted as altogether sufficient. If angels fell under the crafty assaults of Satan, if Adam and Eve, in their estate of innocence and with their

blessed surroundings, yielded to his arts, am I to be condemned for going astray?

(c) Others, again, lay the blame entirely upon their fellow-men. "The woman that thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree and I did eat." Had I been left to myself, had my own inclinations been followed, this would not have happened. The fault is not mine. I don't admit any guilt in this transaction. What parent or teacher has not discovered, in punishing a disobedient boy, that he is uniformly punishing the wrong one? It was always the other boy who brought about the evil act. Had it not been for him, the victim of your rod would have kept perfectly clear from the evil course of which he is accused. He is a good boy, always was and means to be, but what is one to do when these bad boys, with their corrupting influences, surround you?

If men could only be freed from their peculiar surroundings, if their bringing up had been different, if they were in some other business, or in a different locality, they would not violate the principles of truth and righteousness. They would strictly conform their conduct to the requirements of Christian character.

I have heard men, who held high places in a Christian congregation, justify their business obliquities by the claim that it was impossible these days to carry on business on the basis of the Decalogue. So many sharpers and rascals were engaged in trade all around, that, unless one would resort to practices of a somewhat dubious character, he must abandon business

altogether. These other bad men make dishonesty a necessity to us who are at heart honest and truthful!

No doubt, had the publican, as he humbly made his confession, been so disposed, a similar excuse would readily have occurred to him, for he had been employed in an infamous business. The disgrace which publicly attached to it, and the strong temptations that beset the revenue service among the Jews, must have made it extremely hard for a man to keep his conscience undefiled. Had the publican only thought of all this he might have calmly raised his innocent eyes and saved his innocent bosom from the self-inflicted blows of his inexorable remorse.

(*d*) Another expedient, to which the stings of conscience often drive men, is the claim that their evil-doing is not deliberate. They cannot be charged with intentional offending. They are, it is true, sometimes overtaken in a fault, but their offences are involuntary. If men could only see their good intentions, they would surely justify them. When Saul disobeyed the Lord in the case of the Amalekites, it was solely, he claimed, with a view of rendering a better service to God. He spared the best of the sheep and oxen and of the fatlings that he might offer a monumental sacrifice to Jehovah. His course may not have been just the proper thing, but he was actuated with the best intentions.

(*e*) When all other excuses prove unavailing, there is generally still this comfort left to a man—that he is no worse than many others. I may be guilty, but

look at Brown and Jones and a host of others. The publican felt, probably, a special provocation to offer this very plea, when he overheard the Pharisee contrasting himself with him. How naturally he might have retorted, Sinner that I am, I am no worse than a Pharisee! I am, at all events, no hypocrite. But the Spirit working within him would none of this. He was not there to practice any jugglery of self-delusions, or to mock God with any whitewashing explanations. He stood there to confess his sins, not to deny them. No apology whatever is put forward. Perfectly ingenuous, without one word of extenuation or defence, his confession comes up like water gushing from an irrepressible spring. Ashamed to turn his guilty eyes to the face of Him against whom he had so grievously offended, and smiting on his tumultuous and heaving breast, he humbly prays, God be merciful to me a sinner.

Oh! that men might learn from this model the grace and duty of confessing. How many deceive themselves, and the truth is, accordingly, not in them, by affecting good intentions, or other palliating defences, hoping thereby to cover up the naked enormity of their sins, denying essentially that they are sinners, quenching thereby the accusations of conscience, and forfeiting that mercy which alone saves from sin through atonement and forgiveness. Oh, how vain, how abortive such excuses for evil conduct! And yet, was there ever a sin so flagrant and crimson that men could not devise some defense or justification for it?

III. IN HIS IMMEDIATE APPLICATION TO GOD FOR
MERCY.

He does not have recourse first to a priest, although the priests were at that time still performing their functions at the temple. Nor does he go to a prophet, a religious teacher, or a pastor, and ask one of these for assistance in effecting his reconciliation with God, but he proceeds at once and directly to God, and without any intervention or help from others he cries for mercy. This course is not natural with the penitent. Sin has so dazed the mind that men not only deceive themselves as to their condition and shrink from confessing it when it has been discovered to them, but even, when they are brought to a confession, they are so bewildered that they will apply for relief everywhere else rather than with the sole fountain of mercy. They feel constrained to have the services of others in order to get their case before God. In place of approaching the mercy seat themselves, some one else is expected in the first instance to act for them with God. He is the Holy One. How can I, who am so unclean, enter into His presence? He is the righteous, dreadful Judge, and I am the offender. Yea, it is against the Judge that my offences have been committed. He is the Mighty One, I but a worm. To go alone, and without some one to interpose and intercede in my behalf, is to be crushed under His foot.

It seems to be our very nature, since our alienation from God, to hide ourselves from Him, like Adam in the terror that succeeded the Fall, as though our sins had made His presence intolerable. When the burden

of guilt becomes unbearable, and man is driven by the anguish of conscience to seek mercy, he flies to the priest, in heathenism: to the Confessional, the Virgin, the Saints, if he has had his training in Romanism. Even something additional to personal assistance must be interposed between the contrite sinner and the awful God for whose favor he is striving. This is the import of the sacrificial altars, which in all ages have sent the smoke of their sin-offerings to heaven. Hence the pilgrimages, the crusades, the monastic extravagances of the Middle Ages. Hence the horrid self-mortifications of men struggling to obtain salvation. Oh what interesting and tragic scenes come into view as we recall those dark ages, when penitents hoped, by pains and tears and blood, by hunger and cold and torture, to accomplish something that would be so meritorious with God as to move Him to mercy!

Immediate approach to Him? Why, such effrontery would be smitten in the very act with the divine curse.

The paramount work of the Reformation was to bring sinners again into immediate access to God, to teach them that just as they are they can approach Him without one plea, without either saint or priest as a go-between, without merit, or work, or anything that could possibly present as an intervening object between us and God. His love in Christ Jesus, who came into the world to save sinners, has brought Him so near to every sinner, that whosoever will may come to the fountain and drink of the water of life freely.

And yet men are evermore inclined to imagine

that the moral distance between them and God must be struggled over somehow by themselves, that there is something which others can effect for them, so as to make their search for grace effectual, or something which they can themselves render, be it bitter sorrow or tears, or some act or work that will please God, and thus procure mercy. They want to take their place in a certain locality, kneel at a particular bench, rise in meeting to ask for prayers, enter the inquiry-room, or, at all events, see the minister and submit to instruction. Thousands resort to a course like this, because of their faith in these agencies to help them to God. Something must needs be done, they reason; and as a step like this is commonly taken, I will try it, hoping that it will avail me. Each of these acts may serve a good purpose to those who use them intelligently, who recognize in themselves some embarrassment or difficulty which they wish to have removed. A man under conviction is liable to be very much bewildered, to get into his head very foolish and erroneous notions, which an enlightened minister will correct, or from instructions in the inquiry-room he may derive great encouragement; but all these avail nothing to procure our pardon. There is nothing in these to render us in any way acceptable. As long as the soul does not go directly to God, and, without any plea whatever, supplicate infinite mercy through the blood of Christ, the expedients of anxious-bench, inquiry-room, pastoral conference, will not effect one iota of relief. On the other hand, whenever the sinner follows the publican, taking his suit directly to God,

looking immediately to Him and to Him alone for salvation, all such supposed aids become utterly superfluous.

Oh, if men would only believe it, salvation is of the Lord. He receiveth sinners, not after they have changed, but just as they are. His blood cleanseth us from sin. Not our feelings, our tears, our wrestlings, or our "coming out on the Lord's side" in any form devised by man. We do not read that the Publican's prayer was accompanied by any of these accessories. He solely and simply cried, "God be merciful to me a sinner." Till you do this, my hearer, you are not saved. When you do it sincerely salvation is yours.

IV. IN HIS INSTANTANEOUS DELIVERANCE FROM SIN.

How soon the prayer was answered! How quickly the sinner saved! There is nothing here of a long penitential conflict, of weary days and nights of weeping and wailing for God. It took but an instant to grant this humble sinner mercy. Immediately upon his confession and his prayer he was justified. "If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Here we have the living confirmation of this promise. We read in the Scriptures of many who were crushed by their sins and who sought for mercy. Yet of no one is it unmistakably declared that God accepted him. This man was justified, said He who knows what transpires in Heaven and on earth, and who is Himself the One Savior of sinners—justified the moment he asked for mercy. It does not take God a long period to

conclude upon the sinner's pardon. He is waiting to be gracious. He is a very present Savior, and often men have felt that even before they called He answered. Look at the rapid transition from death to life in the case of the jailer at Philippi, the thief on the cross, and Saul of Tarsus.

The publican, who went to the temple to pray, went down to his house justified, saved. He had, while praying, a new birth into the divine kingdom, and was made a child of God through the faith that plead for mercy. There was no longer any condemnation resting upon him, the sword of justice was withdrawn; his sins, though they had been as scarlet, were whiter than snow. From the moment he called unto God he was absolved from all guilt and washed from every stain; his name was written in the Lamb's Book of Life and he was numbered with the heirs of glory and became a fellow-citizen with the saints.

It is clear, from this parable, on what score sinners can come acceptably before God. To come as the Pharisee did is to court rejection, for it puts contempt upon the divine mercy and all the gracious provisions devised from eternity for our salvation. On the other hand, to approach God as the Publican did, to return, as the Prodigal, with the confession, "I have sinned," is to fall into the saving arms of Omnipotence, stretched out from heaven for our rescue. God grant unto you all grace to offer this effectual prayer. May you be blessed with a true knowledge of your sinful and guilty condition. Let your mind be open to every ray of light, however painful and humbling its dis-

closures. May you have grace to make an open, honest and hearty confession, casting aside every subterfuge and lying artifice devised to secure exemption from a full, humiliating acknowledgment of your personal guilt. And then, O fly with your confession and prayer to the footstool of Him who alone can forgive sins upon earth, and your heart will be made to rejoice over the promptness and freeness and fullness of a Heavenly Father's pardon.

VIII. SAVED FROM ETERNITY.

[From Homiletic Review.]

Who has saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began.—2 TIM. i. 9.

We are told that the Chinese have no conception of disinterestedness. The ample vocabulary of the classics has no word for love. Heathenism knows nothing of a Savior. Man-made religions never rise to the thought of redemption. They offer no salvation. They know nought of a Divine sympathy or a gracious interposition from on high. They leave man to save himself—if he can.

Here is the broad, deep, impassable chasm between Christianity and all other religions. With all his devotion, prayers, sacrifices, and self-immolations, the heathen is but striving to save himself, to propitiate the deity, to compensate for wrongdoing. The theme of the Gospel is a Savior, salvation through another. Its essence is the forgiveness of sins. This makes the Gospel the Gospel; and this beyond all comparison distinguishes it from every other religious system. Vain is the search through all the literature of the world for a parallel to the announcement that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.

Here, too, is the touchstone by which the genuineness and soundness of the various types of Christianity may be tested. So far as men ascribe salvation

wholly to the grace of God they have the pure Gospel; so far as they admit any saving efficaciousness in human effort, works, or merits, they corrupt the true faith, they approximate heathenism. When a system, while not denying grace, adds works in order to secure salvation, or allows anything meritorious in human striving after forgiveness, it makes man, at least in part, his own savior. Salvation is the work of God alone, though, of course, it is wrought in and through man and not outside of his own mind; and in order to cut off by the roots all claims upon man's part, God's act of salvation is placed back in eternity. It was accomplished before any works or endeavors of man were possible. Our salvation was a fact in the bosom of God before we were born, it was "given us in Christ Jesus before the world began."

In the text he teaches us three precious and most consoling truths:

- I. The provision of salvation in eternity.
- II. Its manifestation in Christ.
- III. Its offer in the Gospel call.

I. In the experience of salvation we are prone to think of God as the counterpart of man. Man has sinned, God is offended. Man's sin and God's wrath are correlative; and as man is born a sinner, the fire of God's wrath is viewed as burning against him from the moment of his birth. While unrenewed he hates God, and God hates him; and now if man will turn, will repent, will be converted, then God will be reconciled and forgive him. So far as the mission of Christ

enters into the matter that was designed to save us from the wrath of God, to move an angry Father to love and pity. This is a common, a superficial, and a very unscriptural way of looking at the subject, and it contradicts Paul outright. Before the Son became flesh, before the tragedy on Golgotha, before one drop of expiatory blood was shed, or one word of mediatorial intercession went up in the sinner's behalf—away back in the counsels of eternity, before ever the foundations of the earth were laid, before a single star was planted in the firmament, the decree of forgiveness was emblazoned on the canopy of the eternal throne. Your name was engraved on the palms of God's hands, the image of your soul was embalmed in His heart, your salvation was guaranteed in Christ Jesus before the morning of creation dawned. And in the lapse of eternal ages, and with the prospect of your sinful and wayward life before Him, God has never looked upon you otherwise than as His beloved child, and the first kiss imprinted on your infant lips was the kiss of your heavenly Father; and however disobedient, wicked, and godless your life may since have been, it has not in the least changed God's tenderness, love and pity for you.

"No earthly father loves like Thee,
No mother half so mild
Bears and forbears as Thou hast done
To me Thy sinful child."

"God is love" was not changed by sin into "God is wrath." His love falls upon a world wallowing in sin. His loving-kindness changes not.

But have we not fallen under condemnation? Is not justice inexorable? Can a righteous God pass by the awful guilt of violating His laws?

To measure this guilt as heaven sees it, to show God's abhorrence of our sins, to paint them in their true blackness, or to portray the condemnation they provoke, is beyond the power of human tongue. This is awfully true. And what can you do regarding it? Your sins have created a chasm between you and God so deep that no plummet can sound it, so wide that no measuring line can reach across the abyss: in what way do you mean to pass over it? Your sins have formed mountains which rise to heaven: is it in your power to scale them? What will you do to be saved? What expiation can you offer? What ransom or indemnity can you pay? The chasm must be bridged, the mountain scaled, the ransom paid, all the results of your sin must be done away, but by another arm than your own. Man can no more redeem himself than he can be his own creator.

God's wrath is no dream. Mark that. But, on the other hand, it does not override His love, it does not quench paternal pity, nor still the throbbings of infinite tenderness. Love remains ever uppermost, the crowning attribute of God, swaying every other attribute. Within the Ark of the Covenant were the tables of the law condemning every one who continueth not in all things written there; but above the Ark and covering it was the mercy-seat on which the atoning blood was sprinkled, and going forth from its presence the high priest could assure the people of forgiveness.

That Ark is the blessed symbol of God's heart, within which dwells eternal and inexorable justice, but over this attribute flaming with wrath is the mercy-seat of redeeming love bathed with the blood of the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world.

II. To what purpose, then, the coming of Christ? Why did God become man? Why the awful sacrifice on the cross? Why the descent of the God-head into our earth, into hell, and back again to heaven? Volumes upon volumes have been written on this mystery. The profoundest minds have struggled with this transcendent and adorable theme, and glorious truths have been evolved, yet heights and depths of the mystery remain unsolved, and more or less of error has been developed in the endeavor to comprehend the incomprehensible.

The most pernicious error here is no doubt the suggestion that the humiliation of the Son of God and His death were necessary to appease the Father's wrath, that the blood of the cross was required to propitiate an angry God! This, clearly understood, is a horrible theory. Does your Bible read, God so hated the world? Nay! God so loved the world that He had recourse to a personal sacrifice of unutterable cost to Himself. Love gave the Son, love to sinners, love to an ungodly world, provided the remedy for its guilt before God. It was the love of the Father to us which preceded and planned and consummated the whole scheme of redemption. His love for us was so great that He spared not His only begotten Son. He who by the offering up of Himself bore

away the sin of the world was the Father's gift to sinners.

But if such were God's purposes of grace even before anything was wrought by Christ, if infinite mercy from eternity swallowed up all sin, why, we still ask, His assumption of human nature, why His mediatorial work? He came in the first instance to announce this free salvation. Like a flash of lightning from a dark sky, His coming is the revelation of the Father's love. He came to show us the Father, to convey to us with pierced hands the Father's pardon. The grace which was given us in Him before the world began "is now made manifest by the appearing of our Savior Jesus Christ." He came to give us a living incarnate exhibition of our Father's love, to persuade us to be reconciled by the unmistakable proof and guarantee of forgiveness. He came to bring us gently and surely back to God, as the shepherd goes after the sheep that is lost. He came to put salvation into our hearts, to place us in full possession of its gifts.

Besides its precious significance for us, the mediation of Christ has doubtless a momentous import in respect to God. The Father's purpose required the execution of justice; in other words, the bearing away of the sins of the world. The awful chasm had to be bridged, and Christ laid Himself down as the way over which man can return to God. The mountains of our sin had to be crossed, and He crossed them, bearing us on His shoulders and in His arms. He paid the ransom with His own life's blood, "bearing

our sins in His own body on the tree," and removing absolutely every obstacle which stood in the way of our conversion.

III. To the salvation brought to us by Christ, and given to us in Him from eternity, we are called with "a holy calling." The Gospel is a call, a loud and urgent call to us to receive it, to lay hold of it coming to us as a free gift. The proclamation which it makes to all men is that they believe it, place their confidence in it, by a supreme decision avail themselves of the priceless gift.

Salvation must take effect within us. While we contribute nothing to God's grace, we offer the seat for its realization in our bosom. Forgiveness must be consummated in our personality—subjectively. Man is endowed with a rational and moral nature which must be called into exercise in the application of redemption, just as our physical nature must respond to remedies applied by a physician. Forgiveness avails nothing unless it becomes a fact to our consciousness, unless its real import becomes the conviction and the life of the soul. As it requires two for an offence, so forgiveness requires the concurrent action of two—the one to offer forgiveness, the other to receive it. God forgave me all my sins before He laid the foundations of the world, but until I avail myself of that forgiveness, until it is fixed in my being, it profits me no more than a legacy left to an ungrateful son, who declines to have it.

Here salvation assumes a personal and an extremely practical interest. Here is disclosed the

momentous responsibility of all who hear the Gospel. The preacher's office is to proclaim forgiveness, to beseech men in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God. This is their invitation, the call to repentance, "an holy calling" which assures men that in God's heart all their sins are forgiven, that grace is not to be sought or merited, or striven for as something hard to obtain, or hoped for as some future boon, but that all things are ready, and that salvation has actually come to men.

We sometimes speak of it as yet future, as though it would be the outcome of certain conditions, doings or experiences of our own, as though forgiveness were really the final result of a series of reformations and endeavors, when, in fact, it is the beginning and prerequisite of all genuine moral improvement. How we misread the plainest lessons taught by the Master, and especially those lessons which reveal the Father's heart! Study over again the parable of the prodigal, with its two-fold and necessary introduction of the seeking for the lost sheep and the lost coin. Doubtless some of the servants would have represented to him that he had an indulgent father, dwelling in a sumptuous palace, and that he might reckon on a welcome, if he should beforehand wash himself, procure a suit of becoming clothes and shoes, and especially if he could manage to get back the pawned signet ring, the pledge of his former sonship, and show consideration for the elder brother. The father, they would urge, would take pity on him, if he presented himself in a suitable fashion. Some would encourage him in his purpose to hire out in the old establishment, thus enabling him

to pay his way, and to make some amends and possible restitution for the immeasurable wrongs and griefs he had caused his father.

Paul would exclaim, "If I or an angel from heaven preach such gospel let him be anathema." Tell me, was the pardon of the prodigal resolved on only after his return and after his promise of reform? He was not out of sight at his departure from home, when the father's heart yearned after him and inwardly assured him 'twill all be forgiven, 'tis all forgiven now if you will only return to my arms. That very night the door was left unlocked, and the lamps kept burning in the windows, in the hope that the darkness would lead him to retrace his steps.

The returning prodigal must indeed have proper vesture, and shoes, and the ring containing the father's seal, but all have been provided in advance by the father himself, and when he was yet a great way off, his rags and filth still on his body, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck and kissed him.

A Father's love has left nothing undone respecting the sinner's return to His bosom. Positively not one element is wanting, not one thing to be supplied by the helpless penitent. All things are ready, the feast is waiting, your seat is there, the servants are calling you to come just as you are. Is it possible that any can turn a deaf ear to so gracious an invitation? Are men so hardened against their heavenly Father that they can spurn the mercy offered unconditionally to the chief of sinners?

IX. THE NATURE AND POWER OF FAITH.

[From Living Words.]

Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. For by it the elders obtained a good report.—HEB. xi. 1-2.

This is not a specific definition of saving faith, but a comprehensive analysis of the essential nature of faith in general. It embraces what is hoped for, that is, what is future, and what is invisible. It is the substance, the firm persuasion, the certitude, of that which we look for hereafter; it is the same as evidence of that which the natural eye cannot perceive. It seizes both the future world and the unseen world.

The Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to the Jewish Christians at a time when they were wavering in their adherence to Christianity. They had suffered frightful persecutions and experienced sad disappointments respecting the blessings they had expected to enjoy in the gospel. Whatever of inward good it brought them their outward lot was rendered so hard and cheerless that they were tempted to return to Judaism. They had, at all events, felt the loss of those outward and splendid ceremonies in which consisted the main features of the old system, and which they had exchanged for a system which had no temple, no Holy of Holies, no altar, no sacrifices, no priesthood—a system whose chief contents were invisible, whose highest blessings were merely hoped for.

It was in order to keep them from apostasy, from the abandonment of a religion whose chief contents could be summed up in faith and hope, that the Apostle plead with them in this glorious letter. He begs them to hold fast the profession of their faith and not to cast away their confidence. Christianity is, indeed, a matter of faith, not of sight, yet is it immeasurably superior to that dispensation which was made up of institutions to impress the eye, of spectacles to engage the senses. Faith is a principle of the highest importance, man's noblest faculty. At the close of the tenth chapter these wavering souls are reminded from their ancient Scriptures that "the just lives by his faith," but that if any man draw back, God will have no pleasure in him. We are not, it is added, of them who draw back unto perdition, but of them that believe to the saving of the soul. Faith is the saving of the soul; it is the synonym of salvation. Then the argument proceeds with the statement of our text, that in faith we have already possession of treasures and glories which belong to the realm of the future: by faith they are substantially ours now. And so faith penetrates also the curtain which hides the invisible world and persuades us of unseen realities. It serves as sure and reliable evidence; it furnishes us with adequate testimony in regard to the unseen world. Faith is a persuasive and convincing power which unites man with the unseen world and transfers him to the future, so that while he moves among the things of sense, he at the same time is a citizen of a higher king-

dom, which is hidden from the view of other men and which is regarded as confined to a future state.

The incomparable importance, now, of that power which is occupied with the unseen and the future, appears when we consider some of these unseen and future things.

Among the former we mention God, the creator and governor of all things, who holds us in the hollow of His hand, who is always and everywhere around us, and before whom all things are naked and open. No man hath seen God at any time. His providence which guards our every path and supplies our daily bread is invisible, and without faith men have no conception of it. His justice is shrouded from our view by clouds and darkness. The wicked seem to flourish: the good are the afflicted. The judgments of God are a great deep.

The Lord Jesus is an unseen Savior. Bearing our sins and sorrows, cleansing us with His life's blood, interceding for us at God's right hand, ever present where two or three are assembled in His name, we cannot share with Thomas the sight of His radiant features, the touch of His wounded hands and side.

The Holy Spirit who enlightens, quickens, regenerates, and sanctifies, dwelling within us a heavenly messenger and guest, an abiding guide and comforter, is invisible to mortal eyes.

And so is every good of which the Christian boasts. His justification is an invisible act of God on the eternal throne. No man has ever seen his pardon, nor read his name in the Lamb's Book of life, nor

has he perceived that robe of spotless righteousness which infinite mercy has thrown over his nakedness.

And so the most exalted and the most **blessed** things to which believing hearts aspire lie in the future. They are not a present possession, but a bliss hoped for. To a man without faith eternal life is a **pleasing** dream, but nothing more. The resurrection, the rehabilitation of our decayed bodies, the transfiguration of our corporeal organism, is not even a dream to him, but to faith it is a future certainty. The mansions of glory are in the hereafter. The perfection of our powers, the recompense of devotion and self-denying service for others, the plaudits of heaven, the crown of righteousness, all are future not present joys and honors. They are imperceptible to our vision, undiscernible by the senses, unintelligible to the natural man, inaccessible in the present life.

But by faith we know them, we secure them, we have them. It gives us the assurance that they are, and the conviction that they are ours. God is unseen, but faith exults: "Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit? Or whither shall I flee from Thy presence? If I ascend into heaven Thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold Thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall Thy hand lead me and Thy right hand shall hold me." And of God's providence it says, "The Lord will provide." Of His justice, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Of Christ it says, "I know that my Redeemer lives." Of the future it declares, "We know that when the earthly

house of this tabernacle is dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made by hands, eternal in the heavens." "We know that there is laid up for us a crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give to all who love His appearing."

These things are matters of knowledge, of assurance, of absolute conviction; no dreams or fancies of the imagination, but realities and verities, the substance of things hoped for, the unimpeachable evidence of things not seen. There is nothing so real, so enduring as these invisible and future things, nothing that has for man half their significance and importance. "For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."

Men will object, however, that we have to live in the present world, we are occupied with the things which are seen, and it is these that require our immediate attention. It is for us primarily to live right in this world, to make ourselves good citizens and good neighbors so as to meet our responsibilities and assure right achievement in our present lot. What is needed is something that acts upon the conscience and the will, that will promote private and public virtue, that will elevate social standards, purify homes, and diffuse sweetness and light.

This is the very thing that faith is calculated and able to accomplish, as we see from the second verse of the text. The two words are intimately related, and a proper interest in the one does not conflict with our proper duties to the other. Faith is an active principle, dynamic, powerful. While it guides a soul to

the better world, it exerts the mightiest and the happiest influence on a man in his engagements to the present world.

By faith the elders obtained their good report, the patriarchs and the prophets, whose heroic deeds and illustrious victories make up this eleventh chapter. They achieved their fame through this principle within them. They believed in God, they had an immovable conviction of spiritual things, they looked for a city yet to come, a city which has foundations that are out of sight; and such was the overmastering and guiding power of this faith that they were able in a corrupt world to lead righteous lives, to provide against terrible catastrophies, to found a mighty nation, to renounce thrones, to subdue kingdoms, to turn to flight vast armies, to be strong amid weakness, to endure mockings and scourgings and bonds and imprisonment in their sublime unswerving resolution to follow the dictates of conscience and to uphold the pillars of truth and virtue.

Thus faith in the unseen and the future becomes the bulwark for right living in the present. Our confidence in the invisible, our hope of the future, becomes the most powerful motive for action amid things seen and temporal. The consciousness of being a subject of the kingdom of heaven makes a man the best citizen of his country here. Men of the strongest faith are men of the purest lives. Those most occupied with future concerns afford the most splendid examples of moral firmness and lofty character in their present environment.

Here is where statesmen as well as theologians find the golden key to life's problems. If the masses are to be controlled, if they are to be elevated and transformed into useful citizens, they must be inspired with faith in a world above, with hope in the rewards to come. The mainspring of a nation's happiness is its faith in an invisible Ruler, and its hope of eternal life.

X. THE GREAT MYSTERY.

[From Pulpit Treasury.]

And, without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness. God manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.—
I. ΤΙΜΟΘΥ iii. 6.

This is unquestionably one of the richest passages of the Gospel. To limit one's self in any phase of its discussion to the space allowed here requires the exercise of severe self-restraint. The present paper will be confined to a few critical and expository remarks. Many eminent commentators agree in the judgment that this ringing and majestic sentence is a quotation. Its abrupt introduction, its short, unconnected, co-ordinate phrases, with their antithetical parallelisms, each clause in the original composed of almost the same number of syllables and the whole marked by rhythmical succession, are considerations pointing to the fragment of an ancient hymn or creed of the Church. This view is sustained by the most suitable translation of the first word, "*homologoumenos*." "Confessedly," according to the universal "confession" of the Church, or, as "generally acknowledged" in the chants of her devotion, this is a great mystery. This view offers also the best way out of the well-known textual difficulty, for the most approved manuscripts do not contain the word translated "God" in the standard English and German versions, but the masculine pro-

noun which the revisers adopted. The omission of a more definite word is thus accounted for. "He" begins the quotation and as the proper sense was unmistakable in the original connection, the Apostle saw no need of exchanging the pronoun for the designation "God" or "Christ," as the incarnation of Christ is obviously the subject.

This is the burden of the Church's song, the core of every creed, the unfathomable mystery which godliness contemplates and which is the object of its faith and the spring of its life, the flaming centre of all heights and all depths, the meeting point of God and man, of Heaven and earth. The most marked feature of the mystery as set forth in this sentence is its marvellous union of striking contrasts, its blending such opposites as flesh and spirit, angels and men, the world and glory.

I. "God manifest in the flesh." Having existed before in an invisible state, having been in the beginning with God, in essential union with Him, "He" came upon the earth in the likeness of man. The Infinite assumes a finite form, the Creator appears in the garb of a creature, the everlasting Spirit becomes flesh, the fountain of life is made obedient unto death. Here truly is a phase of the mystery which confounds the understanding.

II. He was justified in the Spirit. The usual Pauline import of "justify" is to absolve from guilt. But like the term flesh in the first clause, it is not employed here in the ordinary sense. In that sense it must be meaningless when applied to Him who was

without sin. It has the same significance in our passage as in Matthew xi. 19, and in Luke vii. 35. It has the idea of vindication, of being found, recognized, proved to be that which in essence one really is. It is the reverse of being mistaken, or misapprehended. It is equivalent to being set right. Placed over against the first clause and recognizing the principle of comparison and contrast as the key for the interpretation of the whole sentence, the idea to be conveyed cannot be misunderstood. By the cover of His humanity the Lord Jesus was likely to be mistaken for a mere man. The flesh veiled His higher nature, obscured His divine glory. He had no form nor comeliness. No halo radiating from His face marked His heavenly descent. "We know this man," protested the Jews. "Is He not the carpenter's son? Is not His mother called Mary, and His brethren James, Joses, Simon and Judas?" To reconcile with His familiar features and well-known earthly history the overwhelming significance of His superabundant wisdom and power was beyond their capacity. But the spirit within Him, the inward part of His being conjoined with the Godhead, dispelled the illusion, and corrected the estimates which had been formed by men who had walked the fields with Him or joined Him as He was fishing in the lake. In spite of the flesh which brought Him externally to the level and the limits of men, His higher nature was disclosed in the realm of the spirit, His divine features were reflected in the moral radiance of His life, in the supremacy of His spiritual attributes.

His speech was beyond what man ever spake.

His works from day to day attested that He was a teacher from God. His love to men manifested His divine glory. His absolute freedom from sin, while showing the greatest compassion to sinners and through the Eternal Spirit offering Himself without spot unto God; finally, His being quickened in the Spirit, all declare Him, notwithstanding His flesh, to be the Son of God with power according to the Spirit of holiness.

III. "Seen of angels." What element of mystery is embraced in this fact? The angels did indeed see Him at His nativity, during His temptation, in His agony, and at His triumphant resurrection; but what moves the Apostles to place their sight of Him alongside of the elements of the great mystery?

The original verb imports not simply being seen, but making one's self seen, discovering one's self, becoming visible. Like "manifested" above, it presupposes action on the part of the person who is seen; He renders Himself visible. The truth taught is, then, not that angels appeared to Christ, but that He presented Himself to them. The reference must be to an occurrence outside the domain of what is written, something transpiring in the spirit world. And some have inferred from this temporary departure during His sojourn on earth, a heavenly counterpart of the transfiguration. Some identify it with His appearance among the fallen angels, the descent into Hades. Others apply it to the ascension, but that is the subject of the last clause. The corresponding clause, just as is the case with the first and second members, and with the

fifth and sixth, offers doubtless the true solution. A parallel is run between angels and men, the inhabitants of Heaven and those of earth. Manifested in the flesh the Son of God revealed Himself alike to angels and to men. To the latter He was preached, by the former He was seen. What mankind, fallen and afar off from God, came to know by the preaching of the Gospel, the angel world, ever holy and near the throne, obtained by vision, by the angelic mode of apprehension, by intuition. The incarnation is a revelation to the just spirits above as well as to sinners in this world.

The Godhead is invisible. No one hath seen God at any time. This is as true of angels as of men. No creature was endowed with an eye capable of gazing on the open face of the Uncreated, who, unseen, is worshipped and adored. It was only when the Godhead dwelt bodily in the flesh that the full-orbed vision of His holiness, wisdom and mercy dawned upon the mind of angels. With them as with men the veiling of God was the unveiling of His perfections and glory. What had been hidden for ages from even these superior intelligences broke now upon them with a measure of light and power akin to that which reveals the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ through the preaching of the Gospel among the nations.

IV. "He was preached unto the nations." The last statement involves a great mystery. So does this one. To the nations estranged from God by their wickedness, enslaved and besotted by sin, Christ crucified was proclaimed as their Redeemer and Savior. The true disciples of the Lord are possessed of a pas-

sion to proclaim Him as the sinner's Friend and only Hope. They go everywhere preaching this word. How the Gospel contrasts in this respect with all other religions! These consist of ceremonies, altars, temples, images. Christianity alone has a pulpit, and this is its sole requisite. Paganism and in a measure Romanism are maintained by an order of priests; true Christianity by a *corps* of preachers.

V. "Believed on in the world." The preaching of divine truth is not in vain. The response to it is the marvel of history. Stupendous mystery confronts us here again. To hold up as the Savior of the world one who lived in obscurity and poverty, to demand supreme faith in one who was rejected by His own people and who died in disgrace, and find all men drawn to Him, and the world believing in Him, this is the most extraordinary phenomenon in the annals of mankind. The wonder is not lessened when viewed from another point. Christ is the Holy One of God, the representative and embodiment of perfect righteousness, justice and truth. As such, one might suppose, He would be held in abhorrence by a race of godless and guilty men. Yet these wicked men, the very chief of sinners, have come to Jesus and embraced Him as the one altogether lovely. In multitudes lying under the spell of inborn depravity, the enemies of God and the willing slaves of Satan, the preaching of Christ has awakened faith and has made of them new creatures.

VI. "Received up into glory." This describes of course the ascension. As on earth, in the ungodly world, a reception was given Him, and He won the

faith and loyalty of men, so in Heaven there was a lifting up of the mighty gates and an opening of the everlasting doors to admit the King of Glory. There He was received to abide forever, the Lamb standing in the midst of the Throne, the mystery of the earth, the wonder of the skies—there as here the Name above every name.

