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Section

RECENT CHRISTIAN PROGRESS

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT
AND WORK DURING THE LAST
SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS

BY PROFESSORS AND ALUMNI OF HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY, IN CELEBRATION OF ITS SEVENTY-FIFTH
ANNIVERSARY, MAY 24-26, 1909

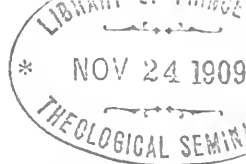
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LEWIS BAYLES PATON

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PREFACE

DURING the last three-quarters of a century extraordinary progress has been made in all departments of Christian thought and work. Accordingly, two years ago, in planning for the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Hartford Theological Seminary, it seemed to the Trustees and the Faculty that it would be appropriate in connection with that event to publish a volume of studies on Recent Christian Progress, particularly in America, prepared by scholars who in some way had been connected with the institution. In furtherance of this plan a list of topics was prepared, representing important branches of learning and effort with which the Seminary has been identified; and out of the long list of professors, ex-professors, fellows, alumni, and trustees, those men were selected to write particular articles who were distinguished for work already done in these respective departments. Correspondence was begun with them, and, with scarcely an exception, all who were invited to join in the enterprise promptly accepted and promised hearty coöperation. The result is a collection of careful studies by recognized specialists in all parts of the world of nearly ninety principal aspects of Christian Progress during the last seventy-five years. The combination gives an inspiring conception of the forward movement of the Kingdom of God in recent times. In presenting this work to the public, the editor would express to all his collaborators his deep gratitude for their loyal response to the call of their Alma Mater, for the thoughtful and thorough work that they have put upon their articles, and for the completion of them within the prescribed limits of time. He wishes also to acknowledge his indebtedness to his colleagues, Professor Waldo S. Pratt and Professor Arthur L. Gillett, for their coöperation in planning the volume and in revising the proofs.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
July, 1909.

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RECENT CHRISTIAN PROGRESS

I. PRELIMINARY STUDIES

SEMITIC PHILOLOGY

PROFESSOR DUNCAN BLACK MACDONALD, B.D.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

IN mediæval Europe the recognized Semitic languages — the word "Semitic" itself was not invented and applied until 1781 — were practically two, Hebrew and Arabic; the Aramaic dialects of the Targums and the Talmud were certainly studied by Jews, but only faint echoes of these studies reached the Christian world. Ethiopic was living but undiscovered, and Assyrian was dead and buried. Further, the Christian students of Hebrew and Arabic were, except as regards the short period of Frederick II in southern Italy and Sicily, isolated individuals working to such a degree under Jewish or Muslim guidance and influence that they were rather exponents of the views of their native teachers than students of the languages themselves. Those few who went further followed practical objects, as Ramon Lull, the Catalan missionary in the thirteenth century.

Then came the great upheaval of the Renaissance. After its Latin and its Greek waves had passed, a third rolled in, the Semitic, the importance and definiteness of which has hardly yet been estimated. It fell on the sixteenth century, although Jewish scholars had made use of the printing press in the late fifteenth. One epoch was marked by the Complutensian Polyglot; another by the Syriac New Testament of 1555; a third by the Medicean Press at Rome, and the school of Arabic which accompanied it from the latter part of the sixteenth century onwards. The proposal of Ramon Lull that Arabic chairs should be founded for the training of missionaries had evidently borne little fruit; in 1532 Clénard had to go to Spain, and in 1540 to Fez, in search of Arabic instruction. After the Arabic school at Rome came, before many years, the school of

Leyden (early seventeenth century) and the school of Oxford (middle seventeenth century).

Until within the last century Semitic studies have been largely dependent on the abilities and inclinations of single men. When Martelotto published in 1620 at Rome his *Institutiones linguæ arabicæ*, it was to be more than a century before any other grammar of a Semitic language fit to stand beside it should appear. The only book at all approaching it was Ludolf's *Grammatica ethiopica*, a second edition of which appeared in 1702. Ludolf's labors, in turn, put the study of Ethiopic on a scientific basis reached by no other Semitic tongue, in spite of the work of Erpen, Buxtorf, Castell, Danz, Michaelis, Schaff, Schultens, Reiske, until the second Semitic renaissance in the early part of the nineteenth century, and for Ethiopic itself unpassed until the appearance of Dillmann's grammar in 1857. Nor was Martelotto's grammar really antiquated for Arabic until de Sacy published the second edition of his *Grammaire arabe* in 1831.

In the above development three stages of grammatical study can be traced. All these languages were learned in the first instance at the lips of teachers who either spoke them as their mother-tongues or were the guardians of a native scholastic tradition. So Reuchlin and his fellows learned Hebrew from Jewish scholars, so wandering Monophysite and Nestorian monks taught Syriac, so Pococke studied Arabic at Alexandretta, and Ludolf Ethiopic with an Abyssinian at Rome. In the case of some languages this influence lasted, though indirectly, very long; the English Authorized Version is deeply in debt to Qimhi, and even the Revised Version often merely carries on the tradition of the Synagogue. The second stage is independent study of native grammars and commentaries, and a third is direct study of the facts of the language itself as found in its literature. These last two stages came in this order, but were often mixed and often recurred. In the case of Arabic, with its imposing system of native grammar and voluminous philological literature, the second stage, as was but natural, lasted very long and is being abandoned only in our own time. In Hebrew the influence of the native grammarian had already passed in the seventeenth century, and a beginning was made in comparative Semitic grammar by Albert Schultens with his *Institutiones* in

1737, though the dead hand of rabbinic exegesis is even yet still felt. The same held true of Syriac grammar, and still more of Ethiopic as developed by Ludolf on the basis of the facts of the language.

At the beginning of our proper period — roughly the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century — the second Semitic renaissance was well under way. In Hebrew Gesenius's *Lehrgebäude* had been some years published and his *Thesaurus* was appearing; Ewald's *Grammatik* and Lee's *Grammar* had both been published in 1827. Of the three, Ewald was fairly the creative mind and stated the still accepted doctrine of Hebrew, though Lee shows the effects of his careful Arabic studies, for good where he anticipates by a quarter-century Fleischer's exposition of the principle of nominal apposition, and for evil where he is misled by the ignorance of the Arabic grammarians as to the real force of their own verb forms. Gesenius, on the other hand, did not so much look at the phenomena of the language as a whole and show the living development in it of the separate forms, as did Ewald, but rather worked from the separate forms and built up through them the language and its laws. In Arabic the central name is that of de Sacy, whose grammar appeared in a second edition in 1831, and is still, when combined with Fleischer's notes, our fullest general thesaurus, although Ewald's (1827) showed keener independence of the native tradition, while his influence through his pupils was and is towards return to the texts themselves. In Syriac our period opened with Hoffmann's grammar in 1827 and Bernstein and Kirsch's *Chrestomathy and Lexicon* in 1832-36. Both were a long advance on anything that had preceded and prepared the way for the study of the mass of Syriac manuscripts which came to the British Museum in the years from 1843 to 1847 and practically recreated Syriac studies. In Ethiopic, apart from the study of apocalyptic literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Lawrence and others, there was, practically, no advance upon Ludolf until the grammar of Dillmann in 1857.

The development which followed this beginning was directed and conditioned by the effort to get back to immediate contact with the life and records of the Semitic peoples, past and present. The scholastic study of fixed grammar and of a few

accessible texts, and the tendency to regard that study as an end in itself, broke down under the pressure of a great discovery, and under the influence of the great awakening due to the romantic movement in Europe.