“To Him be glory evermore!”

ADDRESSES AND ARTICLES.

I. THE DRAMA OF PROVIDENCE ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION.

[From *Lutheran Quarterly*.]

The Reformation achieved through Martin Luther is the most momentous revolution of society since the foundation of Christian history. The arm of Omnipotence alone could render it possible. The evangelical character of the work traces its origin to the divine mind while the appalling obstacles overcome and the beneficent and far-reaching results attained stamp it as the product of divine providence. Not, however, with magical suddenness nor as isolated phenomena do the works of providence make their appearance on the stage of history, but they involve a vast sweep of events converging to the same consummation. God's methods in the sphere of providence are of a piece with His methods in the sphere of nature. The end designed is reached by the gradual action of an evolutionary process.

To obtain a full and just conception of the Reformation we must survey successive events anterior to its appearance, especially the great movements of the period immediately preceding. We shall thus discover a number of causes which not only facilitated it, but which rendered such a revolution inevitable. Providence is a mysterious agent and it has at times effected its work of upheaving, transforming and re-

newing society, invisibly and inaudibly, but the age immediately anterior to the outbreak of the Reformation was so marked with great historic events and these events had such a direct and powerful bearing on the Reformation, as to indicate unmistakably the agency of superhuman wisdom and almighty power not only in the ecclesiastical reform itself but in the extraordinary phenomena which combined to usher it into existence. Momentous changes were taking place in the realm of ideas of government, of inventions and discoveries, at once producing and signaling a general awakening of society in the latter half of the fifteenth century. But what especially commands our admiration and what shall engage our attention in this paper is, that all these mighty events reveal a teleological character. They are all seen converging to the same consummation. They present an amazing concert of most diverse movements toward one end. Whatever the forces set in motion, whatever their action and reaction upon one another, whatever catastrophe may have befallen any part of society, whatever discoveries may have been made on sea or land, in the earth or in the heavens, whatever inventions affecting the art of war or facilitating the spread of knowledge, all are found to be not only singularly coincident but most strikingly concurrent to a common result. The Christian is forcibly reminded of the announcement of the ascending Lord: "All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth." The great historians have recognized this extraordinary concurrence of great events in the political and social life of Europe during the

period preceding the Reformation. Even the famous naturalist, Baron Von Humboldt, pauses in his scientific studies to observe: "The fifteenth century belongs to those remarkable epochs in which all the efforts of the mind indicate one determined and general character and one unchanging striving towards the same goal. The unity of this tendency and the results by which it was crowned, combined with the activity of whole races, give to this age a character both of grandeur and of enduring splendor." *Cosmos*, pp. 601, 602, 675, 676.

Among the principal occurrences of this mighty sweep of events may be noted

I. THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

It was on the twenty-ninth of May, 1453, after a siege of fifty-three days, that the splendid capital of the East, which had proudly withstood the sieges and assaults of many centuries, surrendered to the victorious Turk. The crescent was raised upon the towers of St. Sophia and the Mussulman Empire was planted upon the soil of Europe.

This catastrophe, considered by itself, might not be deemed extraordinary or specially indicative of an overruling Providence, yet it cannot but excite our wonder that this strong metropolis which had defied the power of Chosroes and the Caliphs, should be irretrievably conquered at this particular juncture by the arms of Mahomet II. A general rally of European Christendom could easily have averted this calamity. Even a feeble survival of the spirit of the crusades would have concentrated the chivalry of Europe for its

triumphant defense, but such was the peculiar state of affairs in the West, such were the mutual quarrels, suspicions and jealousies of the great princes, such the religious animosity between the East and the West that as Gibbon remarks: "Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople. The situation of the imperial city was strong against her enemies and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman Empire."—"Decline and Fall," chap. lxxviii. Desperate as was the situation of the Greeks, the numbers of the Ottomans being fifty, perhaps a hundred times superior to theirs, Mahomet at one time meditated a retreat and the raising of the siege. But the feeble remnant of the Roman Empire was left a prey to the conquest of the Moslem and sixty thousand of its devoted population, including all ranks, were reduced to servitude and sold and dispersed through the Turkish provinces.

The relation which this calamity was destined to sustain to the Reformation half a century later, will be treated at the proper place after we shall have considered some of the other notable achievements of Providence which combined to introduce that mighty epoch.

II. THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

The noblest minds of the Christian capital fell victims to the unholy and unfeeling power of the Turk. Some of the highest officials and some of the foremost scholars were chained to their slaves and together with

these were sold into servitude. Magnificent libraries were destroyed and one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared. But a number of the most cultured Greeks sought safety in flight and bore with them their classical treasures to the shores of Italy. The revival of learning kindled there by the advent of these scholars, just as the mind of the West was awakening from the slumber of ages, became one of the greatest intellectual revolutions ever known and proved ultimately one of the most potent human factors in securing the triumphs of the Reformation. The arrival of these exiles was like a great burst of light upon a people that had long been shrouded in darkness. "They inspired the West with their own love for Greece and its immortal works of genius and there arose in Italy a great number of learned men, who in like manner endeavored to restore the writers of ancient Rome to the honor they merited." The human mind became once more conscious of its powers and proceeded to assert its inalienable freedom of expansion, of activity, of inquiry and of criticism, thus breaking the bonds of sacerdotal training by which it had for ages been fettered.

The ignorance and simplicity, the incredulity and infantile pupilage of Europe at that period is something absolutely astounding. Roman Catholicism had assumed the role not only of the spiritual but also of the literary guardian of the people, and its provision for their intellectual nourishment was even more meagre and baneful than its spiritual nutriment. To keep them in ignorance, to repress the vital, towering

energy of the human mind, was the inevitable outcome if it was not the deliberate purpose of Rome's procedure in the domain of education. In what estimate the clergy held the revival of learning may be judged from their uneasiness at its progress and the conspiracy which they formed against it. To save the Church it was deemed necessary to arrest this movement in the domain of science and literature. The study of the classics, of grammar, of rhetoric was confessedly fraught with peril to the hierarchy. To learn Greek was equivalent to becoming a heretic. To acquire a knowledge of Hebrew was sure to make a man a Jew. Religion is ruined, was the declaration of the faculty of Paris to the French Parliament, if you permit the study of Greek and Hebrew. Reuchlin when a youth had to be sent to France by his princely patron to learn Greek and Hebrew, since *Germany had not then a single professor of these languages.*

But hierarchical opposition might as easily have arrested the march of the sun in the heavens as to have stopped the progress of the new literary movement which was now spreading from Italy over Europe, giving everywhere a powerful momentum to intellectual activity, kindling new aspirations, cultivating new tastes, opening up new worlds in the spiritual and physical universe, liberalizing and broadening the views of men, stimulating in them the search after truth, and giving them new methods for its discovery and new weapons for its defense. The movement reached all classes. The foremost monarchs and statesmen of the day, Henry VIII., Charles V., Frederick the Wise

Electors, were the patrons of humanistic culture. Erasmus and kindred spirits were invited to their splendid courts that they might cultivate the fruits of science and learning in the luxurious gardens of royalty. Its effects reached even the common people. What the learned saw with sharpened vision began in the general illumination to dawn even on uncultivated eyes. A popular literature appeared which affected the masses in their relation to the existing order of things in the same manner as the more enlightened few had been affected. They too imbibed a taste of intellectual liberty, which they knew how to exercise in the form of private judgment when the hour came to decide between the old régime of spiritual bondage and the new era of evangelical freedom. Learning became the fashion of the day. The appetite for intellectual food at once more savory and more wholesome than what the old tutors brought from Rome was universal. No one knew this better than Erasmus, who was himself the incarnation of humanism and who directed his brilliant genius to the gratification of the popular taste.

III. THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

This event which in its boundless influence on human society is the greatest of all inventions ever devised by man, was brought to perfection almost in the very year of the downfall of Constantinople. This noble art, so simple that one would reasonably suppose it might have originated in the remotest ages and that even the barbarian intellect might have suggested it, was in some way mysteriously delayed until the flight

of the Greek *literati* stirred up the West to the culture of letters when it might at once contribute its incomparable services to the diffusion of knowledge, add its own peculiar incitement to intellectual activity and in conjunction with the revival of literature become a prodigious element in bringing about the most gigantic social revolution of modern times.

Verily this is a remarkable coincidence! An amazing instance of the so-called fortuitous 'concourse of great events! The more so, if one remembers that after having been originally suggested in connection with the game of cards, this invention was not primarily designed to stimulate thought or quicken mental activity, for it was first put to use in the representation of clumsy engravings of the saints and other devices of the priests. The providential feature of the invention at this juncture and of its coincidence with the newly awakened passion for learning will be better recognized when we come to consider the immediate relation of both to Luther's work, the concurrence of both events to the same consummation. It may be well, however, to state here the significant fact that the first book which ever issued from a printing press was an edition of the Bible in the Latin tongue, published by Gutenberg, at Mayence, between the years 1450 and 1455. Copies of this work are still extant though extremely rare and valuable.

IV. THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

In the general awakening which characterized the close of the fifteenth century the magnetic compass

came for the first time into practice and general use, enabling mariners to cross the trackless oceans and to explore the most remote seas. Hence this is the period of great maritime enterprises and momentous geographical discoveries, Da Gama rounding the Cape of Good Hope opening a new highway to the East Indies, Magellan circumnavigating the globe, and, transcending all others, Christopher Columbus discovering the American continent in 1492, nine years after the birth of Luther. These marvelous achievements in traversing and exploring our planet served like an electric shock in causing a sudden enlargement of the mass of new ideas everywhere springing up, creating the boldest aspirations, widening the horizon of thought and endeavor, and affecting to an incalculable extent the intellectual, social and moral improvement of mankind. Extensive wars of conquest necessarily followed these great discoveries, and these in turn were succeeded by the beginnings of European colonization which peopled the new world with organized states and by that expansion of commerce which gave a new impulse to the intercourse of nations, without which the Reformation could never have passed the frontier of a few German principalities.

V. THE DISSOLUTION OF FEUDALISM.

The introduction of gunpowder had a short time anterior to this period effected a complete revolution in the arts of war and had along with it overturned the system of knighthood and produced the greatest changes in the government of Europe. That atomic

condition of society in which each feudal lord had a quasi sovereignty over his tenantry and the baronial castle represented the essential form and force of civil government, was just the agency needed by the papacy to repress both the spirit of nationality and that growth of national power and grandeur to which civilized society naturally tends. The sceptre of the sovereign was often an empty badge and the wily policy of the popes had for centuries employed the services of a portion of the nobles to humble the crown and to hold kings and nations under their feet. "The world had been accustomed to but one real authority, that of the pope. All political as well as religious questions were referred to one tribunal, supreme and infallible, the pope's. The decisions of the Holy See had to be obeyed—whether they supported or overthrew the government of princes. Europe was a single political family under the guardianship of Rome."

All princes and peoples of the most heterogeneous character were banded together under the Church and everything was moulded and controlled by the clergy and made subservient to the hierarchy. But a reaction of national feeling was taking place. The papal domination gave rise to struggles for independence and its very oppressions caused that development of monarchical power which we shall see became one of its most formidable antagonists. The passion for learning had taken the place of the ancient spirit of chivalry and under the general intellectual quickening nations became conscious of their rights and of their power, and the popular trend was toward centralization, toward the

consolidation of civil government. "It was during the fifteenth century," says Prof. Fisher, "that the European monarchies were acquiring a firm organization." The great feudatories were then subjected to the crown. The dominant spirit was that of nationality. Powerful leaders had arisen who directed and moulded this tendency into a compact state-system, monarchs that knew to defend their people from hierarchical tyrants who under the guise of spiritual shepherds were so many dogs and wolves turned loose upon the sheep.

It proved of immense consequence to the Reformation that just before or simultaneous with its rise princes like Ferdinand of Arragon, Maximilian of Austria, Frederick of Saxony, Charles V. of Germany, and Henry VIII. of England, had come to the throne, minds that instinctively renounced the encroachments and assumptions of the papacy, minds which though they had been carefully trained by the clergy yet had been sufficiently enlightened by the new learning to recognize the popes' usurpations in the sphere of temporal power and to note their proficiency in the basest arts of diplomacy and dissimulation. These men had wit enough to detect a scoundrel even when he was wearing the papal tiara, and they had no hesitation in opposing with all the might of secular power those Holy Fathers who were prostituting their spiritual functions in the pursuit of secular power for themselves or their families. What could have saved Christendom from lying helpless under their spiritual and temporal rule had not just at this juncture powerful

monarchies been developed to cope with their unholy schemes and, by denying the validity of their political claims, to shatter the faith of the world in their spiritual authority?

By this rise of monarchical governments, furthermore, the different peoples composing single nations were brought into closer social and political relations with each other, and each nation with its own language, culture, laws and institutions animated by a national spirit, developed into a separate individual organism and rendered capable of standing as one body by the sovereign against the pope when the great contest should arise. Along with the establishment of stalwart monarchies this era witnessed also the powerful development of free cities which were made up of the sturdy middle classes, a body of citizens whose diversified industry and extensive commerce had sharpened and invigorated their practical understanding and who long before the appearance of Luther had learned to defend their rights against imperious Bishops.

Passing by other extraordinary and memorable occurrences that transpired on the eve of the Reformation, we will now consider the relation which each of those that have been noted bore to the Reformation, and especially the marvelous concurrence of all to bring about that sublime consummation.

As it is not material to follow either the order in which they have been given here or that of their chronological sequence, let us look, first, at that which was manifestly the most direct and powerful agency of providence in inaugurating the Reformation,

THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS.

The awakening of the human mind from its mediæval stupor, the incitement to intellectual freedom and activity, the boldness of inquiry and of criticism which attended this movement, was in the highest degree prejudicial to the old order. The enlargement of the area of human thought, the multiplication of subjects for investigation, and the universal impulse felt to freely prosecute investigation and exercise individual judgment, was everywhere tantamount to revolution and reform. It was as if the light of day had suddenly fallen upon a dark hemisphere and revealed to the gaze and horror of the public, the frightful disorders and putrefactions that abounded. The absurdities of the schoolmen, the rapacity of the bishops, the ignorance and impurity of the priests, the gluttony and idleness of the monks were held up to the merciless ridicule in the writings of the humanists. Under the glare of this strong light, the papal system was brought into reproach, its hoary structure was shaken to the base, the confidence of all classes in its infallible authority was subverted and its leadership and spiritual supervision which had for ages remained unchallenged was deemed no longer necessary or adequate. Hallam says: "The greater part of literature after the twelfth century may be considered as artillery leveled against the clergy. The literature of Germany a little before the Reformation was employed as the vehicle for castigating the vices of priests and monks. Dante and Petrarch signaled the beginning of a national literature by their denunciation of the vices and usurpations of the pa-

pacy. Chaucer in England shows the same hostility. Everywhere we find bitter censure of the arrogance, wealth and tyranny of the ecclesiastics." The literary revival, as was stated above, affected even the lower classes. Popular satires inveighing against the immoralities of the clergy, their stupid ceremonies and the like, were widely circulated and produced a general horror of the Roman name.

It is not claimed that the literary censors of this period were always the apostles of truth, but they knew how to smite error, and their ridicule of the ruling spiritual powers and their caustic denunciation of prevalent evils destroyed the prestige of the Holy Mother Church and broke the enchantment by which Christendom has been held under her sway. Thus men were gradually prepared to listen to other voices and to follow other shepherds. When Luther subsequently gave utterance to his fierce and terrific vituperation of the papists—utterances which would once have been held blasphemous—he did not shock the public ear. He used invectives and pronounced maledictions with which the people had long grown familiar. So generally and so bitterly had the old order been denounced that the people hated and dreaded Rome before the Reformer uttered one syllable against it.

Invaluable as were the services of these literary lights in scattering the darkness and thereby spreading and intensifying the conviction that a thorough reform was needed, it was not only in the work of destruction that they were the pioneers of the Reformation. They did a positive work, the value and extent of which it is

impossible to overestimate. They diffused over their age a love of learning, they awakened a spirit of inquiry and criticism, but above all by their philological studies they opened to men's minds the incomparable treasures of the Scriptures, after having created a literary taste which was quick to discern their measureless superiority to the writings of the theologians and schoolmen. While they kept protesting that it was not their purpose to strike at the faith of the Church, they dealt it a fatal blow by placing practically the Bible in its matchless style and priceless contents above the teachings of the doctors.

It was especially in Germany that the services of humanism were earnestly given to the interests of a purified Christianity. Reuchlin, for instance, its foremost humanist, wrote a Greek grammar which greatly facilitated the study of that language and therewith of the original New Testament, and was the first to publish in that country both a Hebrew grammar and dictionary, thus furnishing the key to the long-sealed book of life, providing men with a touchstone by which they might judge of the teachings of the Church and test the doctrines of the Reformers when they came to be promulgated, and laying the sure foundations upon which alone a radical and enduring reformation could be effected. Luther acknowledging the work of Reuchlin adds: "The Lord has been at work in you that the light of Holy Scripture might again shine into that Germany where it had so long been extinct."

In England also the literary movement was directly and powerfully conducive to the Reformation.

Nowhere else had this movement penetrated so far into the ranks of the ruling classes as in that kingdom. Henry VIII. was himself the most learned prince of that era. Vulgar and sensuous as he was, it is said of him that he could not live without the learned. His court was turned into *rendezvous* for the representatives of classic culture. There was Thomas More, inspired by the love of knowledge and in full sympathy with the advancing spirit of the age, representing in his Utopia a state of religion which was certainly very far removed from the practices and principles of the existing hierarchy. Even Wolsey could not resist the popular tide, but affecting humanism and intent on keeping with the fashion of the day he took to confiscating monasteries and founding colleges with the revenues thus acquired. There was Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, whose lectures at Oxford caused as great alarm to the schoolmen as they gave delight to all who had come under the influence of the new awakening, whose gospel sermons held London audiences spell-bound, and whose school established somewhat later exerted a potent influence in favor of classical and biblical studies and in behalf of true spiritual enlightenment. London was a new Athens. And hitherto, towering above all other literary men of the age, came Erasmus, confessedly the most influential person in Christendom, to whose sojourn in England and especially to whose intimate relations with the sovereign, the philosophic historian must in great part ascribe the Reformation of the English Church. His numerous writings in which he held up to merciless ridicule the idleness, illiteracy,

self-indulgence and absurd practices of the monks, fell like enchantment upon the public mind and "were read with infinite amusement by all who sympathized with the new studies and by thousands who did not calculate the effect of this telling satire in abating popular reverence for the Church."

But the hand of Erasmus put forth a volume more effectual in the creation of a new spiritual life than his scathing satires. The glory of achieving the English reformation was reserved for the Word of God by which alone the truth and the Church of Christ can be maintained in the world. The crowning work of humanism was the appearance of Erasmus' edition of the Greek Testament, the most brilliant, the most memorable of all his productions. No copies of the Scriptures were then accessible save the Vulgate, known to be full of errors and obscurities, and nothing could have been more opportune or more important than the publication of the pure and original text of the New Testament at this juncture. A new Latin translation and learned annotations accompanied the volume and it found its way at once among all the friends of learning—especially in England, where groups of students at the universities were poring over its pages with rapture in animated circles discussing its saving truths. "Never had any book produced such an enthusiasm. It was in every hand." Thus, independently of Luther, in fact a year or so in advance of the movement at Wittenberg, Erasmus inaugurated the Reformation beyond the channel, without, however, having any idea of the momentous results which his Greek Testament

was destined to accomplish. Without ever intending it he was instrumental in bringing about the same consummation for which Luther battled with all his might. There can be no doubt that had Erasmus foreseen the effect of what was to him only a literary exploit, he would have recoiled from the storm. He builded better than he knew.

The adversaries of the new learning and the new life had keener eyes. Said Edward Lee: "If we do not stop this leak it will sink the ship. No landing of foreign enemies could be so fatal as this invasion of the Greek Testament. If this book be tolerated it will be the death of the papacy."

How wonderful are the successive stages in the agency of divine providence! First there is kindled in the human mind a desire for learning. The study of languages becomes the vehicle for gratifying this passion. The reading of the Scriptures follows at first purely in the interests of literature. Their vivifying power produces spiritual awakening among the learned and these in turn by their philological attainments are able to translate them into the language of the people, and these again by the universal impulse which the literary movement had given to all classes had become capable of reading them. Thus the regeneration of religion was the inevitable consequence of the restoration of letters. D'Aubigne remarks that the Reformation is the result of two distinct forces, the revival of learning and the resurrection of God's Word. It is nearer the truth to say that the Reformation followed

the resurrection of God's Word and that this resurrection was due under God to the revival of learning.

But how could humanism have effected such a wide diffusion of knowledge and produced such a universal awakening had it not been for

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

which was happily made at this time. How many editions of Erasmus' Greek Testament would have been required, how many copies of Luther's German Bible would have fallen into the hands of eager readers, had there been no other means for their multiplication than the slow process of deciphering manuscripts and copying them by hand? Or had their multiplication even been possible, of what consequence would a hundred thousand copies have proved, had not this astounding invention excited a universal desire to read and to gain knowledge?

On the other hand, had the art of printing been discovered in the tenth or even the thirteenth century it could only have served the interests of superstition and advanced the schemes of an oppressive hierarchy. Those days were not marked by any real scholarship or generous aspirations after truth. No copy of the Bible was known besides the Vulgate and few if any throughout the West could have read the Greek Testament, even if one had been edited and published.

The greatest of all inventions was delayed until this period when in the fierce struggle between truth and error it might render its invaluable services to the

triumph of the Gospel. Like that mysterious force in nature which in the spring-tide opens the innumerable leaves of the forest, so the printing-press entered into the realm of thought just as new life was everywhere bursting forth from a wintry torpor and covered the earth with leaves of healing.

The advance of learning culminated, as we have seen, in the Reformation—but the engine which propelled that advance to its ultimate victory was the new art of printing.

The principal impulse to the revival of letters, it has been already noted, owed its origin to

THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

and the consequent exodus of eastern scholars with their treasures to the West. The tempest which overthrew the last remnants of Greek rule scattered the seeds of Greek literature over the fertile but hitherto uncultivated fields of the West.

This, was, however, not the only bearing which that eventful catastrophe sustained to the work of Luther. It was a stroke of providence, the effects of which were discernible all through the Reformation era. Having effected this conquest of the Eastern Capital, Mahomet II. at once made it the seat of government, and from that hour to the present day it has been the centre and stronghold of the Ottoman power. Securely entrenched on the shores of the Bosphorus all Europe lay open to the valor and conquest of the Turkish arms. And the distance from Constantinople to the Eastern frontier of Germany is not so great but

that the peril of a Turkish invasion kept the people and the princes in constant terror. Hence the crisis of the Reformation was at hand and the emperor on different occasions was resolved upon its suppression by military force. He found his dominions threatened by a more dangerous foe than the Reformers, and instead of slaughtering his Lutheran subjects he was constrained to leave them in peace and to implore their aid against the common danger. As long as the armies of a united country were indispensable to the defense of the empire from the Turk, it was impossible for the Catholic states to fall upon Lutheran countries and crush out the new faith by the sword. A striking illustration of this occurred in the year 1532, when after the melancholy collapse of the Swiss Reformation in the second peace of Cappel, the imperial government determined to inflict the fatal blow also upon the Lutherans. Their condition seemed desperate. But as the Sultan's army, three hundred thousand strong, was rolling over the plains of Hungary towards the gates of Vienna and the haughty invader spurned even the most ignoble proposals offered by Ferdinand of Austria, the terror-stricken Romanists were compelled to grant the Nuremberg Religious Peace, and to promise the Lutherans a free General Council in which all matters at issue should be decided according to the word of God alone. In

THE DOWNFALL OF FEUDALISM.

we recognize another stroke of Providence making for the Reformation. There can be no doubt that the ten-

dency toward a centralization of civil government, the spirit of nationality which developed into powerful monarchies, was one of the most prominent levers to weaken the authority of the clergy and to overturn both the secular and spiritual authority of the papacy. "As early as the fourteenth century," says a discerning historian, "monarchy was the watchword of the adversaries of papal power, the symbol of the new generation that was preparing to break loose from the dormant ideas of the middle ages."

Aided by the general illumination which the new learning effected, jurists and theologians examined into the origin of the empire and the nature of monarchy in general. They instituted historical and critical inquiries regarding the foundations of civil authority and the grounds on which papal interferences were based—and the outcome was always the same, a denial of papal supremacy. The rights of the throne were maintained over against the encroachments of the Church. Nor were these writers always careful to draw the distinction between secular and religious power. Having renounced the pope's jurisdiction in the sphere of civil government they were often led by stress of the same logic to question the validity of his authority in matters of faith.

Having so long engaged in schemes of a purely selfish and political nature, the popes came in fact to be looked upon chiefly in their political character, and the princes of that era dealt with them on that score. They recognized their secular ambition. They beheld the compromise of their spiritual functions for tem-

poral ends and were constantly alarmed at the danger which their intrigues and usurpations threatened to civil rule and national integrity. "Take good care of Luther," wrote the Catholic emperor, Maximilian, to Frederick the Wise, "we may have need of him some time or other."

A monarch with the energy of Edward III. knew even in the fourteenth century how to protect the reformer Wyckliffe from papal violence. But it is in the sixteenth century that we see preëminently the overruling providence of God in raising up powerful monarchs to shield the Reformers of the Church from the fury of Rome. Of Frederick the Wise it has been truly said: "Providence claims our admiration in the choice it made of such a ruler to protect its work." And in England, where there was a lamentable absence of decided and intrepid reformers in the Church, what earthly power could have saved the Reformation from being readily extinguished, had it not been for the resolution and energy, not to say, the violence of King Henry. It was his strong royal hand that rent in sunder the papal chain which an ignoble predecessor like John Lackland in a previous age had helped to forge.

Even Charles V., hostile as he was to Luther's doctrines, would have pursued a very different course against him, had he been a Henry IV., who laid himself and his empire in abject humiliation at the feet of his papal master, or a Sigismund, who at the instigation of papists consented to break faith with Huss and to cancel his safe-conduct. He bore no love to the Lutherans, but when the pope treacherously headed a

powerful coalition against the emperor, he had a Lutheran army march to Rome and administer to the Holy Pontiff a well-merited and salutary chastisement. Finally,

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

bore its meed of fruitage to the reformation movement. Apart from the influence of this and other great discoveries in broadening the field of human enterprise and widening the horizon of human thought, it was peculiarly fortunate for Lutheranism in Germany that the best energies of Spain were being devoted to another continent. The eyes of that great country, then the first European power, were fixed on the western domain rather than on the eastern frontier of that almost universal empire. The Spaniards were more concerned about a new continent than about a new religion. The emperor had indeed some Spanish soldiery tramping over the free soil of the empire, but Mexico prevented him from hurling the vast power of that monarchy upon Lutheran Germany. The silver and gold that were pouring into the treasuries of Spain from her conquest beyond the Atlantic were more gratifying to Spanish passions than the work of slaughtering heretics. The new world eclipsed the eternal world.

It is, indeed, rather noteworthy that Cortez after the battle of Otumba, was advancing to the siege of Mexico, the very month that Luther burnt the pope's bull at Wittenberg.

We have thus outlined a series of remarkable events which transpired on the eve of the Reformation,

events which in the diversity of their character, in the combination of their tendencies and the unity of purpose which they reveal, constitute a drama of divine Providence that challenges the admiration of the philosopher, the faith of the Christian, the gratitude of the Protestant. One could as readily believe the events of the creative week to be but the fortuitous concurrence of material forces, as to regard these mighty social and religious movements as but a number of isolated, casual circumstances destitute of a telic character. Like those creative days that preceded the appearance of mankind these vast changes proved to be not merely the signs of the advent of a new order but the historic foundations on which the new order was destined to rest.

Think of it! Mahomet and Columbus, Charles V. and Henry VIII., Frederick the Wise and Cortez the Dauntless, Gutenberg and Erasmus, Hutten and Wolsey, men of the most opposite character and aim all combining to bring about the same tremendous result, all unconsciously moving in chorus to the same consummation, overturning the prestige of the Roman See, effecting intellectual and spiritual emancipation, producing a profound disaffection with the existing state of things and causing a universal change in society, so that princes and peoples, philosophers and peasants stood like sentinels on their watch towers waiting for a mighty revolution, listening for the first blast of Luther's trumpet.

II. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN HISTORY.

With the Lutheran Church as the first army that waged successful battle with Rome, modern history has its birth. The papacy had been assaulted again and again, only to emerge from every contest mightier and prouder and wickeder than before, its foes crushed beneath an iron heel, its subjects, including kings and bishops, as well as the masses, prostrate and helpless at its feet. There never was such a despotism as that of the Romish hierarchy. There never was a power so absolute, so neary omnipotent. It was the supreme temporal and spiritual authority, it held in subjection men's bodies and their souls, it was sovereign over reason and over conscience, it held in subjection the most powerful monarch as well as the slave stripped of every vestige of freedom. From its fiat there lay no appeal to any one on earth or in heaven. To question its decision was to incur its inexorable sentence. To resist its authority was to find no escape possible from its most brutal and ruthless exercise.

How such a revolution was effected in the sixteenth century, how the colossal power of Rome was broken, Lutherans can never forget. A company of earnest believers had experienced that salvation is a free gift, that Christ atoned for all actual sins of men, that the sinner is justified by faith alone. They found this to be the doctrine of Scriptures, and they proceeded to preach it and to teach it and to sing it and to live it

everywhere. And the result was the vanishing of spiritual darkness before the rising sun; it was life from the dead, it was a revolution dividing Christendom on the line of Rome and the Reformation, a revolution that contained the germs and the pledge of every advance that society has made in 400 years. The men who were God's instruments in achieving this result were styled Lutherans and the Church constituted by their administration of word and sacrament was called in derision the Lutheran Church.

Other communions in opposition to Rome came into being, and with largely the same ideas, but not simultaneously. No other Evangelical Church can claim to be a twin sister of the Lutheran. Zwingli was indeed at work, as early as Luther, denouncing some crying corruptions, but the historian can easily premise what would have become of his religio-political reforms had it not been for the impulse which came from Wittenberg, and for the later conservatism and sacramental modifications which the more powerful Calvin superinduced upon the radical movement of the Swiss patriot.

It was two years after the presentation of the Augsburg Confession when Calvin espoused the principles of the Reformation, fifteen years, therefore, after the posting of the ninety-five theses.

It is undisputed that Luther's writings set England aflame with the reformatory agitations, and that the new birth of the English Church was witnessed long after the Church of Germany had cast off the papal rule, that it was in fact brought about by English

divines like Cranmer who had sat at the feet of Lutheran theologians, and by Lutheran divines like Bucer who held professional chairs in English universities.

The circumstance that the earliest reforms in every country were called Lutherans shows the relation which they bore to the great Reformer, and reveals the genetic relation of the Evangelical Lutheran to their churches. The Lutheran Church did not only precede these other communions; she gave birth to them. She is the parent Evangelical Church, the mother of Protestantism. At the time of the immortal Protest at Spires in 1526, evangelical doctrines had not taken form nor shape outside of Germany except in a few small Swiss cantons, which, by the way, illustrates the measure of intelligence possessed by men who question the Protestantism of the Lutheran Church.

All the other great historic churches have sprung from the Lutheran. To her repudiation of papal assumptions, to her translation of the Scriptures, and to the saving doctrines preached by her leaders at the peril of their lives they owe their existence. "Her Confession," says Dr. Schaff, "struck the keynote to the other Evangelical Confessions." And no church can properly claim to be a church until it rests on a confession.

The Lutheran Church is the great mediating power between ancient and modern Christianity. She struck her roots deep into the past and enriched her strength from the soil of the church in every age between Luther's and that of the Apostles. She is the Conservative Church. The reformation effected by her is known as the Conservative Reformation. Others were deter-

mined to break with the past, to cut loose from the historic stream, to start anew the development of Christian institutions. The Lutherans planted themselves on an unbroken continuity of development, they took their position on a historic basis, they believed that Christ had never abdicated His place at the head of the Church, nor the Spirit withdrawn from its bosom.

What was needed was purification and not destruction. Hands were laid sparingly on existing institutions. Whatever is good and true and precious must be conserved. Whatever is not in opposition to the word of God must stand as a healthful and useful development. Thus the Lutheran Church fell heir to the inheritance of the ages, while others disdainfully cast aside their spiritual patrimony, and starting *de novo* entered upon their career with a poverty of institutions in striking contrast with the treasures which the Lutherans preserved and purified and adapted to the needs of the age.

The scholastic development of doctrine so far as it did not turn away from the Gospel, the incomparable store of chants and creeds and prayers and hymns which the faith and piety of centuries had accumulated, eliminating only what was impure, even the polity which had served the church so well for more than a thousand years; all these the Lutheran Church sought to preserve and retain as far as practicable. And what she preserved she has transmitted and mediated to others. A noble and unselfish elder brother, the Lutheran Church faithfully guarded the patrimonial estate, which other children prodigally despised, and in course of

time each of these by turns were glad to receive the inheritance which had been so faithfully and sacredly preserved for them.

Of their Confession the Lutherans maintained that it was simply the faith of the Scriptures and of "the universal Christian Church," and that Confession it is well known became the keynote of all the other evangelical confessions. That of the Church of England is in large part almost a literal transcript of it.

Of their Liturgy they could say this is substantially nothing more than "the outline and structure of the Service of the Western Church for a thousand years." The whole series of Introits, Collects, Epistles and Gospels, which constitute the Lutheran Service, "was finally completed after some centuries of growth, in the reign and domain of Charlemagne," and continued in force in Germany until the Reformation. Let any one turn to the first reformation liturgy of the Church of England and he will find an almost perfect agreement between that and the service rescued and revised from the ancient church by the Reformers of Germany, a service which the latter had used in many states and cities continuously for more than twenty years, before the Anglican Church with Lutheran assistance proceeded with the revision of its forms of worship and issued the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.

The religious teaching and life cannot be severed from civil government and civic life. The Gospel leavens the whole social mass. The Lutherans have been censured for their failure to attack monarchy and

subvert despotism in the state when overthrowing it in the church. But nowhere is the saving conservatism of Lutheranism brought into clearer light. Luther and his colaborers fearlessly announced principles which shook absolutism to its inmost centre. They proclaimed the freedom and the dignity of the individual and asserted the inalienable rights of man, but instead of resorting to brute force or invoking the slaughter of rulers for the triumph of principles, they showed their transcendent faith in the power of ideas, and having enunciated the eternal truths which underlie all civil liberty, they were content to leave their development to their own inherent and persistent energy.