The discovery was the restoration to upper air of the buried civilization and literature of Assyria-Babylonia, lost and forgotten for some twenty centuries. In 1820 the site of Nineveh had been recognized by Rich; but it was not until 1842 that serious excavations were begun there by Botta, and seven years later in Babylonia by Rawlinson. Meanwhile, the way had been prepared for the deciphering of the inscriptions and tablets thus found by the labors of Grotefend, Burnouf, Lassen, and, most of all, Rawlinson on the three-linguaged rock-engravings of Persepolis and Behistun. The grammatical investigation of the new language—now called Assyrian—followed from 1849. Through the work of Rawlinson, Hincks, Norris, Oppert, Schrader, Delitzsch, and Haupt its grammar and lexicography were put upon a sound basis, and Assyrian texts can now be read with at least the certainty attainable for Hebrew or Aramaic.

Naturally, the first tendency was to regard the newly discovered language—of which we have specimens at least three thousand years older than those in any other Semitic tongue—as of an overwhelming importance, and as at once taking us into the presence of that *ignis fatuus*, the Mother-Semitic. With time, however, it has been recognized that while Assyrian is most valuable for history, for religious ritual, and for lexicography, its grammatical structure has deviated widely from the broad Semitic norm. Itself, apparently, a very old form of Aramaic, it paid the same penalty for wide usage and mixture of race as did the later Aramaic, and was deeply affected by non-Semitic speech.

But other less direct effects have perhaps been of even greater importance. The appearance of Assyrian forced the study of the Semitic languages in the broad; comparative grammar found new materials and became still more necessary. We have the development stretching from Renan's *Histoire des langues sémitiques* in 1855 to Brockelmann's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, now appearing. But Assyrian also fostered archæology, and it, as a study of life and its records in the past, led naturally to renewed interest in the life, languages, and literatures of the

Semitic peoples in the present. On another side this had been long preparing. The romantic movement, beginning in the latter part of the eighteenth century, had drawn attention again to the roots of all literature and expression as existing unchangingly in the masses of the peoples themselves. So, especially, Herder for the literature of the Hebrews and Rückert for Oriental literature in general. Thus the way was prepared to seek in the present-day East the explanation of the ancient East. Philologically, this resulted in the study of the living dialects, and in a strong reaction of that study upon comparative Semitic. So, even after it had become plain that Assyrian would not lead directly to the primitive Semitic, its influence was indirectly felt in this general awakening. Arabic had already regained its old primacy, and the school of Fleischer, continuing the tradition of de Sacy, had labored most fruitfully over the classical language and the native grammarians, lexicographers, and commentators. But the turn of the living tongues had come, and now it may be said broadly that our knowledge of Semitics is being made over in the light of their phenomena, even as the old literatures and life are being explained through the ideas and emotions of the present-day East.

Details as to this study of dialects cannot be given; thus much must suffice. When Nöldeke wrote his sketch on the Semitic languages in 1887, of the modern dialects of Arabic only the Egyptian was really known. Our knowledge of Egyptian Arabic has since much advanced, and the entire field of the rest of the Arabic-speaking world — thanks mostly to Stumme — is now fairly known, though some parts of Arabia and northern Syria still hold their secrets. The circumscribed world of living Aramaic has also been at least worked over. In the most recent years, the daughter and cousin dialects of Ethiopic have been investigated. All have contributed their part to break up the schematic rigidity of scholastic Semitic, and to show the possibilities always latent in a living tongue.

This has been accompanied by a renewed attempt to study the languages on the basis of the texts themselves — peculiarly the method of Ewald. For Arabic, then, the revolt from simple study of the native grammarians has been naturally led by descendants of his school, conspicuously Nöldeke and Reckendorff. For Assyrian no other method was possible. For

Aramaic, once the stage of personal guidance by teachers in possession of the scholastic tradition was passed, students had been almost entirely thrown back upon the texts alone, and, for the most part, had read these with little thought of grammar, and — as they were mostly Biblical — little need of lexicography. With Bernstein the tide had turned, as noticed above, and Nöldeke and Duval especially, mostly following the texts, have reduced the feeble and chaotic grammar of Aramaic to some order. Only an allusion is here in place to the influence of this upon New Testament studies. As for Ethiopic, Ludolf (see above) began from the texts, and the interest has always remained in the texts. This interest has been largely increased during the last twenty years by the renewed study of Jewish apocryphal and apocalyptic literature in its immediately pre-Christian forms. As a consequence it is probable that some scholars now know Ethiopic better than Dillmann did in his time, but his statement of grammar and lexicography, except for small contributions, is still untouched. Hebrew will be dealt with below.

In the linking of the past with the present, and in the study of archaeology in general, inscriptions naturally play a large part. But in Semitic their philological interest had not until recently been great. The masses of so-called Phœnician inscriptions had little effect, as they were then treated, upon the linguistic ideas of the time, and even the Moabite Stone and the Siloam Inscription did not contribute much. But more recently inscriptions from the Hijāz and the Sinai peninsula, from Şafā and Zenjirli, from Palmyra and Yemen, have been so abundant and have been treated so fruitfully that their witness is no longer an almost negligible quantity for comparative Semitic. And what may yet come from those of Yemen for proto-Arabic and the place of Arabic in the Semitic family cannot easily be estimated.

Another side of the humanizing of Semitic has been the application to it of phonetics and the endeavor to discover its laws of rhythm and forms of verse. The endeavor is evidently still in an infancy of vain hypotheses, affording no certain results for either texts or grammar. But the application of the science of phonetics has already proved most useful in detail, and perhaps still more in the broad, as emphasizing the fact that philology should not be allowed entirely to obscure linguistics; that languages were tongues before they were systems of written

signs. How important such considerations may in the end become is shown by Vollers's hypothesis of the type of language originally used by Muḥammad in the Qur'ān. His investigations would have been impossible without the combination of classical scholarship with a knowledge of phonetics and of the modern dialects.

In view of the place of this sketch in a festival volume issued by a school of theology, it is natural to treat Hebrew here apart and finally. As noticed above, the period opens with Gesenius, Ewald, and Lee — Gesenius, an empirical recorder of the facts of the language; Ewald, a philosophical investigator of its principles; and Lee, a student of native Arabic grammar and an applicer of its principles to Hebrew. The drift which followed was conditioned by a growing sense of the need of grammatical precision and by a turning for guidance in that to the dominant Arabic school of de Sacy and Fleischer. Thus, Olshausen (*Lehrbuch*, 1861) is so completely under the Arabic influence that when he endeavors to find his way back to the proto-Hebrew forms lying behind those of the Hebrew of the Old Testament he looks for them throughout in Arabic. In this he carried on the method of Albert Schultens and practically regarded Arabic as primitive Semitic. Ewald's criticism was sharp but true; Olshausen fell into such an error simply because he did not know Ethiopic, and thus did not recognize what development Arabic itself had gone through. Böttcher, on the other hand, would have naught of anything but Hebrew itself, and in his enormous *Lehrbuch*, published after his death in 1866-68, tried to gather up in one *corpus* all the facts of the language. On these divergent tendencies a series of compromises have followed. Stade in his grammar (1879) endeavored to combine Ewald and Olshausen; practically he recognized that Olshausen's extreme Arabism was untenable, but still maintained that the forms of the hypothetical proto-Hebrew should be made the basis of the accidence. In his lexicon (with Siegfried, 1893) a more objective method was followed. Finally, König in his *Lehrgebäude* (1881-97) endeavors to do justice to all these tendencies and has certainly produced a thesaurus most useful for reference.