In this way they contributed immeasurably more to the permanent establishment of free government than if by impatience they had overturned the existing order, and by a sweeping but temporary revolution had started the wheels of reaction and arrested the normal progress of civilization. The substance of freedom is of greater worth than its forms. We have an example of the contrast between England and France. The former still retaining monarchy, enjoys a larger measure of political liberty than any other country of Europe, the latter, having again and again abolished monarchy, still fails to breathe the air of a true democracy.

Her Conservatism has made the Lutheran Church the bulwark of civil liberty. She liberated thought, she broke the spell of Rome, she wrought on the conscience of rulers in behalf of the rights and the needs of their subjects, she established popular education, she

inculcated individual responsibility, she taught men that they were God's children, she inspired them to appeal from the earthly oppressor to the heavenly avenger, and in this manner she so mightily armed their subjects that sovereigns, however absolute their forms of power, knew the power of their people and realized that they had to reckon not only with them but with One whose authority was feared more than their own. The Lutheran Church thus stands in history as the upholder and guardian of civil order, and at the same time as the inspirer and generator of those political ideas which secure human rights under every form of civil polity.

Our theme is so vast that a full exploration of it is impracticable within the limits allowed. Time permits only the sketching of a few outlines.

The Lutheran Church took the lead in heathen missions. Though the principal Lutheran countries were not given to maritime pursuits and had no colonies, yet through the intervention of the Danish government two Lutheran missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, proceeded to India in the year 1704, antedating by one hundred years the missionary movements of other Protestant communions, excepting only the Moravians. It was from Lutheran Halle that "missionary zeal spread over other countries and other denominations."

She was the first to colonize this country in the interests of missions. While others came hither in quest of refuge from oppression and persecution, or in pursuit of wealth, or with ambitious projects of

founding great empires, the primary consideration which impelled the great Lutheran king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, to establish a colony beyond the seas was the planting of the Christian religion among the wild inhabitants of the country. It was primarily a missionary movement.

And in connection with this let it be added that these same Lutherans were the first to bring to this western wilderness those ideas and principles of religious tolerance which are at the foundation of our colossal national expansion and power. The instructions given to the Swedish Governor, bearing date Stockholm, August 15, 1642, declare: "So far as relates to the Holland colonists that live and settle under the government of her Royal Majesty and the Swedish crown, the governor shall not disturb them in the indulgence granted them as to the exercise of the Reformed religion." As these instructions were faithfully carried out we see on the banks of the Delaware a somewhat different picture from that which meets us on the Hudson, where the Dutch Calvinists were fining and imprisoning Lutherans who desired to worship God according to their own faith, or that other one, in Massachusetts, so much better known, where the Puritan Fathers were engaged in hanging and whipping Quakers and banishing Baptists from the colony.

The first to proclaim and enact religious tolerance, the Lutherans have at the same time the singular honor of being the first Protestants in America, as well as in Europe, to suffer religious persecution. Not only were cruel penalties inflicted upon them on Manhattan Island

because their consciences refused to confess Calvinistic tenets in connection with the baptism of their infants, but the first Christian blood which stained this virgin soil was Lutheran blood, for a century before, on the coast of Florida, a French colony was massacred because of the Lutheran faith attributed by the inhuman Spaniards.

We point with just pride to the Lutheran Church as the church of culture. She is called the church of theologians by writers in other communions, which do not pretend to rival her incomparable theological literature. Her great doctrinal systems setting forth in articulate structures the fullness and clearness of Scriptural doctrine is paralleled only by the vastness of her devotional literature, her myriads of hymns and chorals, and her manuals of piety, showing that a richness of spiritual life is the counterpart of the richness of doctrinal development. Take away the hymns of Watts and Wesley from the English anthology and the sacred poets of England and America number barely a score, whereas Germany alone has a hymnology worthy of the sanctuary which would fill many shelves of a library.

Popular education was referred to above. Ever since the famous declaration of Luther, "If we must annually expend large sums on muskets, roads, bridges, dams, and the like, in order that the city may have temporal peace and comfort, why should we not apply as much to our poor neglected youth, in order that they may have a skillful schoolmaster or two," the Lutheran Church has on this great subject held the lead. The

school systems of Germany have no equal, and it is well known that Lutheran lands have no illiterates. It was a surprising and a severe lesson for Americans to learn that so far from needing the compulsion of police force to give their children an education, the Lutherans who have come hither have a system of their own so thorough and withal so comprehensive that under no circumstances will they surrender it for an educational system which lacks the first element of a true education, instruction in truth and righteousness. Their coming to these shores may yield among other things some happy results if Americans are willing to copy from a system which approaches perfection more nearly than their own.

No picture of Lutheranism is complete which overlooks the type of its piety and the strength of its morality. Let a paragraph from Kurtz suffice:

“The Christian life of the people in the Lutheran Church combined deep, penitential earnestness and a joyfully confident consciousness of justification by faith with the most nobly steadfast cheerfulness and heartiness natural to the German citizen. Faithful attention to the spiritual interests of their people, vigorous ethical preaching, and zealous efforts to promote the instruction of the young on the part of their pastors, created among them a healthy and hearty fear of God, * * * a thorough and genuine attachment to the church, strict morality in domestic life, and loyal submission to civil authority.”

Finally the Lutheran Church has demonstrated her indestructible character. She has had to battle in turn

with every foe. She has found the most powerful enemies of her life arising within her own bosom, as well as sustained the most terrible assaults from without, but she stands like a rock in the sea against which have beaten the waves and storms of unnumbered ages.

When but emerging from the chaos and darkness in which was born her distinctive life the Lutheran Church was confronted with the most specious form of fanaticism. Co-workers with Luther like Carlstadt not only plunged into revolutionary methods and employed carnal weapons, but claimed such immediate communion with God and such direct access to super-human resources as rendered unnecessary the divinely appointed means of grace and poured contempt even upon the written word of God.

But the Church survived the desperate struggle. Desolated by a war which continued its ravages during the life of a generation, the Church in Germany sunk into a formalism which history represents as a dreary winter succeeding to the Pentecostal springtime of the Reformers, but from this, too, she emerged with a fullness and potency of life that not only sent its warm currents through every artery of its own organism, but became the means of England's regeneration and gave the impulse to the founding of Methodism.

Fettered by the authority of the state, the poison of rationalism was allowed to enter her universities and passed thence into her pulpits and threatened to consume her people, but such was the vitality of their faith and such was the power of the antidote provided

in her hymns and other forms of worship, that she was able to come forth triumphant also from this onslaught.

The Lutheran Church of history is a church singing

“Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.”

She is founded upon God's word. God is in the midst of her. She cannot be moved. She abides forever.

III. THE EARLIEST LUTHERAN CHURCHES.

When Martin Luther witnessed his noble confession at Worms, there was present in that city a veritable American Indian, a mute man of Macedonia, signaling the opening of a new continent for the home of the new religion.

It was a wonderful coincidence: the exploration of a new world and the recovery of a pure faith which was waiting to spread like the rays of the sun over the habitable globe. Neither the continent nor the doctrine of Luther was really new, but the one like the other was a fresh discovery, a new revelation of what had existed ages before.

But Providence has its cross-purposes, and so it happened that the very nation which made the discovery of America and founded its first settlements, was the power most hostile to the rediscovered gospel in Europe, and therefore least inclined to allow to it a foothold on these shores. Consequently the very first appearance of Protestants on this continent was the signal for a horrible massacre, and the first European blood which stained the virgin soil of what is now our country was the blood of a colony suspected of Lutheranism.

More than half a century before the landing of the Mayflower, and more than a generation before the founding of Jamestown by Captain John Smith, a

colony of French Huguenots in 1565 settled at Fort Carolina, near Matanzas Inlet, in Florida, hoping to enjoy there undisturbed the solace and joy of their faith. Lured into fatal security by the perfidious Spanish officers, who promised them protection, 142 men, women and children were horribly butchered and the entire colony was wiped out. I know of the claim that these French Protestants were Calvinists, not Lutherans, but no one questions that they were massacred because they were taken for Lutherans, for their murderers posted a placard declaring that their victims were slaughtered not because they were Frenchmen but because they were Lutherans.

But the God of Luther did not intend that America should become a continental Cuba. Providence did not allot this grand domain to Roman Catholic Spain—although the Pope did make such a disposal of it. If anything in the divine ordering of terrestrial affairs is clear, it is that this part of the globe was designed as a refuge for those who were resolved on freedom from religious and political tyranny. And under the guidance of an unseen Hand those who suffered most from Spanish oppression were goaded to the organization of trading companies and the founding of colonies destined to forestall the dominion of Spain in her own discoveries.

It was the intolerable cruelty of Philip II. and his minions which converted the Dutch into a mighty republic and an unrivaled sea power, supplied with the means of transporting their enterprising colonists to the very lands once claimed as exclusive Spanish pos-

sessions. And so it came about that the very first Lutheran congregation in America was a company of Swedes who had been guided hither under influences which the Spaniards themselves had developed. The Spaniards stirred up the Dutch, and the Dutch incited the Swedes to enter upon American colonization.

At the confluence of the Brandywine with Christiana creek, two miles from the Delaware, on a spot comprised in the limits of Wilmington, within the walls of a military fort, was founded in 1638 the first Evangelical Lutheran church of this country. The congregation was not large, since the whole colony consisted of but twenty-five, but their pastor, Reorus Torkillus, had accompanied them from Sweden over the sea, and in a few years successive expeditions greatly increased their numbers. Still, after the havoc of a deadly contagion, the whole settlement numbered in 1644 less than three hundred souls. Since many of these were bachelors, a petition was sent to the home country for a supply of maidens to be their companions and helpmeets.

A second Swedish church was erected—and of course a second congregation founded—under Lieutenant Colonel Printz near Tinicum Island, fifteen miles further up the Delaware, and about nine miles southwest of Philadelphia. This was a wooden frame structure, dedicated by Campanius in 1646, and was used for half a century as a place of worship.

While there was a frequent change of pastors because of the recall of the ministers by the State Church of Sweden, and while they were sometimes left

as sheep without a shepherd, we read of one man, Rev. Lars Lock, who served both these congregations for a period of twenty-two years. In the midst of his labors and hardships a rascally fellow-countryman stole from him his wife. The deserted pastor soon felt the need of another spouse, and having obtained a legal divorce, he was not long in finding one. But as there was no other clergyman within one hundred miles (in 1662) he performed the marriage ceremony himself, and for this the government proceeded against him, suspended him from office, declared his marriage invalid, and threatened him with further penalties. But as he protested that he intended no violation of law, and promised never to do so again, he was not further disturbed.

While the Swedes were the first to have organized congregations, there were Dutch Lutherans in America for ten or more years before the Swedes. They came intermingled with the earliest settlers on Manhattan Island. Although the Lutherans were allowed their own worship in Holland, the Reformed Church was the State Church; and when the West India Company provided in their charter for the Christian religion and pious preachers in their colonies, they understood by these terms the decrees of the Synod of Dort and the champions of extreme Calvinism. In the governor's oath was included a promise to promote the Reformed religion, and when it came to Stuyvesant's turn to be director-general he was minded to be as good as his oath.

As long as the Lutherans were content to attend Reformed worship, and to have only their household

devotions according to their own faith, they were unmolested and looked upon as good citizens, but when their increasing numbers enabled them to form a congregation, as early as 1649, and when in 1653 they preferred a request to have their own pastor, this was promptly and peremptorily refused.

Here a long, exasperating chapter could be given: The undaunted, indefatigable determination of the Lutherans to have their own worship, their appeal to the mother country, their recourse to the intercession of their Lutheran friends at home, the fierce opposition of the local Calvinistic "dominies," who warned the government of the dangers of having a Lutheran church and Lutheran preachers in this country! How the home authorities and West India Company sustained Stuyvesant, and warned him never again to entertain or to transmit such a request, but to use gentle and moderate methods to lure the Lutherans into the Reformed fold! How by public posters over the town Lutheran worship, even reading and singing, was strictly prohibited on pain of imprisonment! How the Directors in Amsterdam had a spasm of liberality and agreed that the Lutherans might have free worship in their homes! How they shifted and shuffled, promised and prevaricated, now practicing intolerance that would have shamed the papacy, now concerned about the serious detriment this wrought in the colony!

The years went, and the years came, but the helpless Lutherans were not permitted to have a pastor who would preach their precious doctrines, conduct

worship according to their order, and administer the Sacraments agreeably to their conscience.

The Directors were at one time induced to promise that Lutheranism should be tolerated in the New Netherlands, and our suffering people were rejoiced at the prospect of soon having a duly qualified shepherd and teacher, but Stuyvesant and his parsons were sure that this must be a mistake; they refused to recognize the reported action until they had received a more specific interpretation of it, and the edicts against Lutheran conventicles continued in force. When the official interpretation came, it was to the effect that Lutheran family worship was not to be molested. At one time this had been forbidden.

The Lutherans in Amsterdam had, however, given a more liberal interpretation to the decision of the Directory, and had actually sent over in 1657 a pastor by the name of Goetwater, whose arrival at Manhattan filled the faithful Lutheran flock with joy but the governor and his parsons with consternation and dismay. Before he could present himself to the church he came to serve, Goetwater was dragged before the authorities like an escaped convict. The letter which contained his credentials to the congregation he was forbidden to deliver until he received further orders, and a public placard prohibited him from every exercise of his office. In fact, there was an ordinance in force which imposed a fine of 100 Flemish pounds on anyone holding an assembly for worship, and engaging in prayer, praise or reading, and the crime for attending such a service was fixed at twenty-five pounds.

The parsons demanded Goetwater's return by the same ship that brought him. They recognized now that their fellow Christians, "with a hard Lutheran pate," were bent upon founding a Lutheran church in spite of the official prohibition. They promptly sent their protest to the home government, "the snake was already in their bosom," how shall they get rid of it? It is a satisfaction to know that they had a deal of trouble in getting rid of this Lutheran "snake." Again and again the doughty governor ordered Goetwater to quit the country, to embark in the first ship, and threatened him with punishment if he were found in the town or province after the departure of the next vessel, and yet he managed not to get away, and always had an excuse by which he escaped Stuyvesant's vengeance for at least a year and a half, although ship sailed after ship. A few years later, 1662, all preaching except that of the Reformed, was once more prohibited, "in houses, barns, ships, forests or fields, under penalty of fifty florins for the first offense for every man, woman or child participating," the penalty to be doubled for the second offense, and quadrupled for the third offense, with whatever severity seemed good to the governor. And yet the Lutherans, like the Israelites in Egypt, were not exterminated, they did not surrender their faith, they did not give up their worship, though we are not informed whether the prescribed fines were collected.

A second congregation of Dutch Lutherans is met with in Albany in 1656, perhaps as early as 1650, but there also the presence of Lutherans was regarded as

an encroachment of heretical spirits, and placards were posted by the Vice-Director, "against certain persons of the Lutheran sect."

The right to have Lutheran worship was accordingly denied by the powers until those powers themselves were overthrown, and all that region of America passed under the flag of England, which is everywhere the symbol of liberty, of justice, and of equal rights. Scarcely had Colonel Nicolls, the first English governor, entered upon his office, when the Lutherans presented their petition for freedom of worship and permission to have a pastor, a petition which was promptly guaranteed.

Alas! the first pastor to come proved a disappointment and a disgrace. The government was soon constrained to inhibit his ministrations at Albany, where on his first visit, 1669, he attempted to impose a fine of one thousand dollars for a member who failed to employ him to perform his marriage ceremony. In New York the congregation proceeded under his pastorate to erect a church, seeking financial assistance from their Swedish brethren on the Delaware, but here, too, the government had to interfere, and the congregation was as much relieved by the departure of their pastor, as they had been rejoiced over his arrival. But before he finally withdrew, 1670, he installed as pastor one who had unexpectedly arrived on the scene, who appears in every way to have been adapted to the work of caring for the sheep in the wilderness, a winning, kindly, considerate man, a most excellent preacher and pastor. I refer to Arenzius, who for a period of twenty

years served the congregations at New York and Albany, spending his summers at the former place, his winters at the latter, receiving a fixed salary besides house rent and firewood.

Harmony and prosperity appear to have attended his ministrations, excepting that at Albany the Reformed grave-digger, or undertaker, considered himself the grave-digger of the town, with the exclusive right to all dead bodies and the resultant fees, and he consequently objected to the Lutherans having one of their own number for this purpose, as an intrusion on his rights and his receipts.

The German Lutherans from whom we have sprung directly were the last to arrive on our shores, and we have no trace of a German organization before the eighteenth century. When our ancestors first came they came in poverty, for the most part fugitives and exiles from the Palatinate, which the French had turned into a desert.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, and in the early years of the eighteenth, Lutherans were scattered over the province of Pennsylvania, and Lutheran services were held at Germantown and elsewhere, but we have no trace of an organization earlier than that at Falckner's Swamp, (New Hannover), where Daniel Falckner, the agent of a land company, founded a congregation probably as early as the year 1703. We have no records of the congregation prior to the pastorate of Gerhard Henkle, who served there from 1717. Under his ministry the congregation increased and flourished, and in 1719 a wealthy land-

owner donated for the uses of the congregation fifty acres of land. Taking possession of this property, the congregation built a new and larger church and alongside of it a school-house, the first German Lutheran church in this country setting thus an example to all its descendants for the promotion of education side by side with godliness.

Early in that century German Lutherans fleeing from the devastated Palatinate, streamed in large numbers into the province of New York. One colony came across the Atlantic in the immediate charge of a pastor, Joshua Von Kockerthal, and under the kindly protection of the English government, landing New Year's day 1709. The governor, Lord Lovelace, cared for them during the winter and then located them in the spring on the right bank of the Hudson close to Newburg. Queen Anna had allotted to every man, woman and child fifty acres of land and donated five hundred acres for a perpetual glebe, a bounty of which they were cruelly robbed, after they had brought it under cultivation and erected on it a church building.

In the following year (1710) 3,000 more of the Palatine exiles reached New York and were settled up the Hudson, in the neighborhood of East Camp and West Camp. The exact location of the first church they erected is not known, but before the winter was on them both a church and a school-house had been provided.

These Lutheran pioneers possessed characteristics which commend them strongly for imitation to their ecclesiastical descendants:

1st. They were models of true piety.

To be allowed by law worship at their own fire-side, was to them no meaningless concession. The observance of family devotions they claimed as an inalienable privilege, a right which nothing could move them to surrender. Think of settlers in the wilderness having like the Swedes, public worship and a sermon not only on all Sundays, Festivals and Apostles' Days, but also on every Wednesday and Friday, and even holding a meeting for prayer morning and evening every day of the week! Where a pastor could not be present the governor appointed lay-readers. Church discipline and the training of the young were embraced in their original instructions.

2d. Their piety was reflected in their morals.

They were a peaceful, industrious, orderly, law-abiding people. They recognized the Indians as brothers and purchased the soil from them as its true owners. William Penn on his arrival was delighted with the Swedes, and formally commended them as a "proper people," with "fine children," and young men exceptionally "sober and industrious," having withal an unassailable reputation for honesty.

3d. They were devoted to their church.

Pious people usually are. Their enjoyment of the grace of God endears to them the fountains whence they derive it. How easily those in the New Netherlands could have escaped persecution and avoided all their troubles, if their conscience could have accommodated itself to the Calvinistic form of Baptism, if their spiritual hunger could have been satisfied with the

worship of the sermons of their Reformed brethren! Such a form of Baptism, however, compromised their faith, and Calvinistic worship did not meet their spiritual wants. The authorities were charged to use mild measures to woo them over. But a Lutheran heart and a Lutheran conscience craved the doctrines and rites in which they had been reared. And the Swedes when they had to surrender to the Dutch authorities and lost all their civil rights in 1655, managed to have inserted in their capitulation the right to retain the Augsburg Confession, and to have a pastor to instruct them in its doctrines. This was in accordance with the original instructions given to Lieutenant Colonel Printz in 1642, and repeated in 1646, which directed that the colony should faithfully maintain the church life of the Fatherland, should guard against Calvinistic leaven, and that divine services be held in conformity with the unaltered Augsburg Confession.

Read the first Lutheran book published in America, by Pastor Justus Falckner. What a clear Lutheran ring it has, the author in the preface confessing the Symbols of the Lutheran Church, the confession of his fathers, "which confession and faith by the grace of God and conviction wrought by His word and Spirit also dwell in me and shall dwell to my blessed end."

4th. They had an extended Liturgy.

The Swedes were instructed to hold to the usages of the Swedish Church. Their calendar is always that of the Church year. Events occurred on Trinity Sunday, Second Advent, Rogate, etc. The first Dutch preacher brought over the Liturgy in use by the Luth-

erans of Holland. The Dutch Lutherans had so much ceremony, especially in connection with their funerals, that the Reformed were unwilling to have them bury their dead in the public cemetery. They could not tolerate the extensive ritual which the Lutherans observed. And when the Albany undertaker lodged his complaint with the governor against the Lutheran undertaker, the governor expressed his surprise that a Reformed funeral director could with a good conscience officiate at a Lutheran funeral, seeing that the Lutherans had so many more ceremonies than the Reformed, and that these ceremonies were so offensive to a Reformed conscience. The pastors always wore the clerical robe.

5th. They co-operated with one another.

Although of different nationalities, these pioneer Lutherans went to each other's assistance. When the Dutch undertook to build a house of worship they repaired to their Swedish brethren on the Delaware with a subscription list. When they could get no pastor from Amsterdam, Rudman of Wicaco on the Delaware went to their relief. And to anyone acquainted with the trials and hardships of our German ancestors in Pennsylvania, it must be manifest that the immense numbers of our church in that Commonwealth to-day must be ascribed in large measure to the cordial sympathy and fraternal co-operation which marked the relations of the Swedes and the Germans, and finally united them in one ecclesiastical body, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

6th. They were animated by the missionary spirit.

The Swedes received special directions from the

home government to deal kindly with "the poor wild men," to convert them to Christianity, and bring them under civilization and good government. They were the first emigrants to settle here with this task as their object. Pastor Campanius so mastered their language as to be able to teach them the Gospel, and to translate for them Luther's Small Catechism as early as 1651, the first book to be translated into an Indian tongue. And such an impression was made upon the natives by these evangelistic endeavors, that they confessed that the God of the Swedes was as far superior to their God as the cannon and guns of the Christians exceeded their own bows and arrows. The facility with which Penn was able to enter into friendly relations with the Indians was due in large measure to the Christian treatment they had enjoyed from the Swedes for a generation.

IV. THE LUTHERANS.

It was a notable coincidence that just as Columbus was crossing the Atlantic in quest of a new world, Martin Luther was receiving instruction in the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. And when the humble monk struck the death knell to ecclesiastical and political tyranny in the never-to-be-forgotten scene at Worms, the presence of an embassy from the lately-discovered continent, wearing costly silks and "veiled about the head like a gypsy woman," was a mute but distinct prophecy of the relation which this new domain was to bear to the new ideas. It would have been in accordance with the eternal fitness had the Columbian Exposition been held on the fourth centenary of Luther's birth.

The first European settlers on our shores belonged, indeed, to the old faith, but they were not permitted to lay the foundations of this free Republic. It was ordained that a people brought forth in the pangs of the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, whose religious convictions embraced the equality and the brotherhood of all men, should establish here a Republic destined to be the bulwark of liberty to all nations.

The earliest Protestant colonies did not bear the Lutheran name, yet they are directly traceable to the impulse of the new ideas heralded by the Lutheran reformers. The governments of Lutheran nations pos-

sessed at that time meagre commercial equipments, and were, besides, so prostrated by the 'Thirty Years' War that it was impossible for them to undertake any colonial projects.

Still, the first appearance of Lutherans in America is almost coincident with its first settlement. There was a considerable sprinkling of them with the Dutch colony which, in 1623, occupied Manhattan Island, the territory now comprised in the city of New York.

A body of Swedish Lutherans founded in 1638 a New Sweden on the banks of the Delaware, below the site of Philadelphia, purchasing lands from the Indians, teaching them the Gospel, and living on terms of amity with them for nearly fifty years prior to the famous treaty of William Penn under the Shackamaxon Elm.

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To the Swedes belongs the double honor of being the first Protestants to plant a colony for the establishment of the Church of God among the heathen, as well as the first to advance and practice here the principle of religious tolerance. The Governor received instructions, dated Stockholm, August 15, 1642, not to disturb the Holland colonists "as to the exercise of the reformed religion."

The trunk from which has properly sprung the American Lutheran Church is the large body of Germans who poured into this country in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Those along the Hudson and Schoharie suffered indescribable hardships, and, like their co-religionists in Pennsylvania, who fared

somewhat better in temporal things, were for many years almost totally destitute of the ministrations of the sanctuary.

The founding and the preservation of the Church amid their terrible trials is an instance of the marvelous, if not of the miraculous. There were in 1735 but eight regular ministers to care for a Lutheran population scattered over the country from the Mohawk to the Savannah, these clergymen being separated from each other by intervals of hundreds of miles, with no roads or possible means of travel except on horseback through trackless forests, and with no protection against the beasts of prey or prowling savages. Long before this the New England Congregationalists had an average of more than two ministers to a congregation, with the advantage of settled communities.

The proper organization of these dispersed communities and their association into one body did not take place until after the arrival of Muhlenberg, who is honored as the patriarch of the American Lutheran Church, a man who left upon it the indelible impress of his apostolic devotion and his administrative efficiency, and who was the progenitor of a succession of statesmen, soldiers and scholars that rank his family among the most famous of the country.

The extraordinary bloom which the Church attained under his guidance was blighted by the War for Independence. This struggle, following the devastations of nine years' conflict between the French and English, and succeeded by the dissensions and general distress into which the country was plunged on the con-

clusion of peace with England, almost annihilated the Lutheran Church.

After these trials, which she shared with other and stronger communities, came another and a sharper ordeal, one altogether her own, which tested to the last degree her vitality and powers of endurance. This was the surrender of the mother tongue.

English services had been maintained, yet the ruling language continued to be German, and the conflict provoked by the necessity for English in public worship, which to the Germans implied the surrender of the most sacred treasures and traditions of their race, was attended by the most disastrous consequences.

Victory remained with the language which destiny has made our national tongue, but the obstinate and fierce resistance to it became the most serious obstruction in the Church's path, lost multitudes to her fold, paralyzed her energies, limited her sphere, cramped her spirit, and placed her altogether at such disadvantage to the other Churches that even to this day, after bleeding and suffering from it for a hundred years, she has not recovered from this suicidal opposition to the inevitable.

This is peculiarly true of her interests in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, where, had a different policy prevailed in former generations, she would doubtless this day be the leading denomination. But the most far-reaching and deplorable result of the conflict was the insurmountable barrier it raised to the establishment of schools for higher learning and for the training of candidates for the sacred office.

Co-operation in such work between the antagonistic parties was out of the question. Thus, for half a century, all educational movements were frustrated, and that Church which is the parent of modern culture as surely as she is the mother of Protestantism, was for a long period left without an educational institution above the grade of her parish schools. In spite of overwhelming odds some advance was witnessed. Worthy and distinguished men presided over the Church in different States. Their number presented, indeed, a lamentable disproportion to the extent of the field; but it is doubtful whether any other denomination could at the time boast of a ministry that surpassed them in intellectual attainments, in pastoral aptitude, in self-sacrificing devotion, and in the highest qualities of pulpit eloquence.

The estimated strength of the body in 1820 was 42,000 communicants, 575 congregations, and 160 ministers, distributed in five different organizations, whose boundaries coincided pretty nearly with the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia and North Carolina. Their union into one General Synod, though but partially successful, forms an epoch from which date the permanent prosperity and steady expansion of the Church.

Educational institutions were established, missionary activity assumed a measure of system, harmony of teaching and co-operation in religious effort were promoted, the standard of spiritual life was raised, a church consciousness was begotten and a degree of vitality developed which, notwithstanding the irre-

trievable losses that had thrown the Church far behind her sister churches, has given her an uninterrupted and a prodigious growth.

In 73 years the figures given above have swelled to a grand total of 5,468 ministers, 9,213 congregations and 1,305,319 communicants.

Intelligent men who have not specially watched the progress of different denominations have been startled by the sudden emergence of a powerful community whose presence had scarcely been noticed, and it is hard even for enthusiastic and wide-awake Lutherans to realize the enormous increase of their Church and the change which has taken place in her relative position.

It is not so very long ago since the general religious statistics barely recognized this communion, and assigned it a place among the smaller sects; but it has overtaken one after the other of the evangelical bodies until it holds the fourth or possibly the third rank, being outnumbered only by the Baptists, Methodists, and, may be, the Presbyterians.

This advance has been made in the face of overwhelming odds. Her long adherence to a foreign tongue, and her relative confinement to rural districts, had kept the Church in comparative obscurity and dimmed her prestige. Her career in this country had been a struggle for existence.

The Lutherans found among the earliest colonial settlements were sporadic communities, incapable of a blended life and growth, and their Church did not come to organic form or reach the conditions of normal development and aggressive movement until the

second quarter of this century, when it was not only a feeble body in every sense of the word, but deprived by its congregational polity of that efficiency of organization for which there is ordinarily required the centralization of power.

The Church's progress was, besides, still fettered not only by the paralysis of inherited discouragements, by gross and persistent misrepresentations and inveterate prejudices, but also by the almost total loss of her individuality.

Her church life had become so much influenced by the practices and teachings of her more prosperous neighbors that her distinctive features seemed almost effaced, and she was apparently near the point of being merged with churches of greater prominence.

But she has steadily overcome these hindrances to her progress, and within the brief period of seventy-three years she has made a change of language, developed an aggressive organization of resources, recovered her distinctive features, and five times doubled her membership, once every thirteen years. Her growth in the last forty years has hardly a parallel in our religious history.

This hasty survey shows unmistakably not only that the Lutheran Church has a vitality which is indestructible, but that she holds life-forces which are destined to exert an incalculable influence in the moulding of our national life.

Possessed of a strong individuality, standing in many respects midway between Romanism and ultra Protestantism, the Evangelical Lutheran Church has

been the subject of grievous misrepresentations from those on her right as well as those on her left.

The logic of history gives her pre-eminence of being the parent Evangelical Church, and the platform on which she has stood from the beginning declares "that in doctrines and ceremonials among us there is nothing received contrary to Scripture or to the Catholic (Universal) Church."

Others went out from her, not she from them. The earliest Reformers in all countries were called Lutherans. And the responsibility for subsequent divisions rests with those who put forth tenets distinctive from and antagonistic to the Mother Church of the Reformation.

The distinctions which separate Protestant bodies have been created mainly under the plea that the work of the Lutherans was not sufficiently radical; and one still hears the insinuation that Lutheranism, holding the golden mean, is essentially nearer to Romanism than are the other forms of Protestantism.

This is the case in which the distance between the extremes is less than that which intervenes between either extreme and the centre. But apart from this, two undeniable facts dispose of the above charge. The first is that the uncompromising attitude of Romanists toward Evangelical communions has been singularly pronounced and bitter toward the Lutherans; the second is that, in proportion to her vast numbers in Europe, the Lutheran Church furnishes fewer recruits to the Church of Rome than any other denomination.

With her marked and self-conscious individuality,

the Lutheran Church claims at the same time to be the most catholic and comprehensive of Protestant bodies. She neither denies the legitimacy of the ministry of others nor questions the validity of their Sacraments. She is hindered by no ecclesiastical considerations and by no syllogisms concerning unrevealed decrees, from teaching the freest grace.

Wherever a sinner trusts in the mercy of God, she holds that he has met all the conditions of salvation. And, while denying that faith can exist without works, her cardinal doctrine is that faith alone is the saving factor. Her view of the authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures, of the solar position of Christ in the Christian system, and of the efficacy of the Sacraments, all revolve around this pivotal truth. Subjectively, this is the heart of Lutheranism. Objectively, its heart is Jesus Christ, the God-man, comprising two natures indissolubly and forever united in one person, in whom the human and the Divine attributes combine in every act and manifestation.

The most conspicuous distinction of Lutheran theology is the place which Christ holds in it. Other systems begin with the Bible, with the decrees, with the Church. Lutheranism is Christo-centric. In its creed, its worship, and its life, Christ is the all in all.

Starting from this centre, the Lutheran Church has developed, beyond any other, a fullness and a richness of Christological thought, which is the glory of her creed and the key to her other distinctive features.

These distinctive features are generally embraced in the term comprehensiveness. As she comprehends

both natures in the one forever indissoluble person of Christ, so she comprehends the presence of the Spirit in the written and preached word and in the Holy Sacraments.

Her charge against others is that they have more or less divorced what God has joined together in Christ, in the Church, in the Scriptures, and in the Sacraments, and that they thus abridge the import of Divine institutions and lower the efficacy of the means of grace.

The Sacraments, which in common with others they hold to be signs and memorials, Lutherans regard also as vehicles and bearers of invisible energy, through which the ascended Redeemer touches the individual soul, enduing it in Baptism with the beginning of a new life, and nourishing it in the Supper by the communion of His body and blood.

The doctrine of the Real Presence has exposed the Lutherans to great misapprehension and unwarranted reproach. They teach that in the Holy Supper there are present with the elements, and received sacramentally and supernaturally, the body and blood of the glorified God-man, a unique and mysterious reality alike to believers and to the unworthy, serving the former unto spiritual invigoration, the latter unto condemnation.

This has been persistently stigmatized as consubstantiation, although not a single Lutheran teacher has ever advocated that theory, and the Church's defenders have with one voice repudiated the term and the idea which it conveys.

Such a charge associates the Lutheran doctrine

with the Roman Catholic dogma of transubstantiation, reducing the distinction to the difference between "trans" and "con," the former prefix indicating an absolute change of the elements into another substance, the latter the commingling of the elements with the body and blood of the Lord, forming one substance.

Lutherans hold that the bread remains bread, the wine remains wine, but in the sacramental reception of these there is a unique reception of the Lord Jesus Christ, a communion of His body and His blood.

The genius of Lutheran worship is a moderate use of prescribed forms, those mainly which the Church has employed in its devotion from the earliest ages of Christendom. Historically the Lutheran is always classed with the liturgical churches, and she boasts an extraordinary wealth of liturgical treasures, the German mind having a strong predilection for the subject of worship.

Uniformity is not enforced, and provision is always made not only for extempore prayer, but also at various points for an alternate form or desirable modification.