In this development there has been a comparative neglect of syntax; the grammar neither of Olshausen nor of Stade was completed. Also with elaborate study of Hebrew forms there has

gone a curious clinging to traditional and impossible translations. Only within the last few years have the first verses of Genesis been translated as grammar requires, and the English and American Revised Versions are still full of rabbinic exegesis. It is possible to explain this by the influence of Arabic accidence on the one hand, and the neglect of Arabic syntax on the other. It is certain that those Hebraists who really attained to a knowledge of Arabic syntax profited by it indefinitely, and that the most thorough translations of the Old Testament have come from all-round Semitic scholars, rather than from professional theologians. After Ewald, August Müller's *Syntax* is the most luminous contribution, and Driver's *Hebrew Tenses* owes much of its value to his wide philological training. Thus, too, in the earlier part of our period the contributions of Fleischer were of the first value, and in the latter those of Nöldeke.

At present a pause seems to have entered in directly philological Hebrew studies, the pause of the gathering of material for a new adventure. The new English *Gesenius* (1901-06) summed the lexicographical results of our period; but the grammatical are not yet worked out. Meanwhile text, exegesis, meter and rhythm, history, archæology, hold the field. But a sense for the grammatical imperative of accuracy is plainly growing, and a recognition of the width of the sources on which Hebrew grammar must, in the future, draw.

For Semitic in the broad the future lies, on the one side, in an investigation, *first*, of its relation to Egyptian and the African languages, and *secondly*, of the proto-Arabic of South Arabia. Thus, and only thus, may we hope to move the problem of the origin and early history of the Semitic languages back another step. It lies, on another side, in the study of the modern dialects. To that our recognition of unity and continuity has brought us. Even for Hebrew, the living dialects have value. Forms and idioms of the Old Testament which are too often considered corruptions can be paralleled in the Arabic of to-day.

ORIENTAL ARCHÆOLOGY

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To write the history of exploration, excavation, and decipherment in the western Orient during the last seventy-five years, is almost to write the entire history of the subject. To estimate the effect of such investigation upon theological studies, is a task of great complexity, and need not here concern us. The following brief account can be no more than a modest chronicle of achievement, in a department of investigation which should not be forgotten in a volume devoted to progress in theological studies.

1. *Babylonia and Assyria.* — In point of extent, as well as of significance, by far the most important are the discoveries made in Babylonia and Assyria. Till the beginning of the nineteenth century, Nineveh and Babylon were known to the West only through the Old Testament writings, the works of Greek and Latin authors, and the tales of travelers, by whom, in general, Nineveh was identified with the two mounds Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus opposite to Mosul, and Babylon, with the mounds about Hilla. The sum total of knowledge from all these sources was meager and unreliable. At present we possess thousands of clay tablets, comprising a vast and varied literature, besides monuments and other remains, which have rendered possible to a large extent a reconstruction of the civilization and history of two great empires, and have transferred Israel and the Bible from a unique position on the very horizon of history to a subordinate place among the peoples and literatures of a vast unified civilization, the Ancient Orient. We know now that neither Hebrews in Canaan, nor Arab nomads in the desert, were free from the influence of the civilization of this world-empire. The older theoretical, philological conceptions have given way to historical ones. *Semitic* has become a linguistic

term. Language is to some extent an index of racial affinity, and racial psychic characteristics make themselves felt; but in the Ancient Orient, as in the Hellenistic Græco-Roman Orient, the linguistic and ethnic boundaries were no barrier to the leveling influences of an all-embracing civilization.

Not only during the Exile, but from earliest times, the Hebrews were under the spell of Babylonian forms of thought and Babylonian lore. The Tell-el-Amarna letters show us the thorough babylonization of Canaan, and a high degree of unification of civilization in the western Orient in the fifteenth century B.C. The legends of Creation and the Deluge can no longer be regarded as a unique revelation of historical fact to a particular people, but only as an adaptation of episodes in the mythology current in a greater world, in a corner of which Israel lived a life of comparative insignificance. Not even the "Mosaic" laws are unique; for, with whatever decided differences, they appear from the Code of Hammurabi — itself only one formulation of the customary law of the East — to have grown, like the legislation of all peoples living in the world, and not independent of the workings of natural causes, out of this natural world about them. The rearrangement of documents within the Old Testament, and the recovery of historical documents from without, have made it possible to think historically about the Old Testament, and have removed its once unique historical unintelligibility. In particular, the period of the greatest importance and of our greatest interest in Israelitish history, the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries, are brilliantly illuminated; and chronology has been completely revolutionized, and put upon a firm basis, extending back, with more or less certainty, into the fourth millennium B.C.

Hebrew, in spite of its inferiority to the later Arabic, once thought to be the language of our first parents, now appears to have borrowed many of its common and essential words from the Babylonian. In spite of the vagaries of speculative comparative mythology, and the at times extravagant claims of Assyriologists, it is the permanent and positive service of Assyriology to students of the Old Testament to have rediscovered this Ancient World, and to have assigned the Hebrews and their writings their proper place therein.

These great changes have come about through the investiga-

tions of the nineteenth century, and, but for a small beginning, *within the last seventy-five years*. In 1811 Claudius Rich, representing the East India Company at Bagdad, made surveys and drawings of the scattered ruins about the ancient sites of Nineveh and Babylon. Four other names are to be mentioned as belonging to this earliest period of exploration: Buckingham, 1816; Porter, 1817-20; Mignan, 1826-28; Frazer, 1834-35. February, 1835, witnessed the departure from Liverpool of Colonel Francis R. Chesney, with a government expedition, commissioned to explore and survey the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The result was a collection of valuable surveys. In 1846 James Felix Jones explored the Tigris from Bagdad to Tekrit, and in 1848-50 the country east of the river, correcting the maps of Rich. In 1852-55 he surveyed with Hyslop the Assyrian ruins; and, with Hyslop and Lynch, the country about Babylon. In 1861-65 Selbey, Collingwood, and Bewshire made accurate maps of Babylonia and the country west of the Euphrates.

Excavation began in 1842, when Paul E. Botta, French consul at Mosul, examined Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus. In 1843 he began in earnest excavations at Khorsabad, and with the assistance of Flandin, an artist, unearthed and published the remarkable and valuable collection of antiquities which forms the basis of the collection in the Louvre. His successor as consul, Victor Place, continued in 1851-55 the excavations at Khorsabad, making a plan of the palace of Sargon II, the conqueror of Samaria (722). His large collection of tablets and valuable antiquities, together with the finds of another French expedition (that of Fresnel, Oppert, and Thomas, 1851, at Birs Nimrud and Hilla), and still others from Kuyunjik, were lost from a transport raft in 1855, and have never been recovered from the muddy bed of the Tigris.

The year 1840 marks the beginning of English excavation. Austen Henry Layard, returning from Hamadan (Ecbatana), where he had halted on a journey which he had undertaken to Ceylon, examined in that year the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus, the site of ancient Nineveh, and the mound Nimrud, the ancient Calah.¹ Two years later he received aid through the British ambassador at Constantinople and returned to

¹ Cf. Gen. 10¹¹.

Nimrud. Again in 1846 he resumed work, and discovered, among other things, the palace of Shalmaneser I with its winged bulls. To follow his brilliant career would exceed the space here allowed. Assisted by an anglicized native, Hormuzd Rassam, he discovered the famous "Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser" II,¹ a number of alabaster bas-reliefs, and many of the now most treasured possessions of the British Museum.² He excavated at Kalah Shergat, the ancient Assur, the first capital of the Assyrians, and at Kuyunjik. Again, in 1849, with Rassam, Cooper, and Sandwich, he excavated at Nebi Yunus and Kuyunjik. At the latter place he discovered the palace of Sennacherib, with the celebrated bas-relief and inscription: "Sennacherib, King of the World, King of Assyria, sat upon a throne and reviewed the spoil of the city of Lachish."³

In 1850 William K. Loftus, geologist of the staff of Colonel W. F. Williams, employed in surveying the Turko-Persian frontier, excavated at Warka,⁴ and visited the sites of the most ancient Babylonian cities in the south, notably Mugheir⁵ and Niffer. He furnished accurate descriptions and located the sites with precision. Under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson, British consul at Bagdad, Loftus proceeded to excavate in the south; and J. E. Taylor, British vice-consul in Bosra, to examine Mugheir, Abu Shahrein, and Tell-el-Lahm. At Mugheir four memorial cylinders were taken from the corners of the ruin.