The liberty of the congregation is guaranteed at the same time that the value of essential uniformity is emphasized. The tendency for more ritual which is found to-day in all churches has shown itself also among the Lutherans. By the co-operation of all the English Lutheran bodies a Common Order of Service has been prepared and issued, which proved so generally acceptable as to command the unanimous approval of the three Bodies, and which elicited from one of the

most distinguished Presbyterians the encomium of being "the most fitting, judicious, and edifying form of worship in which he had ever joined; a credit to the Lutheran Church and a model to other churches."

The Christian Year is generally observed, and its three principal festivals are celebrated with great eclat and with crowded congregations. To the striking observance of these festivals by the Lutherans, and especially to their joyous Christmas customs, may be credited in large measure their general recognition in American churches. The Christmas tree was first seen in this country in Lutheran churches and in Lutheran homes.

The bright and triumphal character of the Christian festivals, celebrating as they do those cardinal events in the history of redemption, which have secured its blessed results and glorious hopes, are peculiarly consonant with the Lutheran type of Christianity. The living experience of their doctrine of justification by faith opens in the heart the deepest fountain of joy, and sheds over the entire life a glow of peace that passeth understanding.

To such an experience the glad tidings of the angelic anthem become a profound reality. The assurance of being the children of God, through faith in Jesus Christ, is a signal and a pledge of perpetual rejoicing, as it is the only basis of holy living.

To call the Lutheran a singing Church, as has often been done, is a just recognition of her cheerful, buoyant spirit, which voices itself in her songs of salvation. Her walls inclose neither the ascetic gloom of monastic

penance nor the long-visaged and chilling austerity of Puritanism. She recognizes as much as any other communion the terrible sinfulness of sin, but the import of her teaching seems to impress upon her people, beyond what others do, the absolute victory that has been won over sin, and the certainty of deliverance alike from its guilt and power. Her understanding of the Gospel makes it a feast and not a fast.

The large Lutheran community is not marshaled in a corporate and homogeneous union. It has properly started from three centres, and has developed into three grand divisions. Nearly all the English congregations are the outcome of Muhlenberg's organizing genius and his Apostolic activity in Philadelphia and the surrounding regions.

Having survived the dogged resistance to the English language, they began with the founding of the General Synod in 1820 to co-operate in the establishment of educational institutions, candidates for the sacred office were trained and multiplied, missionary agencies were set in motion, and strong churches were built up in Eastern cities.

Although for a long time struggling under every imaginable disadvantage, this branch of the Church has spread over the country from New York to the Golden Gate, having its main strength in the Middle States, especially in Pennsylvania and Maryland, where it is, in many districts, the dominant religious body.

In Pennsylvania alone it maintains three prosperous colleges, and as many theological seminaries. This

branch has never penetrated New England, and it has not to a great extent impressed itself upon the South.

Unfortunately it has itself experienced divisions, which have doubtless retarded the general progress. The outbreak of the civil war severed the organic relations of Southern Lutherans from their brethren north of the Potomac, and the force of circumstances, not sectionalism, has prevented their reunion with the General Synod.

They have colleges at Salem, Va., Mount Pleasant and Concord, N. C., and Newberry, S. C.

The General Synod, which at one time embraced almost the entire American or English-speaking element, experienced another rupture in 1866. The immediate occasion for this was a parliamentary ruling at the Convention in Fort Wayne, but a deeper cause was doubtless instrumental in hastening the dissolution.

During the era of their weakness and isolation, and especially in the course of their transition to another language and their amalgamation with a new nation, the scattered Lutheran churches had in doctrine and usage become closely assimilated to the stronger churches around them. The broad line of distinction in teaching and church life had almost disappeared before the intrusion of radicalism and rationalism.

A conservative reaction set in during the 40's. "The good old ways of the fathers" were once more sought; the old doctrines were studied with fresh ardor; the devotional and liturgical treasures of

Lutheranism were recovered and put into the national tongue, and a revival of historic Lutheranism was witnessed in many quarters. In the language of Dr. C. P. Krauth, Sr., "the Church was disposed to renew her connection with the past, and in her future progress to walk under the guidance of the light which it has furnished."

This movement met with powerful resistance, and was the signal for protracted and violent controversy. Such champions as Dr. S. S. Schmucker, the head of the Gettysburg Seminary, long the most conspicuous and influential Lutheran in America; Dr. B. Kurtz, whose editorial pen in the *Lutheran Observer* wielded an immense power; and Dr. S. Sprecher, President of Wittenberg College, the brilliant leader of the Western churches, contended with might and main against the revival of what was termed "the Old Lutheran Theology."

The representatives of "the New School" carried their measures so far as to bring out the "American Recension of the Augsburg Confession," the so-called "Definite Platform," which eliminated from the fundamental Creed of the Lutheran Church those doctrines which distinguish her from other Churches.

This bold attempt at reconstructing the Confession so as to efface the Lutheran type of Christianity raised a storm throughout the Church which overwhelmed its authors, and added a powerful impetus to the movement it was meant to counteract. It was indirectly repudiated by the unanimous vote of the General Synod of York, in 1864. But sharp contentions were

kept up, especially over the admission of the Franckean Synod into the General Synod, and over the establishment of the Theological Seminary at Philadelphia. Doctrinal divergencies, undeniably, contributed to both actions, yet the lines were not drawn clearly between those representing the stricter and those championing the laxer doctrinal views. The conflict issued in the withdrawal of the venerable and powerful Ministerium of Pennsylvania from the General Synod, followed by a number of other District Synods, and the organization of the General Council on an unequivocal and pronounced Lutheran basis.

This new body, it was hoped, might become the rallying centre for the union of all Lutherans, native and immigrant, who received unqualifiedly the Augsburg Confession. A large number of such continued to adhere to the General Synod, which at the same time pledged itself more avowedly and fully to the Confession, and which, while tolerating a considerable divergence of opinion and practice, cherishes, nevertheless, also an ardent devotion to the peculiar features of the Church.

The second grand division of Lutherans is known as the Missourians, whose development started at St. Louis. In that vicinity a colony of Saxons, which embraced clergymen, teachers, physicians, lawyers and artisans, who had left the Fatherland because of their dissatisfaction with the State Church, founded a settlement in the Spring of 1839. Struggling with deep poverty and other unspeakable hardships, they at once organized a school, in which religion, Latin, Greek,

Hebrew, German, French and English, history, geography, mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history, mental philosophy and music were to be taught.

Their standard of culture and their religious earnestness may be inferred from the establishment of such a school in a log cabin on the prairie immediately upon their arrival. Harvard College was not founded until eighteen years after the landing of the Mayflower. Their attachment to the Lutheran faith had been intensified by persecution and strengthened by experience, and in this new world, freed from the stifling hand of the State, and too conscious of the soundness of their convictions to be disturbed by the religious teachings and practices which prevailed around them, they gave themselves with marvelous wisdom and self-sacrifice to the development of their Church.

Their leader for almost half a century was Dr. C. F. W. Walther, whose extraordinary genius, character and influence entitle him to rank with the greatest men of the century. They number to-day 1,607 pastors, 2,274 congregations, and over 440,489 communicants. Their theological seminaries have over 400 candidates for the ministry, and besides these they support eight colleges and 1,200 parochial schools, with numerous orphanages and hospitals, and an immense publication house.

A third grand division of the Lutheran Church is that sprung from the Scandinavian immigration, which, beginning with small streams in 1838 and 1845, rose to vast dimensions after the war. The larger part of this element is found in the West and the new North-

west, the total number of Norwegians and Swedes, including the generation born here, being estimated at 2,500,000.

All that have crossed the ocean were baptized in the Lutheran National Churches of those countries, but not all have been enrolled as communicants in this country. A total of over 250,000 have been thus enrolled, and their progressive spirit, missionary zeal, and rapid adaptation to American ideas have already made them a power in the religious and political development of the Northwest.

The Swedish Lutherans have their headquarters at Rock Island, where their most successful literary institution is located. The Norwegians centre around Minneapolis, where they have flourishing schools. In some of the newer States the Scandinavians constitute half the population, and the character and extent of their influence may be judged from the inflexible opposition of their legislators, which saved North Dakota from the infamous toils of the Louisiana Lottery.

The numerical strength of the Lutheran communion, which has always stood in the lead of the European Protestant bodies, and which, by its 44,000,000 adherents, still outnumbered them all, its prestige as a grand historic Church, and its possession of a clearly-defined, comprehensive and rock-ribbed creed, which has borne the brunt of many centuries and which strikes its roots deep into Apostolic Christianity—these place it among our great National Churches.

What will be its future growth and what its contribution to the development of this mighty Nation, are

questions of momentous interest not only to Lutherans, but to all American patriots and all American Christians. The situation is full of hope. The prospect is inspiring.

That this Church has elements of weakness, that the extension of her influence will be at the price of struggles and trials, is not to be denied. It is not the law of Christian forces to achieve triumphs without conflicts. *Via Crucis, via Lucis!*

Yet the discouragements besetting the Lutheran body are less serious than those of some others. It lacks, indeed, the vigorous organization of the Methodists, the outward unity of the Episcopalians, the propagandist zeal of the Baptists, and the social prominence and wealth of the Presbyterians; yet, in comparison with these, it holds a vantage ground which has led well-informed men outside the body to speak of "the Lutheran backbone of this country."

Its future prosperity might be argued from its rapid conquests in the recent past. No other church has had to confront such obstacles, and yet no other has in the last forty years shown such a ratio of progress. In many districts, both in the East and in the far West, it has gained more within a quarter of a century than all the other Evangelical churches combined. A net increase of 2,400 congregations in ten years is evidence of a powerful vitality.

If, notwithstanding storms of adversity unknown to other Churches, she has steadily progressed; if in her poverty of outward resources and equipments she has startled the public mind by her prosperity and

power; what may she not be expected to accomplish, since the most favorable change has come over her outward condition, and a corresponding improvement has taken place in her self-consciousness, her *esprit du corps*, and her realization of the opportunities and the mission which confront her in this country?

The Lutheran Church has an infallible guarantee of success in the fact that she is rooted and grounded in the Faith; that she rests firmly on a body of Evangelical doctrine covering the whole sphere of Christian thought and life.

Ideas rule the world. Moral forces must ultimately gain sway over mankind. Truth is the only invincible power on earth. The word of the Lord endureth forever. And a system which is nothing less than a scientific exhibition and definition of scriptural truth may be counted on as mighty spiritual force. The consciousness of the possession of truth begets a confidence, an enthusiasm, and an energy which make the onward march of a religious body irresistible and illimitable.

The doctrines which the Lutheran Church teaches have stood the test of every conceivable form of opposition. And they are the same to-day as when they changed the face of Europe in the sixteenth century; the same, substantially, as when they conquered the Roman Empire from the Euphrates to the wall of Hadrian.

While recognizing that the expressions and adaptations of the Gospel vary with the progress of culture and civilization, the Lutherans have no idea that the

truth itself ever changes, and they cast no such imputations upon inspired teachings as are implied in the claim that only after eighteen centuries is the human mind able to reach its correct interpretation.

The Lutherans know what they believe. And whatever remains for them to do in order to attain the highest efficiency in church work, they have not first to settle the principles or limits of their creed. Not a voice or a whisper is heard for creed revision. Neither have they any place for a "new theology." A new theology they consider a demand for a new Bible.

But ideas must be promulgated. The seed-corns of truth must be scattered over broad acres, and not husbanded in ancient and imposing garner. Harvests grow from industry and toil. The conservatism of the Lutheran body is so marked that its movements often seem tardy, and its aggressions, compared with others, seem behindhand. It may be because of their race characteristics that Lutherans have not generally been classed with the most progressive.

They are not always at the front. It falls sometimes to their lot faithfully to tarry by the stuff, while their more bustling brethren go down to the battle. Their conservatism is, however, the conservatism of stability, not of stagnation. They are not characterized by progress without permanence, neither by permanence without progress: but combining the two principles, their first concern is to have a solid, immovable foundation, and then they build on it, slowly it may be, but surely and forever. They may not plant missions as rapidly as some others, but once firmly

planted their missions are wont to have a steady and fixed growth.

The Year-Books of some prominent denominations contain a column for extinct congregations, one of them reporting annually one-third as many churches expired as were newly organized; another one-half as many. Lutherans have no such statistics.

Along with obstinacy of conviction the Lutherans are generally endowed with a staying genius, a persistence of purpose, and a power of endurance that is sure to bring them in due time to the foremost rank.

It may have taken a little while for these steady-going people to become fully alive to the rapidity and the immensity of our country's expansion, and to realize the openings and the responsibilities for Christian evangelization; but they have undoubtedly been aroused, and it is by no means granted that they are less active than most others in missionary labors, although their operations are no doubt less demonstrative and less conspicuous.

In the amount of funds expended, and the number of missionaries and churches generously supported by wealthy Boards, there is no comparison with Methodists or Presbyterians; but when it comes to results, the margin is with the Lutheran to an extent that is credited only by well-informed Missionary Superintendents.

It is not difficult to account for this. Apart from the acceptability of the Lutheran form of Christianity to the general public, the relations of the Lutheran body to the best elements of our foreign-born popula-

tion give it a matchless advantage over other bodies. All over the land Lutherans are organizing congregations by the hundred and by the thousand, composed of the best blood of Europe.

Undoubtedly immigration brings to our shores some undesirable elements, and this fact has strengthened the nativistic and political antipathy to foreigners in general; but impartial and discriminating minds will not care to compromise their claims to intelligence by denying that a large proportion of the immigration of the past forty years is intellectually and morally up to the American standard.

The stream which has poured in from the German and the Scandinavian States represents as high and pure a civilization as is to be found on the planet. These people have had their training in the best educational systems of the world, and they have had a course of the soundest religious instruction; such, indeed, as finds no parallel in our public schools.

It is the rankest sort of ignorance that indulges in the wholesale denunciation of our foreign-born fellow-citizens. Let a man read the signs of our commercial and banking houses, study the Congressional Directory, ascertain the *personnel* of the foremost American journals and universities, and inquire into the nativity of such names as Ericsson, Lieber, Damrosch, Agassiz, Schurz, and Schaff, and it may dawn upon him that the foreigner is not intrinsically inferior to the American.

Some discrimination is observed where the foreigners are either Englishmen or Scotchmen. Communities or churches made up of these are at once

recognized as being about as good as Americans; but when communities or churches speak German or Swedish, then, forsooth, they are nothing but foreigners!

The value of these foreigners as ecclesiastical material is, however, keenly appreciated by the Missionary Agents and Bishops of other denominations, who are vying with each other to appropriate it. Finding them wedded to the Lutheran Church, in which they were reared, and in which alone they feel themselves properly at home, they testify with one voice that these multitudes offer to the Lutheran body a field for Church Extension such as opens to no other church.

A Presbyterian journal in Cincinnati recently said: "Undoubtedly we are getting, by immigration, much of the best blood of Germany. These immigrants are mostly Protestants, and by their intelligence, thrift, and numbers, are becoming a great power in our land. The Lutheran Church, being the Church of their fathers, stands nearest to them, and can reach and fold them best." Similar testimony to the sterling virtues of Germans and Scandinavians is continually given in the denominational and independent religious press.

It has been charged that they are not Prohibitionists, yet the document most widely circulated in the Iowa Prohibition campaign was a German sermon of the late Dr. Sihler on the "Sauf-Teufel," and it is well known that but for the support of the solid Scandinavian Lutheran vote, Prohibition would not have triumphed in Kansas and the Dakotas.

Along with the extraordinary advantage of having

this great mass predisposed to their Church, the Lutherans have also the singular advantage of being able to furnish religious services to each nationality in its own tongue, having a ministry capable of officiating in English, German, French, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Bohemian, Polish, Hungarian, or whatever may be the nationality. There are also periodical publications in some ten different languages.

Thus the weakness arising from the diversity of language and nationality is more than counterbalanced by the Pentecostal endowment of tongues, which enables this Church alone to offer the Gospel in his vernacular to every European that wanders to our shores. The current for English is at the same time so strong that the lapse of a generation may suffice to Anglicize the whole body.

An impression prevails that these citizens of foreign extraction offer strenuous opposition to our language and institutions; that they form an un-American element, whose adherence to the ideas and traditions of the Fatherland renders them incapable of sustaining any marked share in our national development.

This imputation rests on no foundation of fact. It assumes, too, that these people are too obtuse to recognize the conditions of progress and prominence for their own posterity. The attitude of the Lutherans on the Bennett law has been interpreted as hostility to the English language, and confounded with the opposition of the Roman Catholics to our system of public schools. Both are unwarranted assumptions.

The Lutherans in Wisconsin, who always cheer-

fully pay their part of the public school fund, and who, even where they constitute a large majority, have never asked for a dollar in support of their private schools, raised this simple issue: Whether the State was justified in thrusting its iron hand into schools sustained exclusively by private means? And not only a majority of Wisconsin voters, but the most enlightened public opinion throughout the country sustained the Lutheran position.

The maintenance of these parish schools, in which some 200,000 children receive annually a course of religious as well as secular instruction, is a feature of phenomenal strength to the Lutherans.

Sunday-schools are kept up, and they are generally large and efficient; but the dribble of religious instruction doled out in these once a week, often by incompetent teachers, does not satisfy the German and Scandinavian idea of thoroughness. And with the popular doctrinal laxity and the prevalence of skeptical thought, it becomes a serious question whether the multitude can be held to Christianity without a more thorough indoctrination of the young than now obtains in our American churches.

The Lutherans have everything to gain and nothing to lose from the erection of the school-house alongside of the church. Their secular instruction, even, is not inferior to that of the common schools. The fact that their pupils, as a rule, master two languages, while other children speak but one, ought alone to silence the cavils of prejudice.

Systematic religious training is a universal charac-

teristic of Lutheranism. The inculcation of right doctrine is regarded as of the highest importance. Catechisation, so largely discarded elsewhere, is not only retained but practiced with increasing fidelity by all Lutheran pastors.

The attendance is not limited to the young, though the classes are mostly constituted of these. Accepting the orthodox view of total depravity, this Church nevertheless holds that divine love broods over the infant at its birth, and it takes it from the mother's breast and seeks through baptism the initiation of a spiritual life, which is thenceforward to receive the constant fostering care alike of the natural and the spiritual mother.

Not only are the young by this method kept to a large extent within the hallowing precincts of the Church, which is not the case where they are left to wait for the period of conversion, but the piety developed under the law of growth is likely to have a solidity and a stability which no number of special or spasmodic efforts is able to produce. The Lutheran standard of religious life and practical morality is not excelled by any other.

A Church that lays so much stress on heart culture is not likely to neglect the interests of general culture, as may be seen by the fact that besides the twenty-four theological seminaries there are twenty-five colleges, thirty-seven academies and eleven female seminaries. Prosperous publishing houses are issuing an immense amount of popular literature, including 128 periodicals, forty-five of which are English and forty-two German.

Authorship in the broader sense has been comparatively limited, yet the contributions to the periodical press and the publication of standard volumes from the pen of such men as Schmucker, Krauth, Walther, Jacobs, Weidner, Valentine, Schodde and others, have attracted national attention. Eminent Lutheran names are found in scientific circles. And while the genius of the Church does not encourage that pulpit oratory which courts and commands notoriety, such preachers as Demme, Stork, and Seiss have had few superiors among our clergy.

Possessed of the essentials for effecting expansion co-extensive with the limits of the country, and for commanding an influence commensurate with such growth, there is no reason why the Lutheran Church should not at an early day become the most powerful Evangelical body in the land, if she is correspondingly in earnest, astir and aggressive.

And evidence of vigorous life and enthusiastic activity abounds. Not less than 1,500 ministerial candidates are now in various stages of preparation and more than 1,200 missionaries, most of them without dependence upon financial assistance, missionary work being joined to their regular parochial duties, are planting new churches in almost every city and town between the Atlantic and Pacific. An average of 550 new churches are erected annually, and it is a question whether the Lutherans do not even now reach with the ministrations of the Gospel more people than does any other denomination. The number of their adherents in this country has been placed as high as 7,000,000 souls.

There are drawbacks and elements of weakness clouding this encouraging outlook, but the surest pledge of overcoming them is the general consciousness of their existence. Nor let it be thought that the activity spoken of is directed exclusively toward sectarian propagandism. The hearty appreciation of the humanity inculcated by the Gospel has developed a zealous interest in the care of the fatherless and a generous provision for the afflicted. Though by no means the wealthiest denomination, the support of some thirty orphanages by the Lutheran Church gives her the palm in this noblest form of Christian charity.

Here, then, is a community of vast numbers, possessed of a clear and a complete faith, characterized by obstinate convictions, by conservative habits, by intelligence in religious truth, by strict care for the young, glorifying in the consciousness of a divine redemption, equipped with the panoply of an army, which while it contends for institutions and principles which have come from heaven, contends with weapons adapted to our people and our age; and if there is less noise and less demonstration in its battle than in that of some others, it is because of its assured conviction of having the truth, and its reliance upon the "feste Burg," the eternal God, who has fore-ordained the victory to those who are faithful to the trust.

V. THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE.

The battle is on. We are facing a grave social crisis. Never before was witnessed so widespread an awakening in regard to the moral needs and perils of society. Never before did the daily life and the daily lot of men give concern to so many benevolent hearts. Never before were people in great numbers so willing to devote themselves to the betterment of their kind. Never before was there so much sympathy between man and man, such consideration for the weak, such indignation against the unjust, such a resolve to beat down evil, to raise to higher levels our social life and to effect a social regeneration.

This awakening, this widely diffused fellow-feeling, this high resolve, is in itself a stage of improvement—a testimony that we are not content with material comforts or with general financial prosperity, but that there is abroad a demand for higher ideals of the commonweal, for nobler standards of public virtue, a demand which in turn, like the prophet's voice of the desert, is the forerunner of our redemption. Notable movements towards this goal are already in evidence, in the form of remedial institutions and legislative enactments. But institutions have a limited scope, and there are things which the law cannot do, because it is weak. A feeble outward check, it does not touch the

roots of depravity, and it cannot make men either honest, or truthful, or pure, or sober. When the Sunday newspaper protrudes from the deacon's coat pocket, as he lifts the offerings, when the railroad director partakes of the Holy Communion, the very hour that hundreds of his employees are running excursion trains, our Sunday laws avail about as much as the Pope's Bull against the Comet. Our patron has the legal barriers of forty-four States restraining divorce, yet whoever desires to put away his wife and marry another uniformly succeeds.

Verily, unless we can use a more effective weapon, unless we can reach the springs of moral action, unless we can summon to our aid an inner spiritual force which makes for righteousness, all institutional and governmental measures for social betterment will prove but a mockery. Human nature must be held and impelled from within. The reform of the individual depends on the awakening of his conscience, on the excitement of a high purpose within him, on his realization of responsibility. And men are reached collectively by the same spiritual process. Man is a social being. His life is united with the life of others, his interests coalesce with those of his fellows. By a law of our being men are associated in closest organic relation of independence with each other, forming one family, one community, one body, all sharing in a measure a common condition, of honor or dishonor, of happiness or misery, of innocence or guilt. We are so inextricably bound together in communities, that if one is touched, all are touched, if one suffers,

all suffer, and as a rule all deserve to suffer. Carlyle, in his execration of English royalty in the eighteenth century, so far from sympathizing with their unfortunate subjects, grows: "What business had the English people to have such rulers!"

If public things go wrong we all share the responsibility. If we have corrupt politicians we have produced them. If we have depraved journalism it is because we patronize it. If we have Sunday profanation it is because we, the people, wink at it. Every festering sore is symptomatic of the general disorder.

It is pre-eminently in the moral sphere that our solidarity appears. We are as to conscience members one of another, vitally interrelated, each contributing moral strength or weakness to the body, and conversely the body shedding moral strength or weakness on the individual, making all the higher interests of society contingent upon its corporate moral vigor. Therefore, as we speak of the will of the people, the mind of the people, the prejudice of the people, so there is a conscience of the people acting with the same majesty and might as the individual conscience, restraining, coercing, impelling, smiting. This is a basic truth underlying all social order, the universal consciousness of right and wrong, the touch of nature which makes the whole world kin.

Every movement for social reform must therefore primarily make its appeal to the moral manhood of society, to the common categorical imperative. With this power aroused and arrayed against the forces of evil, we have enlisted a giant whose voice is thun-

der, whose hand is omnipotence, whose tread is a more dire deterrent to evil doers than all laws and prisons and penalties.

The will of the people is the supreme power of any community, and when that will is inspired by the popular conscience, it is irresistible. The general standard of morality accordingly rises or falls with the demands of popular sentiment. Even the individual who is not hampered by his own conscience is held in check by that of the public. He dreads the lash of popular indignation, where he would not hesitate to defy or outwit the law.

In the community where my childhood was passed there was such reprobation of cards that those fond of the game had to resort to the fields by moonlight to escape detection. So also was dancing prohibited by the social ban. The law prohibited neither. Fifty years ago the bottle was as necessary as the sickle for reaping the harvest, social drinking was universal, and even the ordination of a minister, at least in New England, required a bar adjacent to the church for all comers. Such customs were stamped out not by the enactment of laws, but by the fiat of the social conscience, by the moral revulsion of the people, whose judgment is final to all men courting public favor.

"We must pander somewhat to the moral element," was the advice given in a New York political convention by one of New York's greatest lawyers. Dr. Little, speaking of legislators of every type, bad and good, stupid and wily, says, "I have seen them all with one accord bow before a serene, fearless, intel-

ligent righteousness, seeking no aims but those of God."

Here is an authority before whose mandates cover the high and the mighty, as well as the humble and the weak, a power which hedges society with thorns, which copes with temptation, which is the shield of woman's chastity and the only safeguard of man's, an influence which smooths the path of virtue and makes the way of transgressors hard, a sovereign specific for social regeneration.

Why is it so dumb? Why is this beneficent power so inactive, so inert? Why does it fail to smite the monsters which prey on the public vitals?

From want of use like rusty armor it is not in working order. Present conditions are most unfavorable to the healthy, vigorous action of the social conscience. The din of modern life, the fierce rush and excitement of business, the prevalent migration and change of association, our desultory thinking, our ill-assorted, ill-digested reading, combine to blunt its edge and to block its action. All the energies of brain and nerve are used up in material pursuits.

The collective conscience, like the individual conscience, may be seized by lethargy or torpor. It may fall into a state of suspended animation, as in the case of Napoleon, who after he had dyed with blood every stream of Europe and made a continent to resound with the groans of the dying and of widows and orphans, had the effrontery to assert "that in all his career he had never done anything wrong."

Whatever the cause, the moral tone of a people

may get very low, the moral vitality very sluggish. And beyond question the most formidable obstruction in the way of social amendment is not the opposition encountered, nor the undisguised devil, but popular indifference.

From this indifference, from the benumbing, stupefying influences of modern conditions, the public needs to be aroused, to have powerful stimulants administered to its moral sense. As public intelligence can be promoted, public sympathy excited, public opinion moulded, so can the public conscience be stirred and the heart of the people swayed for the right as by a rushing, mighty wind. And it has been well said, the greatest need of our times is the quickening of the popular conscience.

This organ is, indeed, so susceptible of excitement and development as to give rise to the theory that it is altogether an affair of education. And yet just here yawns the chasm in our educational system.

All the higher interests of society are contingent upon its corporate moral sense. Hence as we speak of the will of the people, of the heart of the people, of the judgment of the people, so there is a conscience of the people acting with the same majesty and might as the individual conscience, restraining, coercing, smiting the multitude as a man's conscience smites his personal self. This is an elemental basic truth underlying all social order, a universal principle of right and wrong, a general moral consciousness, which all men share in common, a touch of nature which makes all kin.

Social betterment must reckon, therefore, first of all with the social conscience. It must appeal to the normal sense of mankind, to those elemental moral distinctions recognized by all human beings. It must challenge the elemental conscience of nature which makes the whole world kin. With this power aroused and arrayed against the forces of evil we have enlisted a giant whose voice is the voice of thunder, whose hand is the hand of omnipotence, whose action grinds to powder whatever opposes it, a power more dreaded than all laws and prisons and penalties.

Moral training has for the most part been cast out from our public schools. Every faculty except the highest and the noblest is roused and exercised, evolved and invigorated. The crowning faculty, that which God designed to animate and govern all others, is contemptuously ignored, and unless its education can be secured elsewhere, our youth will be graduated from our schools as moral imbeciles. Granted that the primary purpose of schools maintained by the state is to rear good citizens, how is good citizenship possible without the cultivation of the moral faculty?

Conscience is not an automatic machine. It is neither self-acting, nor self-illuminating, and the first requisite for its development is intelligence. As the judge of moral conduct it requires accurate and full information to make a sound verdict. The right must be made apparent to the people's eye if men are to be rescued from the wrong side, and constrained to right action. It is never dead but it may be sleeping, and it has to be awakened by letting in the light. The

facts must be furnished, the principles expounded and the logic be demonstrated to the people. Then the popular conscience will muster its latent energies and strike with a momentum that will make titanic evil writhe in mortal agony.

Conscience must be taught not only to act, but to act rightly. It is not an infallible monitor, and if uninformed or misinformed it is liable to make terrible havoc. The engine without a headlight may wreck the human freight which it was designed to bear safely to its destination. Some of the direst wrongs ever inflicted on mankind resulted from a misguided conscience.

The moral sense may be perverted by an uncertain sound from the pulpit, by either false teaching or by an undue stress on certain doctrines sound in themselves. There has been such a one-sided presentation of the divine fatherhood, the people have been taught so much of the kindness of God and of the redeeming qualities of man, that many have concluded: God is too good to damn a man and man is too good to be damned—a theory of the divine government which reduces it to a vast scheme of senility, securing immunity to evil-doers. Such a theory deflects the popular conscience from its normal function as a power which makes for righteousness—a function which unites with nature and revelation in making judgment and justice the habitation of God's throne and proclaiming that though hand join in hand the wicked shall not go unpunished.

Misguided by a false theology, conscience is mis-

led into false sympathy and casts the mantle of charity over bad men whose punishment justice demands. An overwrought humanitarianism has developed quite a capacity for discovering the extenuating circumstances of a crime, apologizing for all sorts of scoundrelism, making pets of double-dyed criminals, breaking the force of justice and relieving the offender of those compunctions of remorse which are the only hope of his reformation.

The pulpit is much at fault in not aiming, as it once did, directly at the conscience, in not emphasizing its paramount place in the religious life. We have vast aggregates of emotional religion and of formal religion without an element of conscience in either of them. After preaching humanitarianism for a generation let it once more preach righteousness.

The Gospel is not all charity, humanity, altruism, giving to everyone that asks, turning the other cheek also for a blow. From foundation to dome, from centre to periphery it is righteousness, inexorable moral principle. It teaches not only love but hatred as well, the abhorrence of wrong, impurity, treachery, untruth, lust. It invents no mild designations for rascally conduct, no oily palliations for atrocious wrongs, no soothing opiates for inward qualms.

There is no better stimulus for the popular conscience than a sound religious faith. Revelation inspires moral convictions. Faith begets moral obligation and moral responsibility. It was by their persuasion of the invisible and their assurance of a future that the Elders of Israel achieved a good report for

moral heroism. The vision of the unseen is a mighty spur in the struggle with what is seen. It is the undisputed testimony of history that the decline of popular integrity and public morality go hand in hand with the decadence of a sturdy religious faith.

To bring forth the most effective action the collective conscience we should give it our fullest confidence. A majority of the people are at heart not immoral or corrupt. They prefer truth to lying, honesty to fraud, decency to impurity. Let them have credit for this. They can be taught to know the devil when they see him. They can be made to understand that not the zeal of missionaries, but the greed of merchants was responsible for the Chinese horror.

The apathetic mass can be stirred. The unthinking can be made to think, to see things with a true perspective, to choose right standards. They must not be left undisturbed in their devotion to material gains, in their absorption in pursuits, whose intrinsic value is paltry indeed. The supreme importance of the right has to be inculcated, and along with it its irreconcilable antagonism to the wrong. The superiority of the spiritual over the material needs to be kept constantly before the public eye. Honor, justice, purity, charity, truth must have precedence in life. Man's dignity and man's destiny must be emphasized and the pledge of both is his moral outfit. Right living is better than rich living. Giving is more blessed than receiving, and kind hearts are more than coronets.

The public mind must be brought to an intelligent apprehension of the specific evils from which society

needs redemption. The pest and plague of the community, the real monsters to be overthrown, under whatever guise they appear, are lust and greed, which form an infernal partnership for a vast business and colossal gains from the ruin of the morals and the happiness of the people. And as long as the public conscience is not sufficiently instructed to direct its artillery against this combined enemy, it may as well fire into the air. The solidarity of mankind must come to be better appreciated, the sense of fellowship must be fostered, and the reciprocal obligations which it imposes acknowledged, the debt which every man owes to every man. "My" and "mine" must give way to "our" and "ours," and a man's service to society must be shown to be as sacred and as imperative as his duty to himself and family. The health, the education, the morals of the public make a demand on his time and means second to no other demand.

The employer is under bonds to his employees, which are not discharged by the payment of proper wages. He owes to them before God an enlightened and disinterested consideration which enjoins upon him the expenditure of a proportion of his profits on their mental and moral improvement, and this obligation the public conscience is able to enforce. In a question of common interests or private advantage, of the general good or personal convenience, selfishness becomes a crime against society, and the man who barter or wrecks the common weal for personal gain must be branded with infamy by the moral rebuke of his neighbors.

Let us once have large bodies of men who individually and collectively will accept and insist upon the principle that we are members one of another, and the most selfish and sordid creature must bow to the public sentiment which they create.

There is no getting away from it. You are your brother's keeper, the keeper of your neighbor, of your neighborhood. You are responsible for its moral condition. You have a reprehensible complicity in much of the vice and crime which surround you. And this responsibility rises with men's position, wealth or culture, so that public men, magistrates, judges, employers, publishers and editors have a tremendous account to render.

Greatest of all is the responsibility of Christians who by every principle of their profession must shed a purifying influence on the moral atmosphere. On them, above all others, it is incumbent to have a sense of oneness, a public spirit, to be the servants of their fellows, to live out of themselves, to minister rather than to be ministered to, to exemplify human brotherhood, to be a universal priesthood, offering continually sacrifices for another. Even as our Master spared not Himself, so is it laid upon us to be servants of all, to live for the public, for society, for the church and for the state, to stimulate and to safeguard the public virtue especially by the firmness and incorruptibility of our own.