In 1852 Rassam, setting out with new funds, under Rawlinson's direction, excavated again at Kuyunjik, and discovered the palace of Assurbanipal, including the bas-reliefs now in the British Museum, and — most important of all — the vast collection of tablets belonging to the royal library of Assurbanipal, which has been of incalculable value to Assyriologists. At Rassam's departure his work at Kuyunjik was taken up by Loftus, 1854. In the same year Rawlinson found at Birs Nimrud two cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar.

¹ Containing twenty reliefs, among others, one with the inscription: "The tribute of Jehu the son of Omri, I received . . ."

² From the palaces of Essarhaddon (II K. 19³⁷), Assurnazirpal, and Shalmaneser.

³ Cf. II K. 18^{33c}; 19⁸; Is. 36^{1f}.

⁴ The ancient Erech or Uruk.

⁵ Variouslly spelled, but equivalent to the classical Arabic form *al-Muqáyyar*, i.e. "the Pitched (Walls)." It is identified with the ancient city of Ur.

During the pause which now came in the work of excavation the less dangerous but no less difficult work of decipherment went on. Georg Friedrich Grotefend had in 1802, by sheer ingenuity, succeeded in deciphering two Old Persian inscriptions brought by Niebuhr from Persepolis, thus furnishing the values of many letters of the language standing in the first column of the trilingual inscriptions. About 1835 Sir Henry Rawlinson (*vide supra*), a British officer in Persia, reached quite independently, and by similar means, successful results. He copied the great trilingual inscription of Behistun, at the peril of his life, and after many delays, partly of an official nature, but partly in order that he might acquaint himself with every possible source bearing upon his work, he published in 1846 the results of his investigation: an almost complete translation of the Persian portion of the inscription.

It remained now to decipher the language of the second and third columns of the trilingual inscriptions. This last, which alone need detain us here, recognized by Löwenstern in 1845 as a Semitic idiom, was the language of the hundreds of tablets which had been found in the mounds of Babylonia and Assyria, the so-called Semitic Assyro-Babylonian. The solution of this linguistic riddle, perhaps one of the greatest triumphs of human ingenuity, must be dismissed, however undeservedly, with the mention of four illustrious names: those of the Rev. Edward Hincks, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Edwin Norris, and George Smith. Hincks reached his remarkable results largely through analysis of grammatical forms. Rawlinson published in 1851, with notes, the third column of the Behistun inscription; and in 1860, with the help of Norris and Smith, he began the publication of the great corpus, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Assyro-Babylonian, the language of the monuments and clay tablets, had been deciphered. Other problems remained, such as that of the "Sumerian" language, found alone, and also in combination with Semitic Babylonian, particularly in religious texts, and believed for that reason to be the priestly language, and the speech of the earliest inhabitants of the land; but the greatest task had been accomplished, and the result furnished the key to the rest.

Convinced by such results of the value of further excavation, the people of England came to the aid of the cause, and another

period of activity began. George Smith (*vide supra*), an engraver, employed to arrange the tablets in the British Museum, aroused England with the announcement of his discovery of a tablet containing a parallel to the Deluge Legend of Genesis, and was sent to Nineveh to excavate for further fragments of the legend, and for such other material as should confirm the Biblical account. The *Daily Telegraph* offered 1,000 guineas for his support, on the condition that the results of his discoveries should be published through communications to the paper. Early in 1873 Smith went to Mosul, and after some work at Nimrud, found on May 14 at Kuyunjik a new fragment of the Deluge Legend, and later two other fragments. The historical inscriptions which he found, and hoped to find, did not at the time interest apologists or advertisers. He returned June 9. In 1874 Smith made a second short expedition, and in 1876 a third, for the British Museum. He died at Aleppo, Aug. 19, 1876.