It is not enough for us to exert ourselves individually for social betterment. Individual efforts at reform are all but helpless and hopeless. This war requires

the joining of forces. We must find a way of uniting the virtuous element in a sentiment of self-devotion to the general good. As the entire people are to be kept in mind, so they must be acted on by the full weight of the body. The enlightened public conscience must be organized into a popular movement. A social trust must be formed capitalizing all voluntary obligations and sacrifices in behalf of all the moral interests of the community.

The most conspicuous trend of the day is the combination of industrial and commercial interests, the joint control of vast properties. And we are confronted with yet bolder theories looking to municipal and state ownership of all properties and interests—a system of universal co-operation, vesting every interest in one colossal corporation. What may come of this daring communistic ideal no one knows, but were this stupendous scheme realized, and could it at the same time be informed by a corporate conscience, were this huge public administration to be permeated and dominated by righteousness, safeguarding the inherent and inalienable dignity of man, breathing the spirit of kindness, of sympathy, of human brotherhood, such a scheme might be welcomed as the dawn of the millennium. Whether such a consolidation is practicable or not in the material sphere, it is practicable in the spiritual sphere, and every consideration calls upon us to consolidate moral power, to marshal under one banner all the forces which make higher standards of social life.

The popular conscience fails often to act effec-

tively because its service is not appreciated, its help is not invoked. It is not trusted with the task of moral reform. We show more confidence in arm of flesh, we betake ourselves to the state, to the sword, as if society were a physical machine acted on by brute force, and not a spiritual organism responding to spiritual influence. Moral victories are won only by moral forces and moral processes. We seem to forget that the moral law is a vital part of the universe and that conscience is its executive, the heaven-ordained instrument for its enforcement. In this province carnal weapons do not answer, they are unavailing, out of place. Human nature resents and defies physical compulsion, making it often but an incitement to evil. For moral agents must be wrought upon by moral suasion, by moral ideas which touch the springs of action. The appeal must be to the conscience, which is the mouth-piece of God. Its action may be slower than police machinery, but it is surer, more drastic, more powerful and more abiding than all outward compulsion.

For conscience is allied to the eternal throne. It makes us co-workers with God. It joins us with unseen spiritual agencies, and no coalition of evil can withstand the combined moral forces of heaven and earth. What we need to-day is confidence in truth as the conservative and regenerative force of society, truth indissolubly linked with conscience and the Holy Ghost. Such confidence begets the hope of victory so inspiring to a struggle, it kindles enthusiasm for the right without which every onset wavers, it arms men with the con-

sciousness of power, it inspires them with the courage and the conquering temper which bears down all opposition. It delivers us from the attitude of an apologetic and a cowardly defensive, and puts us on the aggressive, with the unswerving, indomitable resolve that whatever is vile in business, in politics, in amusements, in literature, in art, in social life, shall perish from the earth. The hosts of evil have no such support, no such confidence. They are fighting a losing battle, and with the public conscience in arms against them they are made to realize it.

For right is right, as God is God,
And right the day must win;
To doubt, would be disloyalty,
To falter, would be sin.

What is it, my friends, that saved the Union? Was it our superior generals, our larger armies, our inexhaustible resources? What in the darkest days of the awful conflict saved the President from despair and held his great commander to a continuance of the frightful slaughter?

General Grant, in his "Memoirs," testifies: "I believe there was never a day when the President did not think that, in some way or other, a cause so just as ours would come out triumphant."

And Mr. Lincoln in this, as in so many other things, represented and shared the heart of the people. They had come to the conviction that to them was committed the wisest and most beneficent form of government ever vouchsafed to mankind, and with this

conviction all aflame they were resolved that the last drop of the nation's blood must flow sooner than let the Republic fall. Behind our magnificent armies it was the enlightened and aroused conscience of the nation that saved the Union.

VI. THE VALUE OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY TO THE EVANGELICAL, LUTHERAN CHURCH.

SEMINARY INAUGURAL, 1874.

[From Quarterly Review.]

The Church has done wisely in giving a course of Ecclesiastical history to those who are to become her future preachers. Christianity is founded on historical events and the living facts of history are the best practical illustrations of its nature, character and aims.

Next to Revelation, no realm of truth has richer instruction than the department of History. It is largely necessary to a full understanding of Revelation. It is the best commentary on Revelation. It is the human side of Revelation. It is the strongest proof and confirmation of Revelation. It is even capable, like Revelation, of casting light upon the future with a voice as truly prophetic as any that ever fell from the lips of inspired seer.

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To the Evangelical Lutheran, Ecclesiastical History is of especial and peculiar interest. Identified with a Church that effected the greatest and most beneficent revolution of modern times; a Church that has ever stood in the van of the great Protestant host; a

Church which undeniably holds its place in history as the largest in numbers, the most scriptural in doctrine, most evangelical in life, he may find himself amid surroundings and teachings, which, if he be ignorant of her true historic position, will lead him to very humble and very false views of that great body of Christendom of which he forms a part. Our preachers and our people need at this day nothing so much as a thorough acquaintance with the Church of their fathers. It would immeasurably heighten their appreciation of her and stimulate in their hearts that sacred reverence for parentage and worth, which is one of the broadest requirements of the Ten Commandments.

To surrender a birth-right for a mess of pottage, is not a transaction so unheard of as to awaken much surprise. The stupid and sacrilegious bargain of Esau who despised the inestimable honors to which he was born, and exchanged them for a low, momentary gratification, has been repeated again and again by poor human frailty, ever more intent on present gain than on future good. And if here and there in some prominent localities, the tempting pottage has come in the shape of large numbers, greater wealth, or more fashionable associations, and a few Lutherans hungering for these things have ignobly bartered away their birth-right, it ought to excite no astonishment and possibly no regret. But it may be safely stated, that rarely has such an unworthy exchange been made by men, who had any considerable knowledge of the true character of their church, or of her honored place in history. Even Esau would have held on to his birth-

right, in spite of his hunger, had he known its full value and significance.

We propose to consider :

THE VALUE OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY TO THE
LUTHERAN CHURCH.

It teaches.

I. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HER EXISTENCE.

There exists an organization, with all the equipments of a magnificent hierarchy, with the prestige of a hoary antiquity, with an unbroken, undisputed, outward connection with the men who established Christianity throughout the world. This organization has always claimed to be the Church of Christ, not a fraction or a component part merely of the Catholic Church, but the Church itself, the alone universal Christian Church, outside of which there is no salvation. Her right to this title was never called in question before the Lutheran Church sprang into existence and wrested from her control the best part of Christendom.

What authority was there for such a procedure? What warrant for this revolt from the Catholic body? What ground have Luther and his followers for any claims to be a true Church? What confidence do her pretensions deserve? Men have renounced her pale and cast themselves into the arms of the Romish Church under the persuasion that she alone possessed authority; yielding to the assumptions that by virtue of a true historical succession she was essentially and alone the Church of God.

Without the light of History, these questions might be perplexing enough. It would, perhaps, even be difficult to prove the answer of an illiterate Lutheran layman who, when asked by a Catholic priest, "Where was your church before the Reformation?" replied, "Where your hands were before you washed them."

The services of Ecclesiastical History are here invaluable. From it we learn, in the first instance, what was the primitive Church founded by Jesus Christ, out of what elements and by what agencies she was brought into being, what constituted her charter, and what were her characteristics. It shows us, in the second place, how at a later period the constitution of the Church was gradually subverted, her vital elements, one by one, displaced, her charter violated, and her whole character changed. The faithful, impartial pen of history tells us how, when the sacred vessel to which the Redeemer had entrusted the precious cargo of salvation had been loaded down with a vast heap of foreign freight, her compass disjoined, her instructions ignored, her course altered, and her whole interior from stem to stern and from keel to cabin polluted, there arose, along with Luther, a body of men who had taken passage, and who, having long contemplated, with alarm and sorrow, the inevitable wreck to which they were drifting, determined to rescue the grand old craft, to steer by the positive instructions of the Master, to cast overboard the weight of *debris* that was sinking the vessel, to cleanse out the foul matter that was rotting her timbers, and bring back the vessel into her heavenward course.

At her outset, for instance, the Church had Jesus Christ for her sole, abiding and unchangeable Head, and the highest authority ever assumed by those who held their commission immediately from Him, was that of servants charged with the oversight of the flock, but disclaiming all lordship over God's heritage. Before the Reformation, however, things had come to such a pass, that the Bishop of Rome claimed to be the absolute head of the Church, from whose authority there was no appeal, and who dispensed the rewards and penalties of eternity after his own pleasure.

Again, in the beginning, God had provided "one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus," to whom access was so free and immediate that the chief of sinners might unreservedly approach Him. Now, men were denied all access to this very Mediator, except through the Priest, the Church, and the Virgin.

The Church had been entrusted with the Holy Scriptures as the fountain of light for the soul, as the charter for her government, the armor for her triumphs, and the infallible guide for doctrine and practice to the individual believer. But this light had been entirely removed from the people, and in the darkness which ensued the blind had none but the blind to lead them.

Among the clearest teachings of the Gospel is the principle, that prayer is to be offered to God alone, and the promise of salvation is given to every one that calls upon the name of the Lord. But, for a prayer-hearing God, Rome had substituted a prayer-hearing Virgin

and a number of prayer-hearing Saints, who were expected to bring relief to needy and weary souls.

The office of priestly intercession for others had been devolved upon the whole body of believers, Christ having constituted His people "a Kingdom of Priests," but this chartered privilege, inherent in all saving faith, was wrested from individual believers and restricted to a special order of men who used it mostly for the ends of filthy lucre.

The offer of forgiveness had, by specific instruction, been made universal, on condition of heart repentance and faith in Christ, but this method of salvation had been largely abolished, and the policy of indulgences which made sin and salvation marketable commodities, had taken its place.

The Redeemer had most positively inculcated the truth that His Kingdom was not of this world, but under the Papacy it had become so completely identified with the world, and so thoroughly penetrated with its spirit, that it exercised a grinding tyranny over all the civilized governments in Christendom.

So completely had the Church, in all its vital elements, receded from her primitive and divinely ordained character, that, externally she could no longer be recognized as the Church which Jesus Christ had founded, the Church of the first centuries of the Christian era, while inwardly "the whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint."

Every history of that age, Catholic as well as Protestant, admits the fearful degeneracy into which

the whole ecclesiastical organism, pope, prelates and priests, had sunk. "The evil could not become greater." The Church had ceased to command any respect or exert any moral influence over the masses. The enlightened mind of the age turned away from her with disgust, and her noblest representatives had, for centuries, felt the crying need of a thorough reformation in head and members. Three consecutive councils, at Pisa, at Constance, and Basle, had been called expressly with a view of doing something to arrest the growing corruption and the rapid decay of the Church; and, though led by such able spirits as Gerson, Nicholas of Cusa, Louis D'Allemand, Gregory of Heimburg, and Æneas Sylvius Picollomini, their efforts proved uniformly and utterly abortive. Luther, therefore, without a thought of withdrawing from the existing hierarchical organization, without the remotest idea of establishing an independent denomination or sect, and without any hostility to the Pope, or any purpose to disturb the Church, simply entered upon the work, which many brave and able minds had openly attempted before him, but which by reason of the appalling obstacles, and the terrific opposition to be encountered, they had abandoned in despair. Where others had failed, he succeeded, comprehending more clearly than they the depth of the disorder, understanding better, through personal experience, the nature of the remedy, possessing the indomitable courage to defy opposition, and the faith of an Apostle to make God his helper. The triumph of his effort was not a departure from the Church, but a return to her shining

paths—a rebuilding upon her original foundation—a reaffirmation of her true principles, a restoration of her primitive purity, a reformation of her doctrine and life. Jesus Christ was once more enthroned in the Church as her sole Head and Sovereign Lord, and His word replaced as the supreme authority for faith and conduct. The old Gospel was again preached to the world, calling men to repentance for their sins, proclaiming Christ as the one Mediator with God, guaranteeing justification through faith alone, abolishing all worship except that offered to God in spirit and in truth, rescuing from a usurping Order the privileges of the universal priesthood of believers, and breaking all the shackles which superstition had forged and fastened around the necks of God's free-born children.

It was in the successful endeavor to effect these changes, the general features of which had been long and almost universally felt to be necessary, that the Lutheran Church came into distinctive being. It was the inexorable hostility to such a movement, on the part of the Romish Hierarchy, which had for ages controlled and enslaved the Church, that led to a separation of the two elements, the former contending for the authority of Christ and His Gospel in His own Church, and the inalienable liberty of all true members of the Church, the other fighting for hierarchical assumptions, for a corrupt and effete system of mechanical religion and for the various infernal institutions which oppress the conscience and hold captive the immortal mind; the former coming to bear the name of

the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the latter the designation of Roman Catholic.

A reformed Christianity owes to the Lutheran Church its emancipation from papal bondage and mediæval darkness. The free countries of the civilized world recognized in Luther the champion of modern liberty, and cannot deny, if they wished to, that it was the principles maintained by the Evangelical Lutheran Church, which raised a continent from deep degradation to a high pedestal of enlightenment and progress. She has not only a sacred claim upon the esteem, the honest pride and devotion to her children, but has won for herself an immortal title to the gratitude and respect of her sister denominations and to the praises of mankind.

II. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SETTLES THE QUESTION OF LUTHERAN IDENTITY.

Serious effects are likely to be produced upon all social institutions by the lapse of years. The name may be retained long after the substance has been lost. Of this the Catholic Church affords a striking illustration. She had given up so many purely Christian elements, she had admitted so many foreign ingredients, she had substituted so many human inventions for divine ordinances, that the Hierarchy which still bore her honored name in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had but little to identify her with the Church of the first ages of Christianity. It is doubtful whether Paul and Peter, could they have seen the Papacy of that age, would have recognized in it the Church which they

took so large a part in founding. The Romish Church, at all events, would hardly have recognized them.

All churches not willing to follow blindly the assumptions of self-constituted leaders, or to submit to the arrogance of particular sections or fractions, are forced from time to time to inquire into their ecclesiastical identity, to establish by historic facts the constituent elements that distinguish them from other ecclesiastical communions, and to define the limits within which men have liberty of thought and action without forfeiting their title.

With the Lutherans, this question is one of present and intensely practical importance. The general public seems to have considerable difficulty in finding out what is Lutheranism, and who the Lutherans really are. It is still a common impression that their one characteristic is Consubstantiation. This error and slander we usually attribute to the supreme ignorance of Church History, which prevails in spite of all the Theological Seminaries. But the slowness of those who are not of us, to ascertain the characteristics of the Lutheran Church, may be borne with charitably, in the face of existing diversities of view upon the subject among ourselves. We have, for instance, in this country the spectacle of a party claiming to contain all the Lutheranism upon earth—assuming to be alone the identical Church in which Luther, Melancthon, the Gerhardts, Arndt and Spener were shining lights; and withal so confident in their assumption, that they have closed their altars and their pulpits against all access to those who are merely “so-called” Lutherans.

This is the attitude of an infinitesimal fraction over against the vast body of the Church—a few thousands against many millions.

Others again propose a platform for genuine Lutheran identity, not only the whole of the Symbolical Books, but their acceptance in "every statement of doctrine in their own true, native, original and only sense," *i. e.*, the sense which these give to them. This platform men set up as a synonym for Lutheranism. Whoever does not stand on it with them is not in the Lutheran Church. To differ from them, is to differ from the Church. They who oppose them oppose the Church. They who revolt from their yoke revolt against the Church.

What court, then, is to decide the relative right of any of these to be identified with the Lutheran Church? There is but one tribunal to which this question can be appealed. The judgment of history is alone capable of deciding the merits of these assumptions and claims, and it doubtless does render invaluable services on this very subject.

History knows such an institution as the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and she ought to be able to answer such questions as these: How compact has been her organism, how diverse her elements, how uniform her principles, how varied her statements of doctrine? What liberty has been allowed her teachers and preachers, and at what point did they cease to be acknowledged as constituent members? Has her platform been always so narrow as to have, age after age, room for such only as could agree in the detailed definitions

of every doctrine—aye, agree so fully that they were capable of exhausting the illimitable store-house of truth, and yet find terms and unite in using them, in but one “true, native, original, and only sense?”

Whatever be the pretensions, at present, of any particular class in considering itself alone the pure Evangelical Lutheran Church, it remains for History to establish what has constituted the unity and identity of that Church from the days of the Reformers. There certainly has been somewhere, ever since the Reformation, a true Lutheran Church, an unbroken, historical succession of Christian people, professing to be, and known to the world as being, the Evangelical Lutheran Church. In what did their Lutheranism necessarily consist? What made and kept them a proper, constituent part of the Church? What light do the clear and sober facts of History throw upon the subject of Lutheran identity?

The collation of historic proofs—for the sake of brevity—is limited to a period of two hundred years, commencing with the Reformation—that extent of History being amply sufficient to bring out and establish the constituent and distinctive character of a Church. From the records of this period, it becomes manifest, with the clearness of sunlight, that the Church, even through her very infancy, and all along up to the vigor and maturity of her greatest strength and highest development, has been subject, like all great bodies of thinking men, to two tendencies; that it has always consisted of at least two parties, the one rigid and extreme, the other moderate and liberal, and that in consequence

extensive and often violent controversies have, from time to time, raged within her pale.

These two divergent tendencies first appear simultaneously with the Reformation. There was a party, then, who considered Melanchthon too lax and unsound, who made severe and bitter assaults upon his orthodoxy, who abhorred his concessions to Rome on the one side, and the Reformed on the other, and who did their utmost to turn Luther against him and have him repudiated. But Luther was neither so narrow nor so stupid as to perpetrate such a blunder. He knew Melanchthon better than they did. He knew him to be sound at heart. He knew him to be right in the main, and in the storms which raged around the imperilled Church, he considered his services too indispensable to think of dropping him overboard. He would rather bear with much that he himself disapproved than lose the invaluable help of this man in the cause he was leading.

The points of difference were not on subjects which Lutherans could regard as non-essential or on mere scholastic subtleties, but they were questions of the highest practical importance. Between the liberal party of Melanchthon and the others, there was a vast difference. "From the very commencement, there appeared (in Melanchthon and his school) a party tending towards Calvinism." But great as was the difference between the opposing parties, Luther's heart was large enough to take in all of them, and while he could not take in the Zwinglians, persuaded that "they had another spirit," yet he continued up to the end to

love a Melanchthon, who had dared to alter the great Confession on the darling doctrine of the Lutherans, who was all the time working for a reunion of all parties, now Calvinizing, now Romanizing, who was the great *Unionist* of the Reformation, and who subsequently prepared and subscribed the Leipsic Interim.

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It would indeed be a bold, but hardly a sane man, that would deny Melanchthon a deserved place in the Lutheran Church.

Again, John Agricola made a violent attack upon Melanchthon's Articles of Visitation for the Saxon Churches, because they contained instructions to the clergy to preach the law to the masses. This position he denounced as inculcating a legal morality, and incompatible with the doctrine of justification by faith. The Reformers, however, did not withdraw their fellowship from one who differed so radically from them. Luther easily adjusted the quarrel. The assailant of Lutheran teachings became a Professor at Wittenberg! Here he proceeded by word and pen most zealously to degrade the authority of the law, insisting upon its entire abrogation, denying it a place in the pulpit, and styling it the way to the devil, in direct opposition to Luther's customary teachings and emphatic expressions on the subject, he having always attached the highest importance to the law as a means of leading sinners to Christ, mortifying the flesh and producing good works.

Here are two prominent Reformers in conflict with

each other on so grave a question as the moral law, teaching in the same University, preaching from the same pulpit, and communing at the same altar.

An Osiander could teach that justification was a subjective, therapeutic transition, the impartation of an internal righteousness, contending against those who maintained the imputation of Christ's righteousness. He thus, in point of language at least, differed *in toto* from the Lutheran Church on her central doctrine, yet had no idea of renouncing the Church, and remained in her communion, unmolested, except in the matter of controversial attacks, to the day of his death. Instead of casting him out, efforts were made from every quarter, by Mörlin, Melancthon, Brenz and others who differed from him, to point out the nature of his error, to adjust the difficulty, to harmonize divergent views and to come to an understanding.

While Luther lived, his powerful genius and influence could hold all parties together,—and no one ever understood better than he how to estimate and treat germs of error and how to allay the storm of opposing parties—but after he was gone the rigid party, concerned quite as much for the *form* in which Luther had taught his doctrines as for the doctrines themselves, made unrelenting war upon the more liberal Melancthonian School. And from the clash of these two doctrinal tendencies, extending through the whole Church, and which Guericke admits had for a long time existed side by side with all "diversity of form, yet in beautiful unity of the spirit," there arose a succession of con-

troversies which continued in one shape or other up to the Form of Concord.

In the dispute on the Adiaphora, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Paul Eber and Pfeffinger, could take the ground that various things in the Romish doctrine and practices, which the majority of Lutheran theologians abhorred, as subversive of the Gospel, were indifferent and immaterial. So decided was the antagonism between the two, and so jealous was the rigid party of the Melancthonian School, regarding every expression not tallying with Luther's system as a departure from the pure doctrine, that they required a new University at Jena, from which to assail the errorists. Yet History designates neither party as a new sect going out from, or rising up against the Lutheran Church.

When George Major taught that "good works are necessary to salvation," and Amsdorf, in strong language, denounced this position as overthrowing the doctrine of justification through grace alone, the strife which became almost universal, and lasted for ten years, was all within the Lutheran Church, *i. e.*, although differing so widely, both parties were Lutherans. And truly the Majorists' title to the Lutheran name was quite as good as that of the ultra party, whose leader maintained that "good works are detrimental to salvation."

A doctrinal conflict of still greater importance arose subsequently between the two tendencies, involving such questions as human depravity, divine grace, the Lord's Supper, and the person of Christ. The one party accorded to the will some active participa-

tion in the work of conversion, tended towards semi-Pelagianism on the doctrine of total depravity, maintained that in the Eucharist it was sufficient to hold fast the presence of Christ, without defining whether it be a corporeal presence or not, hoping that this concession would be sufficient to unite all the elements of the Reformation, Calvin's agency having brought the Swiss doctrine very much nearer to the Lutheran. The broaching of such doctrines of course called out the other side, who, to save the Church from being led astray by these views, prepared a new Confession of Faith for Ducal Saxony. The views of the latter, it is true, finally prevailed everywhere, and became the doctrine of the entire Church, yet the men who had led the opposition, have ever been esteemed as pillars in the Church, quite as much so as Wigand, Amsdorf, Heshusius, and Flacius, the latter of whom had gone to such lengths as to teach that Original Sin was an essence of human nature and not an accident.

The conception of the Form of Concord arose from the desire to unite the two parties, to harmonize extremes, and the superior minds of both sides joined in the effort. For, although largely directed against the Melancthonian and Calvinistic deflections from rigid Lutheranism, yet at the same time it was aimed at that hyper-Lutheranism which was building up a system, to a great extent, in opposition to œcumenical Christianity, a tendency whose champions formed a stronger antagonism to the Form of Concord, than the lax views of the other party. This effort at "Concord" brought out, in a measure, what universal experi-

ence teaches of such antagonisms, that each of the contending parties had one side of the truth, as, for instance, on good works, the Law and the Adiaphora.

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Others again were too much attached to Melancthon to be satisfied with the Form of Concord. Some countries could not adopt it for a long while, and some never did, yet all these have alike been classified as Lutheran countries, and some of the latter are to this day decidedly more Lutheran than others which without hesitation adopted it. The pursuit and supposed attainment of perfect agreement in doctrine did not yield such fruit as entitled it to be prized above all things. Lutheran Theology became a synonym for dialectic Scholasticism. The warm life of the doctrines of the Reformation was transformed into an ossified system, which had, to a great extent, been established by the Form of Concord. The free and energetic development of Theology out of the Holy Scriptures, was repressed, and as a substitute for the living Faith maintained by the Reformers, there was with many Lutheran teachers from this period onward, a palsied and dead orthodoxy, a show of faith without the fruit of the Spirit. To them it was enough to hold rigidly to mere outward, theoretical, established *forms* of faith, with little concern for the renewal of mind and spirit.

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“In this crisis of the Lutheran Church,” says our great historian, “pious, learned and essentially orthodox theologians arose, who knew how to provide for

the general religious wants in a practical and truly evangelical manner, opposing dead orthodoxy with the divine armor of a pure and practical Christianity. At the head of this worthy list stood the Fenelon of the Lutheran Church, the eminent John Arndt." His whole work, however, was in direct opposition to the assumption of hyper-Lutheranism, and he was shamefully assailed by many of the rigid orthodox, whose scent for heresy had become so acute that they could discover false doctrine and the most dangerous errors where the most holy and thoroughly enlightened men were proclaiming the pure doctrines, without, however, using the traditional and worn-out terminology of the schools, or "binding themselves strictly to the expressions of the Form of Concord." The Church was warned against the poison of Arndt, his writings were said to overflow with Romanism, Calvinism, Flaccianism, Schwenkfeldtianism, &c.—all this too, when he had been a martyr to the Lutheran faith. Even a John Gerhardt, whose Lutheranism did not deter him from defending certain persons charged with grave errors, escaped not the suspicion and attacks of this rigid school who alone had the true Lutheran doctrine.

There might be added an array of illustrious names, all of whom fell more or less under the ban of the strict Lutherans, and sometimes too with good ground, yet were all these parties, in common, recognized as being in the Lutheran fold. In spite of their divergence from the rigid formulas of orthodoxy, and their condemnation by the so-called orthodox, even a Guericke prizes them as "individual beams of the *pure*

evangelical light and life that was rising ever more and more in the Lutheran Church,"—heavenly rays which preceded the glorious, living light which came to the Church under Spener.

This great divine stood in such antagonism to the existing state of things, that although the Church held rigidly to her Confessions, he regarded a new reformation as imperatively called for. He charged that the practical and biblical course of the Reformers had been abandoned, that theology had become a matter of mere scholastic speculation, that justification by faith, as then taught, was bald Antinomianism, and showed that, with all the loud ado for Lutheran Orthodoxy, the fundamental idea of primitive Christianity and of primitive Lutheranism, the universal priesthood of believers, had sunk into oblivion. His clear conception of the great want of the Church, which existed in spite of her boasted pure faith, his efforts for a revival of the living godliness which had characterized the Lutheranism of the Reformation, his contending for exegetical studies which had been crowded out of the Universities, brought down upon him the ridicule and the rage of the High-Church party. And thus broke out the Pietistic Controversy. So fierce was the opposition to the teachings of Spener and his co-adjutors, that a new University—at Halle—had to be founded for the defence of their evangelical and liberal views.

The Pietists were confessedly not solicitous for purity of doctrine, not indeed directly opposing it, but laying aside, as needless for edification, many individual dogmas and dogmatic definitions, which led

them to be accused of a pernicious theological and religious indifferentism. "This, however, was almost everywhere nothing more than a freer, evangelical activity of the theological spirit, which possessed of a vital agreement in all essentials, was ready to forego an exact uniformity in all matters less essential for practical life." They were concerned primarily not for purity of doctrine, but for purity of life, while the others in their triumph over the possession of pure doctrine, often forgot the life altogether and completely separated theology from Christian living and morality. Such orthodoxy would of course brand Pietism as a "newly-risen heresy." And the Faculty of Wittenberg put forth a work, in which they proclaimed Spener guilty of two hundred and sixty-four errors, although the latter at the same time made good his claim of heartily according with the Augsburg Confession.

Was Spener, then, a Lutheran? And were his antagonists Lutherans, too? And yet Lutherans must all have literally the same faith "in every statement of doctrine?" "Soon," says Guericke, "the whole Lutheran Church was again divided into two parties, each claiming to hold fast pure Lutheran Orthodoxy," divided on such questions as justification, regeneration, sanctification, the spiritual priesthood, devotional assemblies, Christian liberty, the need of confessions, &c., &c. So far from expunging the eminent names of the Pietists from the bright roll of Lutheran heroes, historians of undoubted confessional loyalty, have accorded them the highest praises for their services to the truth and to the Church. They candidly admit that

their positions were misunderstood and misrepresented, that amid the calm light which succeeded the storm, right and wrong, truth and error, were found to be pretty equally divided between the two opposing parties, the one having its eye chiefly on internal, spiritual, practical interests, the other on external, literal, mechanical conformity to symbolic definitions. "The future good of the Church could have been secured and promoted only by the reconciliation of the two one-sided extremes—a golden mean true to the entire evangelical truth."

So bitter had been the hostility to Spener, that his enemies could not think of him after death as being saved, yet he left in the example of his career, as well as in the treasures of his writings, a legacy to his Church, from which in all subsequent ages she has continued to derive the richest aid on the most diverse subjects of doctrine and life. "His work cannot be over-estimated." His principles and his party, which his enemies for a long time could not think of tolerating, triumphed completely. With their triumph there arose a new life in the Church, which, upon the testimony of even a strict Lutheran like Guericke, compares with the results which followed the complete triumph of the rigid party, after the Form of Concord, as the day compares with the night. Then, if ever, did the Church shine in her true beauty and glory. "In the course of a few decades, the six thousand students which had in that time gone forth from Halle, bore with them the seeds of a newly wakened practical Christianity, and Germany began to have a number of truly pious and,

at the same time, orthodox preachers, and active, doctrinally enlightened laymen to an extent she had not possessed for many years before."

Here, then, we have historic Lutheranism, ever moving forward between its two natural and normal poles, ever subject to two tendencies which were reciprocally of the greatest benefit to each other and whose mutual counteractions have been of infinite value to the purity and progress of the Church. What would Lutheranism have come to without either of these elements?

Yet numerous and great as the differences often were, the unity of the Church was never broken. No sect ever went out from her pale. Her identity as represented by any party or section, was never questioned by the sober historian. The theologians waged their controversies, but they never divided the Churches. This fact Lutheran historians have regarded as a powerful testimony to the divine foundation and evangelical structure of our Church, which presents a strong contrast to the innumerable divisions and sects of the Reformed Churches. Her catholicity has been among her chief glories. With an ardent and unexampled devotion to purity of doctrine, and therefore jealous of error in its incipient germs, she has yet been so tolerant to independent investigation and private conviction, as to embrace within her pale men of the most diverse views—parties that could be arrayed against each other in violent conflict, yet without either of them attacking the body of the faith. Hence we have the extraordinary spectacle of a Church tolerating widely different

views, yet never giving birth to any actual heresy ; her heart's blood so pure that no serious deviation from the truth ever had a following within her borders ; possessing in her general soundness of doctrines such a fullness of strength as to be able to cast off what was actually diseased or incurably unsound, without removing elements that at first gave her pain, but in the end proved wholesome. With all the diversity between the rigid and liberal schools in the bosom of the Church, whenever men were carried by any tendencies beyond the proper boundaries of the Lutheran system, or despised essentially Lutheran doctrines, they naturally and necessarily were separated from her communion, being either removed by the ecclesiastical authorities, or else going of their own accord where they belonged. Thus she wisely maintained the evangelical position of liberty between papal tyranny and rationalistic license, and became pre-eminently, and without a rival, the Church of pure doctrine, and at the same time the most tolerant communion of Christendom.

How abnormal, then, the present condition of the Lutheran Church, with her numerous divisions, each more or less hostile to all the others, while during the first two centuries of her existence, with all the bitter contentions of her teachers, the Church remained a unit!

How antagonistic to History is that attitude of exclusiveness which bars from the Lord's Table, and from the pulpit, all who will not submit to every particular of doctrinal interpretation, when the Church of our fathers did not withhold the sacrament from even a

fanatic like Jacob Böhme, and suffered an Agricola to preach to her congregations up to the time of his death!

What a burlesque upon the past of our Church is the position which demands, as the first requisite for fraternal recognition and organic unity, perfect agreement in doctrine! Such agreement was never known in all the glorious ages of our history. In spite of the frequent and persistent efforts towards such an ideal, the life and liberty begotten of a living faith were always too strong to admit of its realization.

These historic lights are of the utmost consequence to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of to-day. Her present condition cannot continue. This prophecy is based upon a universal conviction which bears the impress of inspiration. Her progress cannot be a healthy one, her true interests cannot be successfully promoted as long as the house is divided against itself. Let her vast forces be united, let her great work be carried forward through one general organization, under the impulse of a common faith and the inspiration of a common history; and, with a system of doctrine the purest in Christendom, with treasures of theological science and literature the richest in the world, with a field at once the largest and the most promising given to any body of Christians, with the most solid and substantial material upon which to operate, there is no other denomination in the land which can do a work for the Master and for the country, such as that which every indication of Providence assigns to the Lutheran Church. Let her but stand forth as the Evangelical

Lutheran Church of history—sound in the faith, yet combining such healthy diversities as are necessary both for a complete system of truth and an efficient living organization, and she has the pledge of a future even brighter than the glory of the past.

VII. OUR DEBT AND DUTY TO THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION.

[Delivered before the Second General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, Boston, Mass., December 6th, 1889.]

Contempt of foreign nationalities is the mark of paganism. Christianity gives honor to all men. It teaches that all are made of one blood. It recognizes in every man a divine image. He who is in need is my neighbor. He that is baptized is my brother. Those whom nationality, language, usages, have placed afar off, are brought nigh by the blood of Christ. Under the reign of the gospel there is neither Greek, nor Jew, barbarian nor Scythian, American nor European, Anglo-Saxon nor Mongolian.

Certainly, in proportion as the mind of our Lord is in us, race antipathies disappear. Yet the foreigner still finds himself at a great disadvantage in Christian lands, and encounters cruel prejudice even from Christian churches.

American birth is no patent of nobility, the native is born to no moral nor intellectual purple. Yet not to have enjoyed this privilege is often viewed as a mark of inferiority. People in a peculiar garb, with a peculiar brogue, having peculiar manners and possibly slight peculiarities of culture, betray a foreign nativity, and though these several characteristics are intrinsically not beneath our standard, yet the foreign

stamp on them raises a barrier of coldness, of distrust, of estrangement—unless the spirit of Christ in us discerns under the uncommon exterior, fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God. The American people have weighty considerations to take a large Christian view of the immigration problem. The noblest principles that underlie our boasted political structure, call on us to extend the hand of welcome to the stranger, and the mixed blood in our veins must warm our hearts toward his approach, unless with ignoble irreverence the interval of a generation or two has made men oblivious of their European ancestry. The very multitude of these new-comers commands our respect. The mere majesty of their numbers shields them from contempt. We witness once more on an immense scale the immigration of nations. Once more the Goth and the Norman, the Hun and the Slav are invading and overrunning a continent. A single year has registered the arrival of almost 800,000 aliens, and confronted by the fact that the total number now here is not less than 10,000,000, we dare not, to say the least, speak contemptuously of the immigrants. Counting their children, our country contains to-day not less than 16,000,000 foreigners and half foreigners, nearly one fourth of our entire population. In the cities of San Francisco, St. Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, New York, and Chicago, they form from 75 to 90 per cent. of the inhabitants, so that four persons out of five in those cities count with this class. An eminent authority forecasts the foreign element to reach, by the year 1900, a total of 19,000,000, and the

foreign and semi-foreign population an aggregate of 43,000,000, a half, or possibly a majority, of the nation.

Startling and overwhelming as is this spectacle, what a testimony it offers to the regenerating power of Christianity! Descended from the races whose inundation engulfed the civilization of imperial Rome, these people do not invade the land by dint of force and brutal conquest, nor strike down our institutions with violent and vandal hands. They come not to ravage the country, but to make it blossom as the rose; not to pillage our cities, but to enlarge and enrich them; not to overturn the republic, but on every battle-field consecrated to its defense, mingling their blood with the blood of the native, and counting it worthy of every sacrifice to secure its blessings for themselves and their children.

Truth and justice demand intelligent, careful and conscientious *discrimination* in the consideration of our debt to the immigrant element. It embraces all sorts and conditions of men. It varies just as the native element varies, in the grade of intelligence, industrial skill, virtue and religion. It fills the highest stations, it sinks to the lowest slums. Everywhere the immigrant meets us, among our masters and teachers and leaders, as well as among our servants and menials; among the barons of capital and the knights of labor; among the merchant princes and the street beggars; among the railroad kings as well as building the roadbeds; among the artists and the artisans, in the Senate and Cabinet as well as in the mines and mills; in the University chairs, and in the saloons; in the metro-

politan pulpit, preaching righteousness, as well as in the socialistic hall proclaiming anarchy; in the Evangelical Alliance and the Catholic Congress; in the noblest reform movements, as well as in dangerous combinations; on the roll of renowned benefactors as well as swelling the volume of the criminal classes. There is but one exalted position the foreigner never reaches, and from that he is debarred by the National Constitution.

In every other station and calling we are constrained to accord him a prominence that entitles him to honorable consideration. We cannot take a look into our agricultural, industrial, engineering, mercantile, financial, journalistic, educational, artistical, scientific and professional spheres, without recognizing an array of eminent names of foreign birth.

Certainly, in the strictly material realm, in the impetus they have given to our industries, the boundless domain they have brought under cultivation, the immense cities which through their impulse have risen as by magic, the measureless increase they have given to our productive power, and the untold millions they have added to our national wealth, they have placed us under obligations that beggar calculation. And it has yet to be demonstrated that they have perceptibly deteriorated the character of that prosperity to which they have contributed so much.

There have been, indeed, vile importations, but the good have vastly overbalanced the evil. One Roebling, one Ericsson, one Fink, one Lieber, one Damrosch, one Agassiz, one Schurz, one Schaff, one Wal-

ther, more than compensates for a pack of raving anarchists.

Admitting that in the vast influx of foreigners there are pestiferous and dangerous elements, and leaving to my successors the consideration of some other races, I confine myself to the German and Scandinavian population, an element which has been by general consent a most acceptable and invaluable acquisition, an element whose industry and thrift, whose honesty and peaceableness, whose stability and progressiveness are the praise of all Americans. As patriots we can never forget that one of our German statesmen was the first in the campaign of 1860 to revive the early traditions of the republic, and to show their incompatibility with the institution of slavery, striking, on this subject, "a deeper vein of thought in every man and woman capable of thinking"; and also that but for the solid support of the Germans in the West, Abraham Lincoln could never have been elected President.

Clearly there are lights and shadows in the immigration problem. We may sometimes recoil from the cost, yet we cannot deny the immense profit, which the country derives from this source. Possibly the greatest gain is that which comes from the intermixture of blood, the interblending of race distinctions and national characteristics.

In union there is strength. It is the fusion of diverse races and elements that has given to this country its phenomenal and splendid development, and in this transfusion of blood lies the condition and the

guarantee of the future. The amalgamation of Celtic, Saxon and Norman blood created the Anglo-Saxon race. The continued fusion of the Norman and Saxon with our native stock is making a nation on the like of which God's sun has never shone. Not weakness, therefore, not infection, not deterioration can result from this commingling, for in energy, in intelligence, in self-respect and love of freedom, in virtue and in religion, these people stand in the front of the species. Their union with us makes America the heir of the ages, the master of the future. Quoting one of our most distinguished Americans: "When in the near future the United States will have 100,000,000 inhabitants, their national peculiarities will be German thoroughness, solidity, and fidelity, Anglo-Saxon energy and positiveness, and Celtic imagination."

Our debt to the immigrants extends into the religious sphere. The same gentleman just quoted observes: "The greatest and most wealthy churches supply their pulpits from foreign countries." However this may be, thousands of more obscure congregations are served by faithful shepherds born beyond the waters. The measure of religious influence which they diffuse is not to be gauged as easily and as accurately as contributions to material or civic progress. The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Yet the fact that multitudes of foreigners are our brethren in the common faith, that they are evangelical to the core, that in thoroughness of Christian instruction, and in love for God's word and church, they are not surpassed by any religious community in America, and

that if any one peculiarity is of all others most deeply ingrained in their character, it is their simple faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, ought at least to rebuke the spirit which lumps all foreigners, Protestant as well as Catholic, in one mass of ignorance, formalism, and superstition, little better than so much concrete paganism dumped at our doors.

It is the intensity and incorruptibility of their religious convictions that has landed thousands of these aliens on our shores. It is to escape from the stifling oppression of state churches, and the soul-poisoning fellowship with rationalism, that they have cast their lot in this republic, where their faith, unfettered and uncorrupted, may have the freest and fullest exercise. And a more intelligent, evangelical, and self-sacrificing body of Christians than these, is nowhere to be found.

While we all know that multitudes of Germans and Scandinavians are irreligious, may I call your attention to several large and growing communities which are profoundly spiritual, and are zealously occupied in the evangelization of their countrymen. And first, a body of German evangelical Lutherans embracing at least 400,000 communicants, and leavening with the gospel an immigrant population of not less than 1,000,000. Their feeble beginnings are found in the state of Missouri, fifty years ago, several colonies having left Saxony and other German states purely for the purpose of enjoying and maintaining scriptural and experimental godliness. They hold fervently and firmly, undiluted and unobscured, the fundamental doc-

trines of sin and grace which achieved the Reformation. A pure and a full gospel resounds from the pulpit, and re-echoes from the hearth-stone, every house being as a rule a house of prayer, and the entire life of the people bearing the impress of a genuine and devout piety. Six days of every week their children receive religious instruction. Here I again plead for discrimination, confident that if the motive for their parochial schools and their quality were understood, hardly a voice in this Christian assembly could fail to commend them. I can assure you that there is nothing un-American about them; nothing that smacks of foreign allegiance, either spiritual or political. With no hostility to the common school system, and repelling with scorn the proposal of others to have them unite in demanding a portion of the school fund,—in cities where this demand could be enforced, habitually sending the more advanced pupils to the higher grades of the public schools where their proficiency proves the thoroughness of their primary training—they yet feel it to be a Christian obligation to retain the early education of youth in the hands of Christian teachers. Hence they maintain, in their poverty, alongside of every church, the parochial school, in which the first hour of every day, one fifth of all the school time, is spent in worship and religious instruction. Besides this instruction of childhood in the daily school, every pastor devotes at least one hundred hours each year to special catechetical instruction, so rooting the young in the faith, that the great majority are retained in the church when they reach adult years.

Accustomed in the Fatherland to the most perfect educational system in the world, the educational zeal of these Germans keeps pace with their religious earnestness. Though made up largely of plain people, they have established in different parts of the country a number of colleges with a curriculum of classical study on a grade with the German gymnasium, extending over six years, including among other things for each class two hours a week of religious teaching, and giving such proficiency in the classics that their alumni receive in Latin all the lectures on dogmatics and exegesis in their principal theological seminary. Over a thousand students are pursuing liberal culture, a large proportion of them contemplating the ministry. While it is for the present a matter of necessity that instruction as well as worship be conducted in the vernacular, there is neither prejudice nor antagonism to the language of the country. More English is taught than German. English is in all their schools co-ordinate with the German, is continually spoken by the young; the rudimentary branches and United States history are taught in English, and most of the graduates of the principal divinity school are able to preach in the language of the country, and many speak it better than they do the German. The young are gathered into the English churches, the sentiment of their sainted leader being loyally carried out "to build golden bridges for the English churches."

Besides their evangelical faith and solid educational work, these Germans are one with us in deprecating the growing desecration of the Lord's day, and

insist upon its observance by public worship and attention to the Word of God as strenuously as the strictest Puritan. To a man they condemn the saloon and suffer none engaged in this traffic to defile the altar.

Passing over kindred German bodies which, in organization, progress and influence, may fall behind the "Missourians" (though not in soundness of faith, depth of religious principle, or strictness of morality), admitting, too, that not all German religious bodies have like precious faith with these, let us turn to several communities of Norwegians and Swedes, numbering jointly 200,000 communicants, and reaching with spiritual ministrations a foreign-born population aggregating half a million, a most active and progressive element, maintaining the same scriptural doctrines as the German body I have described, and marked by a similar pietistic fervor.

Their homes have the Christian characteristics of worship and parental discipline. Their laity take an active part in the conduct of religious services. They strictly observe the Lord's day and to a man support rigorous temperance legislation. It was their votes that made prohibition possible in Kansas and Iowa, and their enthusiastic canvass which was the chief factor in carrying it for North and South Dakota. They acquire our language with singular alacrity and take a patriotic interest in politics. They are already establishing English churches for the young, and while gratefully patronizing the public schools, they maintain in the interval of their close, so far as possible, congregational schools, so as to impart religious instruc-

tion in addition to what they receive from the never-failing catechisation of the pastor and in their overflowing Sunday-schools. With astounding liberality and self-sacrifice, these new-comers have also out of their poverty founded numerous colleges of the regular grade, providing for each class three hours a week in the study of Christianity. They sustain a high standard of theological training, and annually send forth hundreds of missionaries, clerical and lay, to the remotest Northwest and to the farthest corner of the Northeast, wherever a few Norsemen can be found.

Among these immigrants, then, we behold an organized church-life, with the gospel, with education, morality, temperance, home-piety and missionary zeal, preaching Christ in their own tongue and in ours to immense aggregations of our population. They are as yet only laying foundations. They have had barely sufficient time to make beginnings, but with the institutions they have established and the rate of progression they have already attained, these communities are destined soon to become an immense power in the evangelization of our country. What they have in their weakness and poverty already accomplished seems like a superhuman work, and they are rapidly attaining a stage of efficiency that will enable them to reach out to every locality in which are found families of their kinsmen. Such bodies must be an inestimable accession to our moral forces. They do not repress, they elevate our spiritual level. They do not pollute or poison, but they help to purify the current of our national life. They contribute energy and stability to our evangel-

ical Christianity, just as they have already made immense contributions to our national greatness and wealth. Their religious system may possibly have features which you would fain see modified. On the other hand, an infusion of some of its characteristics into our own would be an improvement. Their simple trust in God, their unobtrusive, quiet, cheerful spirit, their reverence, and their thorough religious nurture would make a happy setting in our American Christianity.

Verily in the ever-thickening conflict between truth and error, the ranks of orthodoxy should welcome this well-equipped phalanx which stands like adamant for the faith revealed from heaven and held by the church in all ages. Such a reinforcement will not be underestimated by those who perceive the strength and purpose of the foe, and who appreciate the gravity of the crisis in the camp of the saints. Wise men, who know the hour in Christ's kingdom, may descry the interposition of Providence in the presence of these powerful allies, who have witnessed in the Fatherland the struggle between faith and doubt, who have learned by experience the character of rationalism, and whose coming to us is largely due to their uncompromising antagonism to it.

Had we a better appreciation of our debt to this class of immigrants, our duty would be obvious. But, it is to be feared that we look at these earnest Christian brethren and at their holy service with a distorted vision. We do not know this foreign Joseph and we are not over-credulous about his contribution to the

spiritual regeneration of our country. It must be left to time to teach us in some measure what these bodies are doing for the education of conscience, the diffusion of Christian conviction, and the conservation of society. Certainly their heart's desire and prayer to God for their kinsmen according to the flesh is that they may be saved.

A considerate realization of their sound Christian character and apostolical activity would make it our first duty to let them alone. It may surprise some to hear such a suggestion from this platform. There is occasion for it. The home missionary activity of our respective churches is the incarnation of zeal, but it is not always a zeal according to knowledge, nor is it uniformly zeal for Christ. In spirit and aim and methods it becomes easily the counterpart of secular business, and sometimes but another name for sectarian competition. We compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and it often gives greater joy to secure him from another fold than to convert him from the world. We are happy over the additions to our church, though nothing is added to Christ's church. To take sheep from one pen to another is no increase whatever to the flock of the Chief Shepherd.

Nay, the building of our own means sometimes the subversion of the work of others, who are building quite as wisely. It is robbing them of the material with which they are erecting God's house. It but makes their burden heavier, their task more difficult.

If these our brethren from foreign lands are not doing God's work among their kindred, then there is

no God's work upon earth, and zealots might pause to interfere with it lest haply they be found fighting against God. Yet from their own testimony and from home mission report, in general, it is evident that a large amount of denominational zeal and money is expended in hindering, retarding and thwarting the earnest Christian activity of these devoted people. A chapter of church history is making, which our children will not care to read and which in some aspects has a parallel only in the annals of Jesuit propagandism. Striving, in a land of strangers, with extraordinary self-devotion, and a world-overcoming faith, to bring back the sheep of the wilderness into their own folds, building churches, founding schools, establishing colleges, sending out missionaries, erecting orphanages and hospitals, and finding to a cheering degree an attentive ear from their respective countrymen, often the greatest discouragements with which these brethren have to contend are the endeavors of American shepherds to discredit their work, to disturb their flocks, to entice away their simple sheep; now holding out worldly inducements, now plying them with sectarian fanaticism, impugning the soundness of their faith, or claiming for themselves a monopoly of God's grace, endeavoring by this means, by all means, to build up their own organizations from the membership of German and Swedish churches. They seem not to realize that the hurt done to these struggling foreigners is a blow to the common cause; that whenever these struggling organizations are thus crippled, or injured, Christ's church is injured, Christ's people are wounded,

no matter how many congregations under American auspices you may organize from the fragments.

It will not do at this day to make the pretext of offering these people a better religion. We have had enough of that cant. The times of this ignorance are happily past. With millions of our native population in ignorance of the gospel and outside of the church, you cannot convince the world that you are sacrificing yourself for humanity when you are manifestly blocking the path of others whose self-sacrificing devotion is not questioned.

One would hardly offer, by way of justification, the plea of greater adaptability to the foreign element or superior attractions. We can indeed send to them and support missionaries with little difficulty. We can easily build for them commodious and costly churches; we can hold out inducements of social and worldly position; we can offer individuals and families financial assistance, just as the politicians do in the exigencies of an election, but it is the uniform confession of mission secretaries and bishops, confirmed by every argument of reason and experience, that the unchurched Germans and Scandinavians are won far more readily by their clerical kinsmen than by strangers to their blood and faith. A fellow-feeling attracts them to their countrymen and their minds are receptive for what they have been wonted to. Confronted by the teachings, the traditions, the usages of the Fatherland, they recognize what is in a sense their own, what belongs to their history, a part of their education, a reminiscence of home. To every wanderer in foreign lands there is a homelike

attraction in the sanctuary which resounds with the holy songs of one's mother-church, which rings out the familiar gospel in the mother-tongue, whose worship and environment awaken memories of happier days, of hallowed impressions, of solemn vows.

This is no pagan element. These people have had a religious training, as scriptural and as thorough as that enjoyed by the most favored youths of our land. And it argues a marvelous ignorance for us to assume that they come, in this country, for the first time, in contact with pure religion.

The only plausible pretext for the avowed and deliberate attempt to transfer the evangelical immigrants into other churches than their own is the alleged importance of their immediate Americanization. Our cherished institutions, it is claimed, are in danger from these large foreign communities if they be not promptly incorporated with our religious organizations and fused into the more distinctly American form of Protestantism. The health of the body politic requires that all new-comers become as speedily as possible homogeneous with us in language, customs and religion. Political advantages are thus made a cover for sectarian proselytism. Religious diversities must be sacrificed to national consolidation. The interests of the church are subordinate to those of the state. This, rightly interpreted, makes the country the end, the church the means, and the amalgamation of foreigners into our American life is the foremost task of the church.

It is enough here to remind those who entertain this plea that the Lord Jesus did not die to Americanize

men, but to save them from their sins, and the supreme concern of the Christian church is to have sinners washed in the blood of the Lamb, and renewed by the incorruptible seed of God's Word. If they are thus redeemed they will surely make good citizens. The republic is safe if the church permeates its heart with the leavening and saving power of the gospel. The perpetuity of our institutions depends on the education and evangelization of individuals. This done, the responsibility of the church is discharged.

Let us not forget the golden words addressed to us two years ago by the Secretary of this Association: "The only way to elevate our civilization is to elevate our citizens. The only way to save institutions is to save men. But we shall not save men if we seek them for the sake of our institutions and our civilization. They were made for man, not man for them. And we shall fail of the lower unless we aim at the higher. . . . Our government, our civilization, our cherished American institutions, are only a part of the scaffolding of that temple which God is rearing in the earth, built of living stones, fashioned after the similitude of the headstone of the corner. And that shall abide."

It has yet to be demonstrated that the teachings, the worship, or the customs of these people are in any degree out of harmony with our best American life, or in conflict with the highest type of American citizenship. In the civic sphere they are not inferior to our native product. A more industrious, intelligent, progressive and peaceable class is nowhere to be found.

They are Americans of Americans. And as the chief aim of their churches and schools is to make good Christians, they can certainly be depended on to make good citizens.

Possibly, too, the greatest evils and perils of our country are not chargeable to foreigners. Our native Adam may have the seeds of deterioration, should he not even be contaminated by foreign blood. The germs of disease in the national life are not all importations.

The plea of zealots for a hasty Americanization of Christian foreigners appears to betray a weak faith in the intrinsic strength of American institutions. The immediate Russianization of a few million peaceful Germans on the frontier may be indispensable to the continued rule of a despot; a military empire may feel the necessity of promptly crushing out French institutions and the French language from its conquered annexations, but surely American liberty is in no such straits. Our temple of freedom is not likely to totter if some of our adopted fellow-citizens should for a generation worship God in their own tongue, and receive the care of ministers whose devotion to a pure Christianity and to religious freedom brought them to our shores.

Nor should we view those whom the glorious attractions of our country have brought into our midst as pent up in a stifling and pestilential atmosphere, so that extraordinary efforts must be put forth to pump into them the pure American oxygen. Our very air is instinct with freedom. Every inhalation on American soil is fraught with American ideas. It is impossible

for sane people to live in this country and not become Americans. Whatever prejudices or antipathies some may bring with them, they unconsciously imbibe the American spirit, and a few years suffice to win them irresistibly to our institutions.

The rapid Americanization of almost every nationality that comes, is one of the marvels of history, and this is particularly true of the Teutonic elements. They have hardly time to settle down and get acquainted until they are of us, in love with the best element of our national characteristics, and soon undistinguishable from the native American, except by a slight brogue, and possibly greater thrift and thoroughness.

The country has more to fear from a too rapid Americanization than from a slower process, a consideration which refuses the claim that we must infuse a new type of religion into foreigners so as to accelerate the transition. The young stranger who is quite ready to cast off the influences and associations of home is not the most desirable acquisition to a commercial house, which requires the strictest integrity. And foreigners who are in great haste to renounce, with their native land, the noblest and best possessions it gave to them, in whom religious and moral principles are so superficially rooted, that they can throw them aside on landing here, must be *prima facie* an ignoble class. A self-respecting people who cherish their sacred traditions, in whom truth and righteousness have become ingrained, whose faith is identified with their very being, and who are set against religious innovations, is an element worth having.

The most serious moral strain to which the individual or a community can be subjected is a sudden transition to new conditions and new surroundings. It is a matter of infinite detriment to our own religious life, that our native population has become so largely migratory; that we have so much breaking up of households, scattering the young to distant localities, and removing them from accustomed associations and restraints. When the strain is heightened by removal to a foreign land, when, sundered from all the protection and powerful bonds of country, church and home, they are cast among strangers, exposed to the temptations of a new world, and cut off from all the hallowed influences that keep men in right paths, the only cord that is likely to hold them is the faith of their childhood. Snap this asunder, persuade them that in this country their prayer-book and their old religion are not in fashion, and that they must hastily adopt a new pattern of piety, and you snap the cord which anchors them within the veil. Do not subject the moral fibre of the stranger to such a shock. Allow his faith to remain undisturbed, to keep its hold upon his conscience and conduct, to strengthen and solace him in the bitter trials which he is sure to experience. Let the transition be gradual. Let time do the work of modifying. Let Americanization proceed not by mechanical force, but according to the law of growth,—the law of all healthy life. Hasten not to extinguish the remains of home influence; rather strengthen it, and keep alive the memory of the good and happy days of old. Granted that there is an American type of Christianity, as there is an Oriental, an

Occidental, a German, and an Anglican, our American religious life has hardly so reached its limits of development, or become so stereotyped, as to render German reverence and pietism and Scandinavian devotion inadmissible.

We owe them a hearty welcome as fellow Christians, and an honest, practical recognition as co-laborers in the kingdom of Jesus. We are at home here; we claim this great country as our country. They are strangers and sojourners with us, but having with us one Lord, one faith, one baptism, they are entitled to the sympathy, confidence and affection of Christian hospitality. They should be made to feel that they are esteemed as brethren, of the household of faith.

Yet the reception accorded them generally by our churches falls short, incomparably, of the welcome they receive from the government. By the state they are viewed as an invaluable accession; by the churches as rather a doubtful acquisition. They are not looked upon as adding ought to the Christian forces of the country, as contributing any evangelizing power. They are not hailed as a corps of reinforcements in the army of the Lord, joining us shoulder to shoulder in the battle with sin, sensualism and superstition. Either, my brethren, there is wanting to us the spirit of brotherhood inherent in Christianity, or we lack that faith in the intrinsic unity of the Christian church which we pronounce in the Creed, or else we must more than suspect that under the unwonted garb of their worship and the foreign tongue in which it is necessarily conducted, there lurks some dreadful heresy, some laxity

of principle or some soul-destroying formalism, which justifies missionary superintendents and mission boards in classifying these Christian people with the irreligious population. Agents are appointed and funds are appropriated for work among the Chinese, the Mormons, the Indians, the Freedmen, the Germans, the Swedes, and at last the "Pennsylvania Dutch,"—the most completely churched element in this country.

Here are large bodies of earnest Christians, who rival the most zealous of us in honoring Christ, with their churches, Sunday schools, and higher institutions of learning, and their presence and their work are utterly ignored by our aggressive denominational partisanship.

What though the richness and fullness of the gospel as preached by them is nowhere surpassed; what though the people unite in the worship of the sanctuary as they do nowhere else; what though the religious instruction and godliness of their home life may with profit be imitated by Americans; what though their piety radiates in a lofty morality and makes a stable and progressive population, the sectarian propagandist can see them only in the light of admirable material to build up denominational missions.

Brethren, I should be derelict to the truth, I should not be faithful to my Master and my people, if I did not on this occasion record my humble protest against this treatment of a large body of excellent Christians, whose only delinquency is their not having been born in this country. And this protest is called forth, not only by the wrong which this proselytism inflicts upon these

brethren of foreign birth, but by the wrong which it does at the same time to our American Christianity, the wretched exhibit it makes of the spirit, aims and methods which have gained currency among us. Simple-minded and confiding, coming from lands where they enjoyed what we seem to desire so much,—a united Christian church, these strangers behold here the church divided into a number of rival sects, competing for ascendancy, shrewdly and strategically eyeing the foreign Protestant element, and contending for it as a means of swelling, respectively, their denominational strength. What impression does this make upon these newly-arrived disciples of Christ? What estimate does it give them of our form of Christianity? What confidence does it inspire in the dominant types of American church life?

They have an enlightened faith. They know the way of salvation. They know the rock whence they are hewn. They are quite sure of the ground underneath them, and with open eyes and devoted hearts they are making incomparable sacrifices to bring their unbelieving countrymen under the power of the gospel, and yet they find very frequently not only no sympathy, no recognition from their American brethren, but really their chief obstacle in the interference of American zealots, who with questionable devices are seeking to draw away from them the very souls whom they are striving to save. They find their influence undermined, their teachings and religious character slanderously assailed,—although any sciolist knows the doctrines of a

great historic church, and the noble Christian virtues by which its people are distinguished.

We owe them substantial co-operation,—a co-operation most effective in bringing about results which we all most earnestly desire. Co-operation in the salvation of all classes is the watch-word of the new turn which this Alliance has taken. The mighty task of giving Christ to this land, and this land to Christ, is what we have set our hearts upon. What is now pre-eminently needed is the wisdom which will so divide and deploy the multitudinous hosts of the church as to give to every one its specific work,—work which by the obvious indications and preparations of providence, it is best fitted to accomplish. There is no doubt as to the power of our leader; there is no doubt as to the ample resources and diversified aptitudes of His people; there is little doubt as to their real readiness and heartiness for the work; what is lacking is so wise a coalition of the different instrumentalities, such a distribution of the several gifts as will assure the greatest advance for the cause as a whole. For each corps to map out its own plan, and order its march, and choose its positions regardless and oblivious of those who have already occupied the same positions, means simply to fire upon our friends, and to court disaster and irretrievable disgrace.

If we have Christ's cause at heart, and not, to a greater degree, the Presbyterian cause, the Methodist cause, the Lutheran cause, we will so dispose all the confederated troops, so divide all resources, so distribute the advantages as to make all converge to the tri-

umph of one glorious result. Instead of making any move, covert or open, through enlightened or misguided zeal, that may embarrass or cripple and weaken a friendly force, we will move conjointly upon the enemies' works, and make sure of a common victory.

Recognizing amid the diversity of gifts and callings the same spirit, acknowledging that in God's providence some have manifestly peculiar qualifications for one sphere, while others find themselves most effective in another, let us invoke the law of adaptation; let us make a rational division of labor; let us combine and thereby make sure of the greatest benefit to the whole. Each body has advantages, and each, disadvantages. In the work among the immigrants, the American is rich, where the German or Scandinavian is poor; but the latter are often strong where the former is weak. Between the foreign-born pastor and his countrymen there exists in advance a bond of sympathy and confidence. He is of their own blood. He understands their peculiarities, their prejudices, their temperament and their training, their susceptibilities and their singular trials. They in turn are familiar with the faith, the usages and forms which he represents. Every Scandinavian and nearly every German Protestant holds in his memory, if not in his heart, the elements of Christian doctrine. What he needs is to have these germs nurtured, these smoldering embers rekindled, these feeble beginnings or remains strengthened and vitalized. This can in every way be best effected by one of his own, one who stands near him, a kinsman. For such a one, so to

speak, everything is ready, while a stranger is likely to confuse the faith of childhood, or to stifle it with novel-
ties of thought or application.

It is God's plan that from among themselves prophets are to arise to teach a people. It is from a native ministry that we expect ultimately the evangelization of the heathen. And this principle applies to the immigrants. They do not know the voice of strangers. They distrust it. They misapprehend it. American clergymen are just as much strangers to them as they are strangers to America, and the American's religion with its divisions, its rivalries, its baldness of worship, its emotionalism and demonstrative piety, strikes them as something very strange. Their knowledge of its true character is limited. The reports of it in their European home are unfavorable and disparaging, and on settling here they think as poorly of our type of Christianity as we do of theirs—and from the same causes, ignorance and prejudice. Thus our evangelistic efforts among them encounter a wall of prejudice, and even when that is broken down, there remain very formidable difficulties and disadvantages. Circumstances being equal, one of their own number can accomplish more than ten of our denominational representatives. One thousand dollars expended through these natural channels will do more evangelistic work than ten times that sum expended in efforts to draw them into other folds.

Such are the advantages possessed by their own clergy. On the other hand, the material resources of these communities are utterly incommensurate with

their opportunities and necessities. They carry forward, indeed, their work with an economy of outlay that is incomprehensible to the wealthy American churches. There is a humbleness about their undertakings, a modesty, and withal, a self-sacrifice which we are unable properly to appreciate, much less to imitate. A year's salary of one of their pastors is scarcely equivalent to what the average American receives per month, and in numberless cases, along with his proper pastoral charge, the minister serves a number of mission points. Yet even though done at such a moderate cost, their financial resources are altogether inadequate to the demands of the work.

An organized congregation is the norm of Christianity. The conditions of a congregation are a house of worship and a settled pastor. To prepare, in addition, a corps of ministerial recruits, there must be higher institutions of learning. To compass all the necessary expenditures involved in these essentials, so that the vast opportunities may be seized, is beyond the power of these people, who have not been here long enough to amass American wealth. Where their work is most needed, in our large cities, which contain many thousands of their godless countrymen, there they find themselves in the greatest straits. The price of ground on which to erect church buildings is appalling, and yet without these, organized and enduring Christian work is out of the question. Furnish them with places of worship, and New York alone will in a few years return a score of new evangelical congregations composed of its immigrant population.

A cause like this, properly understood, must commend itself to our laymen of large means and larger hearts. It is a cause that implies nothing less than the spread of orthodox Christianity among the immigrant masses, the maintenance of Christian education, and the strengthening of all the foundations on which the republic is resting.

What opportunities open here, and what harvests they promise is illustrated by the generosity of Christ Episcopal Church, St. Louis. Fifty years ago it took compassion on a colony of pious Saxons, and for three years allowed them at a nominal rent the use of the basement. From that little Saxon congregation, whose very life was conditioned by this friendly consideration of a sister church, there has developed in half a century a body of Christians now aggregating over one thousand ministers, fifteen hundred churches and three hundred thousand communicants, and their influence in saving our German population cannot be overestimated.

Again, a few years ago, the Hon. R. S. Cable donated \$25,000 to a Swedish college at Rock Island, an institution that now maintains fifteen professors, enrolls two hundred and fifty students, and sends forth, annually, waves of Christian influence that must have the most salutary effect on our Swedish fellow-citizens.

Such examples of recognition, sympathy, and substantial co-operation do more for the evangelization of a large class of immigrants, than all the machinery and special work that ever has been or ever can be devised.

It is no utopian scheme that is here presented. It is not even something new. The first distinctively Ger-

man colonies in this country received aid for the support of pastors and the erection of churches from the "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge," and that with no thought of making Episcopalians of them. The theological institution in which I have the honor to teach, and which was for years the chief source of ministerial supply for my denomination, owes a large measure of its prosperity and ever-widening influence to the generous sympathy of New England Congregationalists, who fifty years ago donated the funds for a second professorship.

If it be objected that this means simply that Christians from other denominations shall contribute to the building up of one in particular, I reply that a policy which will build up an evangelical church is in every way preferable to a policy that obstructs and weakens it. There can be no successful Christian activity that is not attended by the increase of one or more denominations, unless we propose to found a new one. The spirit of Christ desires to see all prosper, multiply and advance. Why not, then, so distribute resources, aptitudes, gifts, and talents as to throw effectual support where it promises to reach vast multitudes of immigrants who are estranged from religion and who may prove dangerous elements of society.

We want these masses won, whoever may be most directly active in winning them. We want the gospel to have the supremacy over our great country, whichever of the denominations may be particularly advantaged by its universal diffusion. Our social order rests on Christianity. The simple application of the gospel

is the solution of the problems of our time. Its conservative and uplifting power is the hope of our future. Wherever, then, we see men earnestly engaged in promulgating its teachings, let us do what lieth in us to promote their efficiency. The stronger their hands, the sooner will the work be accomplished.

Problems and complications may be involved in this proposal. We distinguish between the desirable, the ideal, and the practicable, but it is our duty to aim at the best the circumstances admit; and I am persuaded that the plan suggested is enforced by weighty and scriptural considerations.

1. It implies an economy of means. Why shall denominational zeal make its enormous expenditures to reach an element which the providence of God has made far more accessible to others, who with the fraction of such outlay can have a more thorough, and, perchance, a more enduring success? Why not conduct the Lord's business on business principles? Let there be no waste.

2. It coincides with the plan already developed and practiced by the Alliance—a whole-souled denominational co-operation. The days of sectarian jealousy, factional Christianity, are numbered. The age, the situation, demands that we combine on a comprehensive scale, the zeal, the resources, the beneficence of the Christian church, "so as to reach our entire population with the Gospel." The course here advocated is simply emphasizing and applying this new departure, "a movement accepted in the spirit of duty, providentially laid upon it, and having the unanimous and hearty

indorsement of leading clergymen and laymen of all evangelical denominations." We want to strengthen one another's hands; to supply reciprocally our mutual lack; to bid a substantial God-speed to all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

Whoever then is most efficient in any particular sphere, whoever is best adapted to win a certain class, cheer him, encourage him, reinforce him, whether his shibboleth is yours or his. Let these foreign fellow-laborers in the Kingdom feel themselves strengthened and upheld by your attitude toward them, their difficulties diminished, their success multiplied by your co-operation.

The local alliance can be of great service in arousing public interest, in directing the beneficence of wealthy laymen, in bringing the unshepherded foreigners to their proper flocks, and to pastors best fitted to take care of them. When your visitors find a German or a Scandinavian send him to the church of his fathers, the church in which he was baptized and reared, the church of his vows. Send him to his spiritual mother, remembering there is no place like home. Let the wanderer be brought once more into scenes that will recall the most solemn hours of his life, and you have secured the best condition for bringing him under the power of grace. It was an approved policy in the conduct of the late war to officer Irish brigades with Irish commanders, and the Germans were wisely allowed to "fight mit Sigel."

If we were not restrained by sectarian bias and jealousy, if we were more imbued with the wisdom and

spirit of the Gospel, we should long ago have effected organizations to aid these Christian immigrants in their evangelization of their countrymen, along the line of their own usages and traditions. If the hour has not yet struck for associate measures, surely it commends itself to individual effort and generosity.

3. A co-operation like this would repress the rampant denominationalism, which is the reproach and the weakness of our American Christianity. It may not be the antichrist, as some have thought, yet it doubtless is the demon of our American system which by common consent must be cast out. It has seriously blocked the path of the Gospel both among natives and immigrants, and has been the theme of endless derision. To check this zealotry and at the same time convince the stranger that your foremost concern is his moral and spiritual welfare, would be a vantage ground of immense importance in the effort to convert men to Christ.

4. It would cultivate the love which is the badge of Christianity. It would once more make the world say, "How these Christians love one another!" They are all brothers, divided by no selfish or partisan lines. We have hardly reached a dizzy height of Christian perfection so long as the measure of our zeal and activity coincides with the advancement of our party, and our purses open or close with the prospect of denominational aggrandizement. In war, the officer who declines to serve where special glory may accrue to a rival is usually dismissed from the service as one lacking in patriotism.

5. Such co-operation would be an incalculable

triumph to the church as a demonstration of its essential unity under divergent forms. It would show us to be one united host, animated by one spirit, looking towards a common aim, each rejoicing in the respective triumphs of the other, each determined to know nothing but Christ and him crucified. And in our yearning for a fuller realization of this unity, the more comprehensive the co-operation the more powerful and convincing the demonstration.

6. It would enrich the individual with spiritual blessings. It would open the gates to the pent-up graces. It would deepen the soil under the culture of the spirit. It would bring the inheritance promised to those who give, hoping for nothing again. It would represent the highest form of Christian liberality, the most beautiful expression of that charity "which seeketh not her own."

VIII. THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE THE CORNER-STONE OF A REUNITED CHURCH.

[From *The Interior.*]

The declaration on Christian unity communicated by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church "to the organized Christian bodies of our country," names "the historic episcopate" as one of the four essentials for the restoration of unity. This is in fact the only condition which has evoked general attention, and is the only one likely to call forth strenuous opposition on the part of those churches which are favorably inclined toward proposals for an organic union of Christendom.

There has been considerable discussion as to the sense in which the terms "historic episcopate" are to be understood. The religious press has teemed with articles stoutly maintaining that scholars generally, and among them eminent representatives of the Anglican communion, agree in holding that the polity of the Episcopal church is not an apostolic or New Testament institution. The Presbytery of New York, in its overture to the General Assembly, gave on the one hand a Presbyterian interpretation of "the historic episcopate" continuing "in all ages of the church in unbroken succession until the present day," and on the other hand earnestly testified "against any claim of the diocesan episcopate to the exclusive right of ordination as

without warrant from the Word of God." The General Assembly at Omaha, in its cordial but guarded response to the bishop's invitation, pointedly emphasized "mutual recognition" and "ministerial reciprocity" as among the foremost objects to be sought in the proposed conference. And the General Synod of the Lutheran Church, speaking from the same city a few days later, made official declaration that it entertained no objections to "the historic episcopate" as it obtained in the apostolic church and as it was understood by the great body of the Reformers, both German and Anglican.

It must be obvious to all interested parties that the first step to be taken in this matter, if anything whatever is to come out of the bishop's proposal, is to secure a general understanding of the sense which we are to apply to "the historic episcopate" agreement in the use of terms is the first prerequisite in a discussion. As the House of Bishops proposed this condition as essential to the restoration of Christian unity, that body must of course be regarded as the proper authority to give a plain, unambiguous definition of its own terms. So far it has not given any, although one of its ablest members, while occupying the broad platform of the evangelical alliance, took occasion the other day to offer most graciously to all of us the unspeakable treasures which are supposed to inhere in "the historic episcopate," and that, too, in a manner which left no doubt in anybody's mind of the bishop's meaning. But if the bishops themselves have not, up to date, defined this equivocal phrase, some of those who through the

imposition of their hands were invested with the gift of the Holy Ghost and the authority to teach the truth, have interpreted it with most laudable clearness and positiveness.

In the late church congress at Louisville, this topic was assigned a conspicuous place on the program and clearly with reference to the action of the bishops in setting it forth as one of the necessary bases of unity. It came up for discussion on the third day. Three papers were read by eminent divines and a number of volunteer speeches followed. Now, these utterances, we well understand, are not to be regarded as oracular. They are not intended to voice the authoritative judgment of the bishops, yet, as they were put forth by a number of the ablest and foremost divines in the Episcopal Church, they must, in great measure, represent the sentiments of that body, and they prove most interesting and significant as an index of the sense in which the Episcopalians themselves understand "the historic episcopate."

The first paper, by the Rev. Dr. Harwood, of New Haven, maintained that at the great break of the Reformation, the Church of England "continued the episcopate chiefly because it had always been one of the *indicia* of the Church of Christ." "The ancient mode of the government of the church was preserved, an ecclesiastical, not a divine institution."

The second paper, that of the Rev. W. R. Mackay, of Pittsburg, followed the same pitch. "Now that the spirit of God has brought men and churches more closely together, and a desire for unity is manifest

everywhere, the theory, not the fact, of the apostolic episcopate is the chief obstacle to this consummation. That theory is that all ministerial power was transmitted by Christ to the bishops; * * * and that, when the union comes, all ministers uniting with us must be episcopally ordained, humbly acknowledging that they and their fathers were not of the ministry of the church of God. Like the doctrine of the divine right of kings, this theory, happily, is exploded. While government is divine, the form is human, and this is as true of the church as of a nation. We have a right to alter existing forms, even to annihilate them. * * * The office is only the tool in the Master-Workman's hands, and he cannot transfer the powers of the office, for he does not own them. The whole theory is a fiction. * * * Let us throw the apostolic fiction overboard, and let us ask our brethren to accept the apostolic reality in its plainest form. Measured by the New Testament, the leading Protestant churches have already the apostolic succession of the New Testament in all its reality and power."

The third paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Vibbert, of Chicago, and had a somewhat different sound. "So clear and comprehensive are the utterances of Holy Scripture and of the fathers, doctors, councils, canons, and formularies of the church on this great subject, that nothing new that is true is left to be said. * * * The historic episcopate is necessary to the being and essence of the church, an essential link in the process of bringing about a real union of believers with our adorable Lord, and maintaining the corporate life of that body of which he is the head. We hold that Epis-

copal orders are a necessary condition for the valid celebration of the sacrament of the altar, *e. g.*, by which grace is given to human souls, and by means of which they are united to the incarnate Lord without whom there is no spiritual life. * * * The grace of orders is and can be transmitted by those only who have in succession received that grace and the authority to hand it down from its original source, the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls. The historic episcopate is the actual succession of such bishops as have in turn revived this power and authority from age to age, till we reach the Apostles themselves, etc. * * *

This doctrine of the apostolic succession is the doctrine of the Anglican branch of the church, and so the doctrine of our own Church. * * *

For the sake of unity we are ready to give up anything that we can give up. But these things it is impossible for us to surrender without proving faithless to our trust. * * *

We hold it as a necessary and essential part of the framework of Christ's kingdom, because of its vital importance to each believer, because it is one of the divinely instituted channels of the supernatural gifts of God to the soul of the individual." The first speaker after the reading of the paper was the Rev. Dr. Donald, of New York, who contended that it was "just as difficult with the authenticity of the Epistles of Ignatius almost certified, to prove the nature of the government instituted by the Apostles. We have neither evidence that the episcopate was of divine appointment nor assurance that it was primitive, intended to be eternal." He combated the idea that only those are ordained upon

whom the hands of the bishop have been laid. If that were so, then the absence of such ordination meant no ministry, no sacraments, no union with Christ, and it would seem very easy to go only a little step further and say that the members of these vast communions about us can have no salvation for the lack of episcopally ordained ministers.

The Rev. Dr. Holland, of St. Louis, said per contra, that in the light of history, the doctrine of episcopacy is perfectly established, "We must not expect to find all things in the New Testament (evidently Dr. H. does not find episcopacy there). The maxim which makes the Bible alone a standard of belief is a curiosity. * * * Will you tell me that the Apostles had inspiration for speech only, and not for action?"

Another speaker, the Rev. Dr. Babcock, of Columbus, claimed "the episcopate to be a fact, the apostolic succession a theory, a fancy, a relic of Judaism, and as unchristian as unhistoric. It did not exist in New Testament times, and it is of divine origin merely because God bestowed the gift of government upon man, to be shaped by human agency according to the exigencies of the times."

What Bishop Seymour and Drs. Riley and McVickar added is not reported in *The Churchman*, from which these extracts are taken. But they, of course, joined in the responsive service, following the one strain or the other according to the altitude of their churchmanship.

Which of these two parties, now maintaining theories diametrically opposed to each other, represents the

view of the House of Bishops on "the historic episcopate?" The public has an eager and profound interest in the answer to this question. And with all becoming deference to that reverent and imposing body of prelates, it seems to us that a supreme obligation to the churches addressed in their declaration and the cause of Christian unity and the cause of truth, imposes upon them an authoritative and unmistakable deliverance on this subject. The denominations which have received in good faith their overture on the restoration of church unity, and which are earnestly striving for some solid and scriptural basis for new relations of harmony and co-operation among the Christian bodies of the land, have a sacred and indefeasible right, before proceeding any further, to ask from the bishops this simple solution of a question which they themselves have brought forward.

An unmistakable authoritative answer may indeed develop a dilemma. If the bishops hold the view that "the historic episcopate" is "an ecclesiastical, not a divine institution," if they admit that the theory of a divine right attaching to the episcopate is "exploded," that it is but "a fancy, as unchristian as unhistoric," and "an apostolic fiction," it becomes a serious question why they should block the way of Christian union by thrusting forward as essential to it, a device so unimportant and adiabphoristic.

If, on the other hand, they take the position that the episcopate "is one of the divinely instituted channels of supernatural gifts to the individual soul," and that "without it there can be no ministry, no sacraments,

no union with Christ," the Christian public will want to know why, in all good conscience, the bishops of the Episcopal Church should solemnly propose to other churches, as a condition of fellowship with them, a theory of the ministry against which these have successfully contended for nearly four centuries, and which the scholarship of the day by a singular unanimity pronounces to be both unscriptural and unhistoric?

IX. THE PRAYERS OF THE SELFISH.

[From The Christian At Work.]

The recent study of Cain and Abel in the Sunday schools was hardly so exhaustive as to render any further reflections on that subject out of season. In fact, the most practical, the most needed, and the most momentous lesson of that ghastly tragedy, which fittingly opens the world's record of fraternal strife, persecution and blood, was largely overlooked in the numerous expositions published. These "notes" dilated pretty generally on the awful guilt of murder, a reflection not specially called for among our Christian children, and on the monstrous depravity which Cain exhibited in bringing an offering without blood—as if a fully developed theological system had been extant in the infancy of the race and Cain's greatest offence consisted in his heresy on the atonement.

To us who are accustomed to engage in Divine worship, undoubtedly the most serious question that here presents itself is the rejection of this man's offering. Finding nothing in the Scriptures or elsewhere indicating that the offering was in itself inappropriate, and knowing that the gift is accepted according to the state of the worshipper and not conversely the worshipper according to the quality of his gift, we ought to seek in the man's personal character for the secret which

converted his sacrifice on the altar into a curse. This secret is not difficult to discover. His defiant retort, "Am I my brother's keeper?" betrays the true inwardness of the man and demonstrates his absolute incapacity for acceptable worship. He had no interest in others. His own affairs absorbed his attention. He looked out for "number one." He lived for himself. Why should he be burdened with care and responsibility for another? True, there were natural ties of sympathy, and these would of themselves create a strong claim upon a brother's consideration, but these he coldly repudiated. Cain was the keeper of himself, not of his dependent brother. And this rendered his admittance into the Divine presence impossible. Selfishness disqualifies for approach to the throne of grace. Heaven is closed against the offerings of those who bear no love to others. The prayers of the selfish are answered with curses.

This sounds harsh, and you say, perhaps, it is too sweeping. But you can only argue thus by shutting your eyes to the downright wicked and devilish nature of selfishness. We are wont to treat with indulgence this horrible crime against man and God, probably because of its general prevalence, as if this did not in itself betray its revolting character. But surely the Holy Scriptures have no palliation for this monstrous evil. "Whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother." God has so closely identified himself with man that he who has wrong feelings toward his fellows cannot have right feelings toward their Father in heaven. The love of

God and the love of man are made our supreme duty and these two commands are made parallel by the highest authority and interpreted as equal in import and inseparable in binding force. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" The human is invested with the image of the Divine. The traces of Divinity reveal themselves in man. The shadow of the Almighty may be recognized in the human spirit by the eye that is not wilfully blind and unfriendly to both God and man, Contempt for the image means accordingly, contempt for the original. He, therefore, that despiseth, despiseth not man but God.

The want of right feelings toward others being thus made the proof that a man has no proper feelings toward God, he may as well spare himself the effort to worship Him. He can present no acceptable sacrifices or prayers at the altar of the All-seeing. "Therefore, if thou bringest thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Right relations and right feelings toward others, the relations and feelings of brotherhood, sympathy, charity, are indispensable conditions in coming to right relations and entertaining proper feelings toward the Most High. Abandon your gift at the altar. It is unavailing. You are in no state of mind for communion with God, as long as a loving communion does not exist between you and your neighbor. The Samaritan who showed mercy was accepted of God. The priest and

the Levite who hurried by their unfortunate neighbor to present their offerings in the temple, had nothing for their pains but the frown of heaven.

To be covetous is but another term for being selfish. He who is intent upon his own interests and therefore indifferent to another's is guilty of covetousness. He wants the good things of life for himself, and as there are not enough to go around he means to appropriate the earth to himself and his family. The rest may have what is left. Now, the covetous man St. Paul designates point-blank an idolater. Greed is idolatry. The best affections which God claims for himself and for our neighbor are alienated to gross and degrading idols. And can one worship idols and at the same time the Supreme Jehovah? drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils? offer sacrifices both to Mammon and to Christ? Ye cannot serve two masters. You cannot with a selfish heart seek your own and then come before the face of God with prayer for his blessing.

Selfishness, furthermore, behaves towards God just the same as towards man. It has no more regard for the Father than for the brother. In attempted communion with Him, just as in the intercourse with men, the needle points directly and fixedly toward self. Cain's sacrifice is will-worship. It is determined by his own caprice. It is ruled by his own taste and pleasure. It cost him nothing. He makes no selection of the first and the fattest for the Lord. He recognizes no claims from that quarter any more than from another. He goes through the form of outward service without any

feeling of humility or of thanksgiving and without any exercise of faith. Every requisite to genuine prayer is necessarily absent from the selfish heart. No prayer can be heard without faith and faith casts out self. If I have a child's confidence in my Heavenly Father I cannot aim at appropriating what my brother needs. My very faith makes me content with what is given me. The selfish soul is in the nature of things without faith and therefore cannot pray acceptably.

And once more, the very essence of worship is self-abasement, to bow the will, to surrender, to immolate self upon God's altar. The unfailing temper of all true prayer, as taught and exemplified by the Master, is "Thy will be done, not mine." The selfish man says in his heart, no matter what his lips utter, "My will be done, not Thine." The only will he acknowledges is his own will, the only homage he really pays is to himself. His worship is in fact self-worship. It cannot rise above himself, neither can the prayer that accompanies it. You may like one of old wrestle all the night to obtain a coveted good, but until you abandon your self-will and give up the effort to storm the very heavens with selfishness, and surrender yourself to the will of the Lord your prayer will be as ineffectual as was Jacob's. God cannot be successfully sought by a will at variance with His own.

Who then can pray effectually? Are we not all selfish? Not in the sense of being ruled by this base passion. No more slanderous aspersion of human nature can be made than to charge it with universal selfishness. God's infinite love has opened the fountains

of human sympathy. It has awakened a charity that is kind, that envieth not, that seeketh not her own, that beareth all things for the sake of others. Selfishness may cleave to the best of men, but it does not reign over them. Some time ago France was troubled with the presence of a number of royal princes, claimants to the crown, but they were not allowed to seize the throne, they were held in subjection and thus kept comparatively harmless. We must distinguish between the presence of selfishness and its sway of our affections, aims and actions. If it reigns in our mortal bodies, then if we endeavor to pray "we ask and receive not, because we ask amiss that we may consume it on our lusts." "If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me."

X. EATING AND DRINKING UNWORTHILY.

[From The Sunday School Times.]

Ask one hundred Christian people the meaning of the phrase "he that eateth and drinketh unworthily," and ninety-nine will go astray, and reply that it refers to the moral fitness of the communicant. Ask one hundred preachers how they interpret the passage, and nine-tenths of them will repeat the same error, putting upon these words a sense which was not in the Apostle's mind, and using them for a purpose for which they were not originally designed. It is commendable that pastors generally recognize the need of a suitable frame of mind in order that communicants may experience the benefits of the Holy Communion; but it is not commendable that so large a proportion wrest the Scriptures by a false interpretation.

Here, as elsewhere, the simplest exegetical canon offers the key for correct exposition. The context leaves no doubt of the writer's aim. The immediate subject under discussion admits of no question. The Corinthians had such a misconception of this divine institution that the observance of it in their assemblies was a flagrant profanation. They prostituted it into a sensual feast, and they made it the means of maintaining social distinctions. Its spiritual character was destroyed by degrading it to an ordinary meal to ap-

pease hunger, and for the brotherly unity and intimate fellowship of believers which the supper was designed to promote, their practice substituted social indifference and contempt. Rich members who had brought a plenteous supply of food consumed their own contribution with greed and indecent haste, while the poor who could bring little or little had to go hungry.

Such a celebration was a horrible travesty of the rite, and a procedure utterly unbecoming to its true character. It was a most indecorous and indecent performance, wholly unworthy of its sacramental import. It was eating and drinking unworthily, without any estimate of or regard for the religious solemnity, which is its informing essence. It was impossible under such circumstances, as the revisers have it correctly (v. 20), to celebrate the Lord's Supper. The feast of the flesh had effaced the feast of the spirit.

The Apostle then argues the holy heavenly significance of the rite from the immediate revelation he had received concerning it, giving the history of its institution, showing its vital relation to the body of Christ, and its absolute distinction from ordinary meals; and he points out the awful guilt they were incurring by their carnal perversion of it. Here for the first time occurs the adverb "unworthily." Their failure to connect this eating in any wise with the death of our Lord, for whose "remembrance" (v. 29), their degradation and desecration of a divine mystery by making it nothing more than a satisfaction of natural appetite, "involves the crime of having violated the body and blood of the Lord." He that thus "eateth and drinketh un-

worthily eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself." The Head of the Church will not suffer its rites to be profaned.

Here it is not, mark you, a question of the personal worthiness of the guests, like the case of the man who had not the wedding garment, but a question of the employment of the rite to an unworthy end.

"But let a man examine [prove] himself." This admonition certainly looks toward inquiring into one's fitness, preparing one's self in heart for the ordinance, qualifying one's self for a worthy appearance. Certainly it is commonly so interpreted, but at the expense of interrupting Paul's course of thought and disturbing the natural connection. In harmony with this, the sense is that communicants are to examine themselves with respect to the character of this ordinance, consider what they are doing, guard against the offense he is rebuking, against eating and drinking unworthily, inquire of themselves whether or not, in the Holy Communion, they discern the Lord's body. When they come together, is it to satisfy natural or spiritual hunger,—is it to sustain physical life or to show the Lord's death? Let them prove themselves on this point whether they be in the faith, whether they have a right estimate of the Lord's Supper. And so let them eat; that is, in conformity to the right conception of the nature and purport of the sacrament. That this is the primary object of the examination is explained in logical form by the following verse: "*For* he that eateth and drinketh unworthily," etc. The Apostle clinches the argument by recurring once more to their unwor-

thy conception of the supper which eliminated from it the Lord's body. "He partakes unworthily," says Neander, "who does not keep in view the holy purport and aim of the solemnity, but treats it as an ordinary meal, which in its observance does not show forth the death of the Lord."

This does of course not hinder a man from looking into his own heart. The right conception of the nature and purpose of the ordinance is, in fact, likely to lead up to repentance and faith, which are the essential personal requisites. Kling observes: "At all events, the unworthiness lies in a lack of living, active faith in the atonement which has been achieved by the death of Christ; and this is the source of the various moral disqualifications by which the celebration of the supper may be dishonored."

At the same time, it must be admitted, people indulge in morbid self-introspection to their own harm quite as much as to their benefit. And they require caution lest they fall into the snare of the devil, by making such an estimate of their personal fitness or unfitness as will determine them to participate or to abstain. He who after self-examination judges himself worthy to eat this bread and drink this cup, by that very act shows himself most unworthy of it. He is not fit for the Communion. And a more aggravated case of eating unworthily cannot be conceived. No man living, no saint or angel in heaven, is worthy to sit down at the table of the Lord.

Not the unworthy guest, but the unworthy eating, is the subject in this lesson. Not a quality of the

guest is condemned, but a misuse of the institution,—a practice not in keeping with the purpose of its Founder. We have to do here with the objective, not with the subjective. Our business is not self-contemplation, but the remembrance of the Lord Jesus, the proclamation of His death, the prophecy of His coming. Dr. Hodge puts it with his usual clearness when he says: "All that is necessary here to observe is that the warning is directed against the careless and profane, and not against the timid and the doubting. It is not the consciousness of unworthiness that makes a person unworthy, nor yet is it any misgiving in regard to a suitable preparation; for, although this may be an evidence of weak faith, it certainly indicates a better state of mind than indifference or false security." And Dr. Pentecost states a precious truth in these golden words: "It is an utter perversion of the Supper's use to spend the time before and during the service upon ourselves." "Do this," said the Lord, "in remembrance of Me."

XI. TWO FACTS AS TO INERRANCY.

[From The Lutheran Quarterly.]

The burning question of the hour in the theological world is the inerrancy of the Holy Scriptures. By some it is contended that Revelation itself must fall with the surrender of the theory that the *form* in which it originally came to us was in every particular faultless and infallible. On the other hand, the possibility of inerrable compositions has been boldly denied. Whatever comes through human hands, men tell us, must share the defects and the limitations of the human mind, and traces are to be found in the Scriptures which betray their authors' consciousness of the imperfection of their productions. Dr. Wolf simply offers some undeniable facts for consideration which, though familiar to Biblical students, are too often put in the background.

1. The Church is not in possession of the autograph manuscripts. The original documents are nowhere to be found; no eye of man has seen them for thousands of years. The controversy concerning *their* exemption from the possibility of error can have no practical value. Whatever Biblical criticism may be able to accomplish by way of restoring the original text, this science is yet in its infancy. The oldest Hebrew manuscripts existing date from the sixth to

the twelfth centuries: the Greek Septuagint is twelve centuries older than the oldest extant Hebrew manuscript, and it was evidently made from a text that differed widely from the received Hebrew original. As the deviations from the original consist, not merely of faulty renderings, but of differences of matter, it is obvious that either the LXX. followed a corrupted text, or our present Hebrew is corrupted. Probably neither of them is strictly faithful to the original, the manuscript of the Pentateuch, for instance. The writings of the New Testament offer the same difficulties: the autographs may not have contained a single mistake, but they are not at our command. The nearest to the original are several Greek manuscripts copied during the age of Constantine, and some versions which in their present shape date from the same period. As the variations even in these oldest copies are considerable, some of them, at least, were presumably made from a corrupted text. None of the versions made after the first Christian centuries—the Gothic, the Anglo-Saxon, the Lutheran, the King James, or any other—rest upon anything better than defective transcripts of the original documents, at first, second, or third hand. The most that could be said at any time for the last 1600 years was, “Here is an imperfect copy of what the Holy Ghost witnessed to men.”

2. The Church does not need inerrant documents. They are not indispensable to the authority or to the efficient power of Divine truth. The loss of the original autographs, and the inevitable appearance of mis-

takes in the codex, did not detract one iota from the significance of the Holy Scriptures to the pious Jews, who, indeed, are chargeable with bibliolatry far more justly than any Christian. And Jesus cited as authoritative the Septuagint version of the Scripture, for which no scholar claims inerrancy; but this neither compromises His own character, nor weakens the claims of revelation as the power of God. The ancient creeds were not drawn from the autographs, nor were the early councils guided by them; yet some of their decisions have ever since been recognized as Divine truth. The Evangelical creeds of Protestantism cannot claim to be derived from the Scriptures as originally written. The story of the Cross, whether received by tradition or taken from the Scriptures as we have them, has proved itself the mightiest force in human history. "Proceeding persistently and irresistibly on its mission, it is being translated into every language under heaven, each translation of necessity varying from all others—since it is impossible to express the same thought with precisely the same force in different tongues—each version having confessedly errors. Every issue of the Scriptures is a greater or lesser corruption of the original, yet who thinks of the Gospel suffering a material loss, or privation, or deterioration from this multiplication of mistakes? Who, but a critic, troubles himself about the differences which must inevitably obtain between all these editions and the original documents?"

There are variations of reading in the manuscripts.

and they involve defects and errors, but none of them affect any really vital matter. Of what account, then, is the contention about the inerrancy of the *original* documents, when the documents that we have answer every purpose? Has the Church, with its defective text, either in knowledge, or in orthodoxy, or in spiritual power, fallen one step behind the body which was possessed of the inerrant autographs, if they were inerrant? Is there any theological system, or any evangelical doctrine, which, in order to support itself, is driven to appeal to the original documents, with the assurance that they would effectually settle every disputed point?

We have fallen into conceptions of the Word of God which are entirely too mechanical and too artificial. We forget the living and self-authenticating power of Divine truth. We talk as if it were impossible for God to put His word, His quick and omnipotent word, into an imperfect book. We speak of the authoritative character of revealed truth as though it were contingent on the vessel through which it is borne to us. God, in His wisdom, may have given to His people, in early ages, an absolutely inerrant book, but this His providence has failed to preserve. But whatever the translation a man may follow, he has an absolute guarantee for the soundness of his creed, the forgiveness of his sins, the correctness of his conduct, and the inheritance of eternal life. The Scriptures belong to the realm of truth. They open up their treasures to the believing heart; and he to whom they communi-

cate their unspeakable blessings has little concern in the question whether it can be demonstrated that the original vessel could not possibly have had a flaw or blemish.

XII. THE SAVIOUR'S PRAYER.

[From The Treasury.]

It is a nice distinction that popular usage makes between "the Lord's Prayer" and "the Saviour's prayer." Let a leader of any devotional meeting ask the audience to join him in the Lord's Prayer and all lips begin at once to repeat "Our Father who art in Heaven." When your readers on the other hand observe the heading given above, their minds will instantly recur to that most solemn and pathetic intercession, which our Lord and Mediator, just as He was entering Gethsemane, offered in behalf of the unity of His Church. The former prayer He formulated as a model for our approach to the Mercy-seat. The latter is a cry from the depths of His own heart appealing to the Father for those whom He was about to leave as orphans in the world.

In the present universal yearning for closer relations among the different bodies of Christians frequent reference is made to this "prayer of the Saviour," and it is constantly cited by way of enforcing our duty to promote the unity of the Church of Christ. Many are, indeed, so absorbed in this subject as to overlook the fact that this is but one of the petitions of the great sacerdotal prayer. And it may with truth be granted that it forms manifestly the central thought, the gist

of that whole series of petitions recorded in the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel. The melancholy prospect of distraction among His followers, that loomed before His all-seeing vision, was evidently the chief burden which at that moment weighed down the Redeemer's heart, the black, portentous cloud which overshadowed the future joy for the sake of which He was about to endure the cross. And the thrice-repeated cry for its removal, like the three-fold prayer of the agony, is certainly suggestive of the supreme solicitude which this prospect excited in the mind of the sin-aton-ing Redeemer. "Holy Father, keep through Thine own name those whom Thou hast given Me, that they may be one as we are." (v. 11). "That they all may be one; as Thou, Father art in Me, and I in Thee" (v. 21). "That they may be one, even as we are one" (v. 22). If nothing else can avail to arouse the Christian conscience on the subject of unity, surely the emphasis of these repetitions in the prayer of Him who "hath purchased the Church with His own blood," should convince all His followers of the guilt of promoting or perpetuating division and discord within her pale.

However, let it be distinctly understood, that these words of our Lord are addressed to His Father and not to His followers. They are spoken to Heaven, not to Earth. They are specifically a prayer, not a commandment. The momentous work of uniting the redeemed, is committed to the pleading Saviour and Advocate to the heart and to the hands of the infinite God, whose power and wisdom alone are capable of bringing about such a consummation. The creation of

a united Church is the work of omnipotence and not the work of men's hands. Here God must interpose.

This is essentially the first lesson which we ought to derive from this memorable prayer, but somehow we have apparently failed to learn it, failed to be impressed with its profound significance. The persistent and well-nigh universal agitation of Christian union has produced a general conviction that this is a work of human achievement, that it is responsibility resting upon the various Churches, that especially their teachers and leaders are under solemn obligations to institute measures and devise expedients by which the disruptions in Christ's body may be healed and the scattered fragments of His host united in a Communion of Saints.

The "Saviour's prayer" is constantly quoted as if it were the bounden duty of the different denominations to answer it. It is practically viewed as a prayer offered by Christ to His Church or at all events as an injunction given to it, the Master having adopted a device, not unknown to some of His servants, of interjecting now and then a sharp admonition in the body of a prayer, delivering a moral lecture while ostensibly addressing the throne of grace. No one assuredly could deliberately charge Him with such confusion or adroitness, yet in effect we do it, and the Church is charged with flagrant disloyalty to her head if she fails to regard His prayer and put an end to her divisions.

Men accordingly feel constrained from time to time to put themselves in the place of God, to take into their own hands what their Lord committed to

the hands of His Father, to meddle presumptuously with what God has reserved to His own season and His own power. And what a work they made of it! What Utopian expedients! What laborious trifling with a momentous issue! What diplomatic negotiations! What visionary alliances that will not ally! Wise and good men erecting invincible barriers to union in the very attempt to remove them, opening with one hand the gate to a united flock, and holding in the other a club to beat away all the dear sheep that are not marked with their sectarian brand.

And this is the melancholy truth not only with regard to recent movements still fresh in memory, but also with reference to others more remote.

Alas! for the work of men's hands! Especially when they encroach upon God's providence or attempt achievements which have been notably reserved to Divine Providence and to the peculiar office of the Holy Ghost.

It seems to require a long experience and many bitter disappointments for us to learn that the unifying of the Church of God requires something more than the energy and enterprise which organize vast systems of industry and of commerce, which build great commonwealths and conserve the peace of nations. Only as we shall come to measure the stupendous difficulties which obstruct this work and trace those difficulties to their mighty roots in the pride and prejudice and passion of human nature, will we be driven to the confession, "with man this is impossible, but with God all things are possible."

Our only hope for the unity of the Church lies there where the Lord Himself looked for it—in the Father's great heart. And we joyfully look for the day when Christ's people shall be one, not because we have faith in what is devised or proposed for this end in any quarter, but because the only-begotten Son prayed to His Father for this result, and we know that the Father always heareth Him.

It becomes us, indeed, to be in accord with our Master's prayer, to have in this as in all things the same mind which dwelt in Him. It devolves upon us, too, to pray ourselves as He prayed, to keep on repeating His prayer. What else is meant by praying in His name? And our conduct, to be consistent, must of course move in line with our prayers, "endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," but we must distinguish between what is God's province and what is ours, and the warrant, the incentive, the purpose and the faith of our praying and our actions must all be based upon and determined by the prayer of the mediating Son to the Almighty Father.

"By strength of ours can naught be done." Superhuman power and superhuman wisdom are here requisite as much as they were in reducing the chaos of matter into the majestic unity of this universal frame.

And it will greatly help the cause for all to bear this reverently in mind. There is nothing gained by men attempting to run ahead of God's leading or by giving a push to the slow wheels of the divine chariot. We must bide the King's time and hold ourselves in instant readiness for the first notice of His approach.

No very marked improvement in the relation of the different denominations need be expected until a signal is noted as it were in the sky, and in conjunction with it a mighty moving of the Holy Ghost upon the minds and hearts of men.

Jehovah found a way of re-uniting the twelve tribes of ancient Israel—through the terrible ordeals of exile and a long captivity. The same Lord put an end to the monstrous strife which in the first century of the Church raged between Jewish and Gentile Christians, by reducing to ashes the splendid and holy temple whose continuing worship had blinded the Jewish believers to the essentials of salvation. The fires of overwhelming catastrophe have in the past proved the all-potent agency for fusing together the diverse elements of God's kingdom. And all the indications of revelation and all the lessons of history induce the belief that in God's own time the flames of His furnaces will consume our sectarian idols, extinguish the dissensions and contentions of His people, and melt them into a unity which has its ideal and prototype in the union of the Son with the Father.

XIII. THE GOLDEN CENSER IN THE HOLY OF HOLIES.

[From Pulpit Treasury.]

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews in enumerating the sacred furniture of the tabernacle, speaks, in chapter ix. 3, of the Holy of Holies "having a golden censer." That is, he says this according to both the accepted and revised versions. That this translation is ordinarily a proper rendering of the original term (*thumiaterion*) is beyond dispute. And besides our English translations, such authorities may be quoted for it as Luther, the Douay version, the Vulgate, Peschito and others. That this translation is, however, inadmissible here follows from three insuperable difficulties.

I. Nowhere in the Old Testament is there any mention of a particular censer, specially designed for the services on the great day of Atonement and laid away permanently for that purpose in the Holy of Holies. Had there been such a censer the fact must have been well known to the readers of this Epistle, for their familiarity with the Levitical ritual is everywhere presupposed. It is spoken of here in connection with the ark of the covenant, therefore of like importance with it—an essential feature of the most holy

place, yet not a reference to any such censer was contained in their literature.

2. Had the censer required by the high-priest on the day of Atonement been kept within the Holy of Holies, we cannot see how it could possibly have served its purpose on that day. Admission to that part of the sanctuary was forbidden on pain of death to all but the high-priest, and to him it was accorded only on that great day and then only on condition of his holding a smoking censer before him that the ascending cloud might protect the mercy-seat from his gaze "so that he die not." If "censer" be accepted as the proper term here, then the first act of the high-priest on that great day must have been a dreadful profanation of the sanctuary. For without any screen before his eyes he must go within the veil to bring out the censer, before he can have this vessel in which to place the burning coals from the altar before the Lord and the beaten incense with which to approach the Shekinah on the mercy-seat. To get the censer, without which he dare not enter the most holy place, he must first enter it in order to get the censer!

3. Grant that the term censer is here the proper equivalent of the original and we are confronted with the amazing and inconceivable alternative that the Apostle, while undertaking to enumerate the sacred furniture of the two divisions of the sanctuary, fails to mention the golden altar incense—in some respects the most important article within the sacred enclosure; for besides its daily use in the offering of the morning and evening incense, the blood of the higher grades of

sacrifice was always put upon the horns of the altar of incense, and once a year, the very day the high-priest entered the most holy place, the blood of the Atonement, part of which had been sprinkled toward the mercy-seat, was also applied to the horns of this altar and sprinkled seven times at its base, the ritual in connection with the altar of incense corresponding with the procedure within the veil. What took place at the mercy-seat is virtually repeated at the altar of incense. So nearly of the same rank are these two constituents of the sanctuary. Surely we must have a satisfactory explanation for the absence of this altar from the Apostle's inventory of the tabernacle, before we can consent to translate "*thumiaterion*" by censer—if it admits of any other translation.

This it does admit of. This very term is the common designation with both Philo and Josephus for the altar of incense, and the style of the author of this epistle bears, at all events, in many respects a close resemblance to that of those Jewish writers. Instead, then, of using here the word censer, a vessel of incense, let us employ the term *altar* of incense, and all the difficulties named will vanish.

But this only confronts us with a new difficulty, more formidable and perplexing at first sight than those involved in the censer. The "*thumiaterion*," says the text, is contained in the Holy of Holies, whereas the altar of incense stood in the holy place in front of the inner curtain. Surely the writer could not have been ignorant of this fact. And for us to translate this

word "altar of incense" seems to be a square contradiction of his statement. But we have here possibly a case where the letter must not be strained at the expense of the spirit. There is no greater perversion of the Scriptures than a method of exegesis which sacrifices to the letter the obvious sense and intent of the author. Although its local position was in front of the curtain, the Apostle has good grounds for connecting this altar with the apparatus of the Holy of Holies. We have already seen what an important relation is sustained to the innermost part of the sanctuary on the greatest and most solemn festival of the year, the only day on which even the high-priest could pass within the veil. The incense, under the rising cloud of which alone he dared to approach the Shekinah, must be taken from this altar, and the atoning blood of the sacrificial victims which was sprinkled before the mercy-seat was also applied to it.

The altar of incense really *belonged* to the one Service which was annually conducted in the Holy of Holies. On that day of days it was to all intents a part of the most holy place—was indispensable to it. For this very reason, probably, it was put directly in front of the ark of the covenant, "before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony," "before the mercy-seat that is over the testimony"—placed in such close proximity to the latter that it might be most conveniently used in conjunction with it in the supreme act of expiation made for the people on the day of Atonement. This view is confirmed by I. Kings vi. 22, where just

as here the altar of incense is connected with the Holy of Holies. It is there designated "the altar that was by"—"that belonged to" (Rev.) "the oracle." Like our text this passage regards the altar as properly belonging to the Holy of Holies, although it was necessarily stationed in the holy place that the priests might have it for the daily offering of incense and for the application of blood in connection with some of the individual sacrifices.

It must be remembered, too, that the chief aim of this epistle is the elucidation of the types and symbolism of the Old Testament so as to fortify the wavering faith of the Hebrew Christians. The Holy of Holies with its divine presence is the symbol of Heaven, and incense is the standard symbol of prayer. The heavenly scene disclosed in Rev. viii. 3, 4, shows a golden altar before the throne and the smoke of the incense with the prayers of the saints ascending up before God. This is in striking harmony with the position maintained in this paper. And this confirmation becomes yet stronger when we notice the Old Testament as well as the New speaking of an altar in Heaven. (Is. vi. 6.)

Following now the inspired analysis of the sacred symbolism, recognizing the golden altar in Heaven as the antitype of that in the sanctuary of this world (the pattern was given to Moses on the Mount) and remembering, too, that the eternal High-Priest in entering the true Holy of Holies rent asunder forever the separating veil, we may readily understand how the Apostle conceived the idea of connecting the typical altar of

incense with the typical Holy of Holies upon earth. The latter had, accordingly, not the *censer*, but the *altar* of incense. It is indeed very surprising that the revisers did not revise this passage.

XIV. "HE BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH."

[From Homiletic Review.]

Here is a passage frequently used as the text of a sermon, and we believe, in most instances according to a false interpretation. It occurs in that brilliant catalog of the ancient heroes of faith and their glorious exploits which is furnished by chapter xi. of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Abel holding historically the first place among those who on account of faith "had witness borne to them," or better (the authorized version), "who by faith obtained a good report."

"By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, through which he had witness borne to him that he was righteous, God bearing witness in respect of his gifts; and through it [*i. e.*, through faith] he being dead yet speaketh." The popular interpretation takes "yet," *ἔτι*, as temporal and puts the emphasis on it. Although for ages numbered with the dead, the first of mankind to die, this martyr still speaks to us, his faith still serves as an example, his conviction of the invisible and future world which prompted him to bring unto God the "firstlings of the flock and of the fat thereof," while Cain simply "brought of the fruit of the ground an offering to the Lord," still preaches to us as a sermon challenging our imitation. The long lapse of centuries can not break the force of that lesson.

This will, in all probability, be given by nine out of every ten ministers as their understanding of the passage, if asked for an impromptu interpretation.

The wonder is that the *non sequitur* of such a rendering does not more readily occur to them. Look at the logic it involves. The writer aims to enforce the importance and the power of faith. For this purpose he holds up before the staggering Hebrew-Christians the marvelous exhibition of faith presented by the patriarchs and the ancient worthies of Israel, and reminds them at the same time of the mighty results accomplished by their faith. In the magnificent summary of verses 33-35, he reaches the climax, when, having named Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, David, Samuel, and the prophets, he credits them with having through faith “subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the power of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, from weakness were made strong, waxed mighty in war, turned to flight armies of aliens, women received their dead by a resurrection,” etc.

What now was the gain, the achievement, the deliverance, vouchsafed to Abel, which will serve as an incitement to faith with the readers of this epistle, who, being hard pressed by the fiery trials of their faith, were in danger of apostatizing? He succeeded indeed through faith in offering to God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain. God bore testimony to its greater acceptability, but what did that, after all, amount to? What good came to Abel from it? What reward for being faithful? What was the crown awarded his

faith? According to the common rendering, he has been made an example to us. Tho' dead he continues to speak to us. Of what? Of the rewards of faith? The only reward we know of is that "Cain rose up against his brother and slew him." "And wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil and his brother's righteous" (1 John iii. 12). Would this be a powerful argument to men whose faith had been badly shaken by the disappointments of the Christian life? Would they derive from such an example richness of encouragement to hold on to the confession of their hope that it waver not (x. 23), the admonition which chapter xi. is designed to enforce? Abel had faith, and the final result of his faith was to suffer murder at the hands of his brother. His example, therefore, even to this day, appeals to us to follow him, to maintain our faith. "Cast not away, therefore, your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward" (x. 35).

The true rendering is brought out, we think, by taking "yet," *ἐτι*, as not temporal but logical. It serves them to bring out the contrast between Abel's "being dead" and his speaking: although dead "he speaketh." This is the rendering of Lünemann, Delitzsch, von Soden, Ebrard, Holtzheuer, and others.

"The true interpretation," says Delitzsch, "is at once suggested by a reference to the original text, Gen. iv. 10, 'Hark, thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground;,' and to chapter xii. 24 of our Epistle, when the blood of Jesus that cries for mercy is contrasted with that of Abel which cries for vengeance (*cf.* Rev.

vi. 9-11) and for a divine testimony on his behalf.” Remembering that, according to the Old Testament, the soul is in the blood, the warm, fresh, still-pulsating blood; the cry of Abel’s blood which comes into the ears of God is proof that the righteous, even after death, remains a living personality, that he is neither destroyed nor forgotten before God, but remains an object of His care. Only a living man has the power of speech, yet Abel after he was slain speaks unto God, and God acts in his behalf as if he were still living. He avenges his blood upon Cain, but dead men can not be avenged, and God is not a God of the dead but of the living.

The key to this rendering is furnished in x. 38, in that passage which is the proper introduction to chapter xi.: “But My righteous one shall live by faith.” The promise assured to faith is life, eternal life, that life to which death is but the portal, the transition. Faith saves the soul intact (x. 39) whatever may happen to the body.

And for the confirmation of it one need but study the context. Take Enoch, the next example of faith. As Abel through faith lives on in communion with God, so by faith also Enoch escaped altogether the pains of death. Miraculously exempted from dissolution he passed out of this world alive. He was lifted above the power of death as a reward of his faith in the living God. Faith brings us into union and fellowship with God, and those united to the living God can never be really dead, for fellowship with God is man’s true destiny.

Noah's case is another illustration of the death-conquering power of faith. It enabled him to rescue himself and his house from a judgment of universal death.

And so the thought of immortality dominates the entire chapter. Faith is the guarantee and the condition of eternal life. When Abraham reached the land of promise, he, along with Isaac and Jacob, continued to dwell in tents, for he looked for the city which hath the foundations. They sojourned in Canaan as aliens, the instincts of their faith aspiring to a higher and heavenly possession, the true home of the soul. "Their desires reached on and upwards to the eternal city."

With God death does not count. From Abraham, who was "as good as dead," sprang so many as the stars of heaven in multitude, and as the sand which is by the seashore, innumerable. And afterward being tried he "offered up Isaac" as the one hope of the fulfilment of the promise, "accounting that God is able to raise up, even from the dead." And it was this same prospect of life and death, "the recompense of reward," which inspired and sustained Moses in declining royal honors, in preferring evil treatment with God's people rather than the temporary pleasures of sin, in appropriating the reproach of Christ rather than the treasures of Egypt. Faith triumphs over death. The righteous—and none are righteous but by faith—live forever. Abel, though dead, retains the power of speech, a voice which resounds in the ear of Jehovah.

XV. THE EASTER FACT.

[From *The Independent*.]

"I believe the Easter announcement and I accept its deductions." With this protestation Delitzsch begins the preface to the last edition of his *Genesis*, in which he acknowledges his surrender to the general results of the Higher Criticism. Those acquainted with the conditions under which these words were spoken cannot mistake their pathos, neither can they misunderstand their note of defiance.

Standing on the summit of fame as a Hebraist, seeing his life-work overwhelmed by the avalanche of criticism, and sadly contemplating the wreck of the Old Testament made by the destructive school, he recalls the Easter message, he retreats to the open sepulchre, he plants his foot upon that impregnable rock and defies the critics. They cannot annihilate the Easter victory, they cannot dispossess him of this buttress and fortress of Christianity, they cannot rob him of the priceless deductions secured by that triumph.

What a slogan this offers for the battle in behalf of the faith! The Church is in the throes of a conflict raging around those sacred oracles which for ages have been the source and norm of her teachings. Tenets firmly held since the first promulgation of the Gospel and deemed fundamental are hotly contested, and insti-

tutions long revered as indispensable marks and vehicles of spiritual life are profanely undermined. But challenging criticism as baffling science stands the empty sepulchre; which makes every intelligent Christian certain of his creed. The one event established beyond question, the most august and the most momentous event in human history, is the bodily resurrection of Jesus. In the teeth of natural law, in the teeth of experience, despite a military patrol, and a more vigilant ecclesiastical guard whose power hinged on the eventuality, He abandoned the grave on the third day, and with the identical body in which He had expired on the cross, showed Himself alive to His disciples by many infallible proofs.

This consummation, irrefutable, incontestable, supplies the superhuman certificate to the supernatural claims of Jesus, God having given assurance unto all men in that He raised Him from the dead.

What if the Pentateuch is not the work of Moses? What if the several Hebrew writings are for the most part composite? What if the Psalms are not the poetry of David? What if another Isaiah is confounded with the evangelical prophet? Nay more! Let the destructive wave surge against the Magna Charta of the Church, let the Fourth Gospel be referred to "some great Unknown," and the others be made out a patchwork of sources; let the authority of the Apostolic letters be gainsaid, one bulwark of Christianity remains, one fact cannot be wiped out, one truth underlies the Church like the rock of Gibraltar—the Easter announcement cannot be impugned.

Is this scouted as extravagance, as ignoring the reign of natural law? Is it objected that the tests of physical science apply to all data in the physical realm, and that their adamant conclusions contradict point-blank the possibility of a resurrection?

One thing science will not contradict, viz., that the disciples of Jesus believed it. Physicists may read His resurrection out of the category of possibilities; but no man of intelligence will deny that His immediate followers believed it to have actually occurred; that when they manifested obstinate doubt, the Risen One was at pains to give them ocular and tangible demonstrations of it; and that, having been through the practically certain test of personal experience convinced, they were so overpowered by the sense of its reality, and of its import that they made it the business of their life at every hazard to testify of it. Within a few weeks of the occurrence, and in the midst of a population passionately interested in denying their affirmation—to quote Liddon—they took every opportunity of saying virtually: “Christianity is true. It is true because Christ has risen from death.” “On every occasion, with almost every opponent, in almost every sermon, they put forth the resurrection as their reason for being what they were, and for saying what they did.” They felt that the truth of Christianity and its claims upon the minds and hearts of men depend upon the literal truth of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and they staked everything on its promulgation.

Twelve men of most varied temperament, of unimpeachable veracity, some of them endowed with trans-

cent intellects, facing odium, violence and a felon's death, traversed the civilized world bearing the Easter tidings and by means of it wrought the most beneficent and far-reaching social revolution known to history. Baur's admission that without the belief in the resurrection Christianity could not have entered on its world-conquering career, is the consensus of historians.

What, now, has science to say concerning this belief? How are we to account for its origin? The fitful faith of the disciples in the Messiahship of their Master having been crushed on Calvary, what occurred that not only revived their faith but developed it into a firm conviction that He had risen from the dead? What was it if not the miracle itself, which absolutely changed the blackest night into the brightest day?

Here is a historic phenomenon, positively uncontested, a real experience demanding explanation. What instrumentality, what process brought it about?

Science does not disdain the challenge. It has strenuously endeavored to trace this belief to natural causes. Intellectual Titans have wrestled with the problem and have set up bold and ingenious hypotheses accounting for the belief, while scouting the miracle.

It was inspired, some claim, by the recovery of Jesus from a swoon on the cross. The gradual resuscitation of His lacerated form, the re-animation of His ghastly face, flashed upon the minds of His recreant devotees the idea of a resurrection, and this quickly transformed into the purpose of rallying the race to His standard.

Or, their passionate faith in His Messiahship had

reached such a pitch that there appeared to them vividly projected into space images which were simply the phantasms of the brain—a theory that reverses the historic sequence, which ascribes their final faith in His Messiahship to their persuasion of His resurrection.

Or, critics who recognize that after their expectations had been annihilated by the denouement of Good Friday such visions are unthinkable, would have us believe that Jesus from the spirit world kept Himself in communication with His orphaned followers, and that these reassuring manifestations were mistaken for objective bodily appearances—a theory which savors of modern spiritualism.

Or, when the Apostles used language which Jews and Gentiles alike understood of a reincorporated life, perceptible to the senses, they meant nothing more than their vivid realization of unbroken spiritual fellowship with their Master. Though He had departed this life they could still, as it were, repose upon His bosom.

But why so many theories? Why so many weapons to strike down a fanciful misconception when any of them is deemed fatal? Would not one suffice? Which one? Which theory have the critics united on as a satisfactory explanation of the origin of the belief in the resurrection of Jesus?

The soundness of these several hypotheses which palpably create more difficulties than they solve, and get rid of the supernatural only by recourse to a bastard supernaturalism, needs not to be tested here. They have each in turn been pronounced absurd, unreasonable, impossible—not by apologists, but by scholars

who disbelieve the resurrection. The hypothesis of each doubter is shattered by his successor, and the greatest of them all, Ferdinand C. Baur, assuming that faith in the fact was not to be disputed, perceiving the unsatisfactory character of all naturalistic explanations, and regarding this faith as a mystery which defies solution apart from actual occurrence, discreetly saved his reputation by not venturing on any explanation.

The present situation is that of a beleaguered fortress, which when its defenders come to the rescue, is found without a breach and with no foe in sight, the assailants having fallen on each other and by mutual slaughter cleared the field. The task of believers has been accomplished by unbelievers.

Naturalism has met a Waterloo in the Easter announcement. Its belief by the primitive missionaries who by means of it overturned the world cannot be accounted for apart from the veritable occurrence, and it is therefore a proof of the existence of its correlate. Science is dumb, reason staggers, but faith resting on the unseen, and deeming it not incredible that God should raise the dead, apprehends the truth that the Lord of life has conquered death.

That triumph assured, unimpugned, incontrovertible, its deductions are irresistible. Quite in the line of Delitzsch's testimony is the admission of Strauss that everything turns upon the reality of the resurrection. That being granted, he confesses the failure of every naturalistic view of the life of Jesus, and his obligation to retract all that he had written. Had this prince of critics lived to see what a wreck his successors have

made of his own theory. German fidelity would have held him to his pledge.

The resurrection assured, the Risen One is declared to be the Son of God with power. He is confirmed in His superhuman claims. He personates the will of the Eternal. His answers to the profoundest inquiries of the human heart are final. His acceptance and interpretation of Old Testament Scriptures stamp them as authentic and authoritative. It is His prerogative, also, to reveal and develop truth through chosen men, and to whatever reductions their writings may be subjected by critics, the sun will pass from the heavens before His word shall pass away. The reconstruction of the documents containing the Gospel will no more arrest its progress than a revision of astronomy will stop the revolution of the earth.

Christianity is prepared to-day, as it was in its infancy, to stake its all on the resurrection. In this proof-fact it has an adequate, unassailable support, and in it is comprehended the sum and substance of its creed. His resurrection invests Jesus with a sovereign claim on the faith, the allegiance, and the love of men. It proves Him to be our Lord and our God.

XVI. AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

[From Report of Proceedings, Society of the Army of the Potomac.]

Comrades of the Society of the Army of the Potomac: The citizens of this community have delegated to me the honor of voicing their cordial greetings to you on this happy occasion. A more grateful office could not have been assigned me, although I feel that language cannot adequately express our appreciation of your presence, neither can it properly describe the significance of your visit.

Of all the tens and hundreds of thousands that annually flock to this Mecca, who could thrill the emotion of our hearts like the survivors of that grand army which made our town immortal! This is too much for utterance. I frankly confess that the attempt to convey to you a suitable welcome staggers my mental powers. I feel overwhelmed by this audience. The orator who will do full justice to your army on this field and on scores of other fields has yet to appear on the stage. The volume that will record your services to the country in terms commensurate with your deserts, that will fitly and faithfully tell the story of your magnificent organization, your marches, your battles, your endurance, your heroism, your triumphs and your trophies, has yet to be written, and it will demand, and some day

employ, the highest attributes of historiographical genius.

But why should we, the transient tenants of this historic spot, offer you a welcome to its gates and its hearth? The magnet which draws you here is not the body of our citizens, honorable as they are, not our natural scenery, picturesque as that is known to be, nor our educational institutions, whatever their fame. These things which we call our own, and of which we are justly proud, do not constitute Gettysburg in the eye of the world. Gettysburg, the seat of terrific battles; Gettysburg, the synonym of heroism, valor and glory; Gettysburg, the cynosure of civilized mankind, does not belong to us. It belongs in the first place to the Army of the Potomac, it belongs to all who here saved the life of the Republic, it belongs to the nation, it belongs to the world, it belongs to the ages. Gettysburg is the heritage of humanity.

For, comrades, the conflict here crowned with victory was not waged for territorial dominion, it was not inspired by lust for power, it was not aimed at national aggrandizement. The stupendous sacrifice was made, our best blood was poured out like water, in defense of the wisest and most beneficent government ever vouchsafed to mankind, a government securing the largest liberty to the individual consistent with the best interests of the public, the sovereignty of the people limited and enforced by the majesty of law. Gettysburg means the irrevocable resolve and pledge that this government shall live, shall be perpetuated, shall eventuate in the federation of the world.

It is not pre-eminently our wars and our victories, our armies, our navies, our colossal expansion and our prodigious wealth, that have lifted us to the pinnacle of power, but our institutions, our political principles, our ideals of freedom, our national standard of virtue. These are the vital forces from which has risen our splendid military and naval prowess; these are the vital factors which have made possible the "appalling prosperity" and unexampled happiness of our people. To these we owe our industrial, commercial and financial supremacy.

Our institutions breed men, "Men who their duties know. But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain." The vital fructifying energy of our civic ideas, the genius of our civilization, our practical recognition of manhood and brotherhood, are productive of courage and confidence, independence, intelligence, initiative, integrity, self-restraint, and it is these virtues that have pushed us to the forefront in the march of the nations.

The behavior of our soldiery at the fall of Peking, in marked contrast with the barbarism of European armies, and our straightforward, high-minded and equitable diplomacy on the same theatre in contrast with the greed and the loot of the other powers, have shed a brighter and a more enduring lustre on the American name than the annihilation of the Spanish Navy or the charge on San Juan Hill.

Our constitutional democracy, our civic virtues, our American spirit, our public schools, our free Christianity, have won for us the hegemony of the planet,

and these monumental ridges and valleys ran red with patriotic blood in order that the institutions which safeguard such beneficent forces might be preserved for unborn generations. (Applause.)

XVII. JOHN BURNS AT GETTYSBURG.

[From The Star and Sentinel.]

John Burns is no myth. The mediocre critics who make a reputation for themselves by destroying the reality of their superiors have not had a sufficient lapse of time to extinguish the personality of the hero of Gettysburg. They may have annihilated the historic substance of Wilhelm Tell, and reduced to creatures of the imagination others illustrious in story and song, but the sepulchre of John Burns is with us to this day, and the ground which witnessed his devotion and valor is still trodden by his contemporaries and fellow-townsmen, some of whom are envious and some proud of his singular distinction.

The sceptical historian intent on extinguishing the glory of John Burns will doubtless rival the exploit of the notable phrenologist, who without knowing his subject, was asked on the occasion of a visit to Gettysburg to examine the cranium of one of our oldest and plainest citizen. Having made a very deliberate exploration of the various bumps on his head and looking very wise, he announced the result: a born coward! It was the hero of Gettysburg on whom the canting humbug pronounced this verdict. John Burns was a sheer reality of flesh and blood, for many years a citizen of Gettysburg, well known for certain eccentricities and

possessed of a mind somewhat enriched and invigorated by extensive reading. And John Burns was no fraud as a soldier.

It may be that on that July morning, when the cannon were roaring in our immediate front, and a storm of leaden rain and iron hail was sweeping over these fields, the old man came out here to hunt his cows, though 10 o'clock P. M., is not the usual time for hunting stray cattle. It may be that Gettysburg cows have a way of wandering over these parts. I have a vivid recollection of having at one time myself spent some hours out here looking for a lost bovine, but on that particular morning there was not a large contingent of Gettysburgers looking for cows around this particular neck of the woods. Either old Burns was the only man who then owned a cow in Gettysburg or he was the only man who valued the source of his milk and butter sufficiently to go searching for it into the midst of the fire of two great armies. Hunting for cows was not a fashionable pastime hereabouts on July 1, 1863. It was a good deal more fashionable to hunt for a subterraneous region where strong men preferred their coffee without cream.

It may be that this sturdy tee-totaller took his medicine that morning from the wrong bottle, and that landing accidentally among the troops of two armies he was so drunk that he could not tell a Union soldier from a Confederate, but this charge reminds one of the famous retort of Lincoln when some one complained to him of General Grant's drinking habits: "I wish I knew where he gets his whiskey, I should like to buy a lot

of it for some of the other generals." (If there ever was any good whiskey John Burns must have drunk the last of it on that eventful morning.)

The fire that glowed in John Burns was not set aflame by ardent spirits. It was burning there in 1812 when he fought for his adopted country against the British. It was glowing in his breast when at the age of almost three-score and ten he immediately on the outbreak of the Civil War, sought to enlist in the regiment commanded by his townsman, Col. C. H. Buehler. Rejected here, because beyond the regulation fighting years, the same patriotic ardor made him apply later for a place in Capt. E. B. McPherson's company, which became connected with the Pennsylvania Reserves, and when finally he despaired of a place in the ranks he proceeded to Washington to secure any position in which an old man might render service to his country, and there he was at last put in charge of a team bearing the daily rations of the boys in camp.

This martial ardor was burning and flaming in the heart of the old man whenever he heard of Southern raids being made on Northern soil; for he was wont, with the utmost fervor, to urge his fellow citizens to accompany him to the mountain fastnesses, where, like Leonidas with his 300 Spartans, they might in some narrow defile stem the progress of the invader.

If there is some diversity of opinion as to the exact part he bore in the bloody engagement which took place on the field before our eyes, this circumstance brings him into the good company of the chief actors in the battle of Gettysburg. I am not aware that historians,

even those who were on the ground, and were participants in the struggle, are unanimous in their descriptions of the part taken by Meade, or Sickles, or Hancock, or Howard, or Lee, or Longstreet. If these illustrious captains are subjected to various criticisms, and the lustre of their soldiership is not dimmed by the detractions of unfriendly writers, surely the fame of John Burns can endure it, if divers opinions about his deeds of valor have found their way into local gossip or public print.

It has not diminished the glory of Homer nor depreciated the value of his immortal contribution to literature, that seven Greek cities contended respectively for the honor of his nativity, neither have any laurels been torn from the brow of Burns by the fact that two regiments connected with different brigades claim the honor of his having fought in their ranks.

The sober, unadorned historic feat which suddenly raised John Burns to indelible renown is this: When the enemies of his country on that fateful forenoon were about to encounter the army of the Union, and when the cave-dwellers of this ancient borough—many of them his juniors by thirty or forty years—were making themselves secure with their wives and children, this old man seized his flint-lock, replenished his powder horn, filled his pockets with bullets, and after vainly urging his neighbors to accompany him, sallied forth alone out to the firing line. Twice his application to enlist had been denied, but now that the enemies' guns are heard at his hearthstone and he sees the Union army marching out to give battle, all military regula-

tions are flung to the winds. The time to fight has come, and no conventional restrictions can longer hold back the lion-hearted and fiery patriot. For such a spirit once aroused only one thing was left to do—to destroy those who were seeking the destruction of the republic. And nobly he hurried to the spot where the fire was hottest, “towards where the noise of battle smote the air the loudest, with set teeth and furrowed brow,” while the missiles of death were whizzing and striking all around him, through throngs of wounded and dying men, he pushed his way to the forefront, intent on sharing the danger of sturdy veterans.

He first reached the 150th Pennsylvania Volunteers, and requested that he might join the fighting, but Col. Wister, not caring to be responsible for a civilian found with arms, discouraged him and advised him to find a tree in the woods with our troops, for there was more prospects of safety; the intrepid fighter had, however, not come out to look for a place of safety. He was looking for an enemy to hit. He had gone into the thick of the fray to offer his life, not to save it. What he wanted was the best place to fight, and he was not long in making his way forward to the skirmishing line—the most exposed position.

He now fell in with the Seventh Wisconsin regiment, a part of the Iron Brigade, just going into action. Having received the first infantry fire of the battle and charged and captured the firing force, this regiment was being thrown to the front where continuous firing was kept up with shot and shell whistling and bursting around the main line. “At this time,” says Col. Callis,

from whom these particulars have been secured, "I saw an object approaching from the rear, and I think the oddest looking person I saw during the war. He wore a bell-crowned hat, a swallow-tailed coat with rolling collar and brass buttons and a buff vest. He had on his shoulder an old rifle with which he came to a present arms and then said: 'Colonel, is this your regiment?'

" 'Yes,' " I said.

"Then he brought his rifle to an order and said: 'Can I fight in your regiment?'

"I answered: 'Old man, you had better go to the rear or you'll get hurt.'

"And he replied just as a shell burst near him: 'Tut! tut! tut! I've heard this sort of thing before!'

"These words were spoken in a tremulous voice. I again ordered him to the rear, when he replied, 'No, sir, if you won't let me fight in your regiment I will fight alone.' I asked him where his cartridge box was, he patted his trousers pocket and said: 'Here's my bullets,' and taking an old-fashioned powder horn from his pocket, 'Here's my powder, and I know how to use them. There are three hundred cowards back in that town who ought to come out of their cellars and fight, and I will show you that there is one man in Gettysburg who is not afraid.'

"The boys made merry over his swallow-tailed coat and yellow vest and broad-rimmed hat—an incarnate fac-simile of Uncle Sam—but Sergeant Eustis plead with the Colonel 'to fix him up, he'll soon get tired of it and go home.'"

The Colonel at last relented and the old flintlock

was exchanged for a rifle just captured from Archer's sharpshooters. "He was given a cartridge box and belt, but declined to use these new fangled things and instead filled his pockets with fixed ammunition, after which he went into the ranks. He soon grew restless as the general engagement had not begun, and advanced to the front towards our skirmishers before he could see a rebel to shoot at. Pretty soon I saw a Confederate officer riding towards their advance line, mounted on a white horse. Burns drew on him and the horse galloped through our lines without a rider. Whether the officer was killed or not I do not know. The old man loaded and fired away until I called in my skirmishers and ordered my men back to the Seminary."

Sergeant Eustis, of the same regiment, corroborates Col. Callis' testimony. He says: "We boys commenced to poke fun at him, thinking him a fool to come up where there was such danger. He surprised us all when the rebs advanced, by not taking a double quick to the rear, but he was just as cool as any veteran among us. We soon had orders to move a hundred yards to the right, and were shortly engaged in one of the hottest fights I ever was in." It was doubtless in this engagement that Burns received his wounds, one in the arm, one in the leg, and several minor wounds in the breast, and in this disabled condition he was left on the field when our troops were driven past his humble homestead up to Cemetery Hill.

Abandoned by those in whose ranks he had fought he realized his peril at being caught as a "bushwhacker" when the enemy was approaching, and he

managed to crawl away from his gun and to bury his ammunition. Questioned by an officer whether he had not been in the ranks he stoutly denied having been a combatant, and insisted that he had gone out seeking some help for his invalid wife. The officer gave credit to this piteous story and ordered the wounded non-combatant to be cared for. A rebel surgeon dressed his wounds, by night-fall he dragged himself to the cellar door of the nearest house, whence he was conveyed to his home in a rickety bone-wagon by a horse too decrepit to be wanted by the enemy, and there, with bullets still crashing over his head, he received medical care from the late Dr. Charles Horner, whose widow and daughters are still with us.

Nothing that others may say in behalf of the subject of this monument can have the weight of the testimony borne by the general in command of the Army Corps which fought the battle on Seminary Ridge. "My thanks," says General Doubleday in his official report, "are especially due to a citizen of Gettysburg, named John Burns, who although over seventy years of age, shouldered his musket and offered his services to Col. Wister of the 150th Pennsylvania Volunteers. Col. Wister advised him to fight in the woods, as there was more shelter there, but he preferred our line of skirmishers in the open fields. When the troops retired he fought with the Iron Brigade."

John Burns was of course not the only hero of the battle. There were some 80,000 of the same heroic mettle, meeting and overwhelming an army which for discipline, courage and valor has never been surpassed.

Neither was he the only citizen of Gettysburg who went forth to encounter the invader. Not waiting for the Southern legions to reach our very doors, one hundred men and boys started for the front as soon as they heard of the enemy crossing the Potomac. They hastened to Harrisburg, proud to be the first company of the panic-stricken Commonwealth to enlist in that crisis.

They were soon joined by other organizations and formed into a regiment which was honored by having in its ranks a brave boy destined to become the distinguished Governor of Pennsylvania, Samuel W. Pennypacker, and that very regiment was on the field of Gettysburg in advance of all other troops, ready to give battle to the foe.

The fact is that at the time of this great battle there was not left in town a considerable number of men capable of braving arms. This county furnished as large a proportion of soldiers as any other commonwealth and the county-seat contributed its full share of these.

But Burns stands out singular and above all others in several respects. He was at least twenty years past the age for bearing arms. He had twice been rejected as too old for enlistment.

He knew full well what it meant for an ununiformed civilian to be captured in the military ranks, and knew, too, that if wounded he could claim no pension, if slain, his family was entitled to no benefit from the government. So, too, he lacked the incentive which inspires and impels the officer, who faces wounds and

death, conscious that glory awaits the brave. He took an obscure position, laughed at and jeered by the boys in blue, intent only on this one thing, smite the insolent foe of his country. That his devotion and daring were most extraordinary and unique is put beyond question by the fact that in all the raids and invasions made north of the Potomac and the Ohio, there is not another instance recorded of a civilian leaving his home and without uniform or ceremony joining the troops in repelling the invader. The only parallel found in our annals is that of Mollie Pitcher, who when her husband fell on the memorable day at Monmouth took his place at the cannon, an act of singular daring, which brought her the thanks of Washington and a commission as sergeant in the Continental Army.

As Washington recognized the extraordinary valor of the heroine of Monmouth, so did Lincoln show honor to the hero of Gettysburg, when on the occasion of the dedication of the National Cemetery, November 19, 1863, he visited this field and delivered that immortal address. Burns along with thousands of others was introduced to him at night-fall just before he started to an assemblage in the Presbyterian church. The day had been one of splendid pagentry, though to the President, moving over the scenes of a sickening carnage, it must have been a day of unspeakable sorrow, but he seems to have forgotten every other consideration in his resolve to do honor to the aged civilian, who defying every peril, had thrown himself upon the altar of his country.

Surrounded and followed by cheering crowds the

great-hearted and noble President linked arms with the plain and fearless citizen, and together they walked around Centre Square and up Baltimore street, a picturesque contrast, the President towering head and shoulder above the crowd, Burns, a fleshy little body, vainly attempting to keep step with him, the former having on that morning delivered a speech that will survive until liberty dies, the latter just recovering from wounds, received in a patriotic feat, which has scarcely a parallel, the Chief Magistrate of the Republic and an obscure representation of the common people. And so our national Congress honored him, placing his name by a special act upon the pension roll of the country—that, too, at the very time when the State of Pennsylvania bore him on a similar roll, for his services in the war of 1812, and now this grand old Commonwealth, proud of her son, adds to her own laurels by the erection of this monument in commemoration of his superlative heroism.

And we do well, fellow citizens, in rendering here, on the anniversary of his daring feat, this final tribute to the memory of our townsman, who so surprisingly and justly so, became one of the most famous characters of the war of the Union. Who can estimate the debt which our nation owes to such a spirit of self-sacrifice and unmeasured devotion, what strength it derives from this species of moral fibre, what independence and security, what majestic and glory accrue to the Republic from a citizenship which in any crisis and at any cost springs to its defense.

Such men, high-minded, self-sacrificing men, "Men

who know their rights and knowing dare maintain," constitute the life-blood of the State. The poet sings:

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

Wealth is accumulating among us at an appalling rate. Let us see to it that men do not decay—for the increase of wealth has seldom failed to result in moral and national decadence. Let us see to it by the spirit of eternal vigilance that America continue to produce a race of men like John Burns, and our place in the forefront of the great world Powers will be held as long as the granite and bronze of this monument, here dedicated to personal heroism and valor.