The French consul at Bosra, Ernest de Sarzec, worked systematically in 1877-78 and 1880-81 at Tello in southern Babylonia, the site of the ancient city of Lagash. In these and many subsequent campaigns, he uncovered a most valuable collection of antiquities of the earliest period, representing Babylonian art of an age as remote as the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C., and containing many valuable historical documents.

The year 1888 witnessed one of the most remarkable discoveries in the history of Assyriology. A peasant woman found, at Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt, a jar containing a large collection of tablets, nearly all in the Babylonian language, and representing the correspondence of the Pharaohs Amenophis III and IV with their Canaanitish vassals, and with the kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitani, and the land of the Hittites.

In 1884 America entered the arena of exploration and excavation. A conference held at the meeting of the *American Oriental Society* and the *Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* resulted finally in the organization of an exploring party known as the "Wolfe Expedition," consisting of Dr. William Hayes Ward, Mr. J. H. Haynes, and Dr. J. R. Sterrett, which left New York Sept. 6 of the same year, to explore Babylonia for a suitable site for excavation. Returning in 1885, Dr. Ward recommended Anbar, or Niffer.¹ Through the efforts of Dr.

¹ Also pronounced Nuffar, and identical with the ancient Nippur.

John P. Peters, the University of Pennsylvania on June 23, 1888, sent an expedition, composed of the following members: Director, Dr. Peters; Assyriologists, Professor Herman V. Hilprecht and Professor Robert F. Harper; Architect, Mr. P. H. Field; Manager, Mr. J. H. Haynes. On Feb. 6, 1889, excavation was begun at Niffer. The finds included some 2,000 tablets and fragments of tablets, vases, Hebrew bowls, seals and weights, terra cotta and other objects, and implements. The following year some 8,000 more tablets were found. The first continuous excavation ever conducted stands to the credit of Haynes, who, from April 11, 1893, to Feb. 15, 1896, directed the next expedition. About 21,000 tablets were found. Again in February, 1899, excavations were begun under Haynes as manager. In January, 1900, Professor Hilprecht took charge as director. He is said to have discovered a series of rooms "which furnished not less than sixteen thousand cuneiform documents, forming part of the temple library." The American excavation work under Hilprecht has been placed upon a permanent foundation and is yielding valuable results, as have also the American excavations at Bismaya and Senkere.

Turkish digging has been carried on under Hamdy Bey at Sippar and elsewhere, notably in 1894, in company with Father Scheil.

In 1897 Germany entered the field with the exploring expedition of Sachau and Koldewey. In 1898 the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* was founded and the first expedition for excavation was sent out under Koldewey and Meissner, the latter subsequently succeeded by Lindl. In the spring of 1899 work was begun on the palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon. It now rests upon a permanent basis, being supported by the German Emperor. The expedition has uncovered the ancient "street of the procession" and the temple of Babylon, Esagila.

The most important find ever made in the land of the Tigris and Euphrates was the Code of Hammurabi. In 1897 M. J. de Morgan was appointed by the French government to excavate in Susa, where in 1901-02 he found a stele of black diorite 2.25 m. high, bearing a long inscription. It proved to be a trophy carried off by the Elamites from Babylonia (probably from the city of Sippar), containing the original of the Code, long before postulated by Delitzsch and Meissner, promulgated

by the great king Hammurabi, the sixth ruler of the first dynasty of Babylon (c. 2250 or later), whose name, perhaps, is still remembered in the legend of Gen. 14. The stele had lost about five columns of the original forty-nine (=c. 8,000 words). Hammurabi was a benevolent and energetic ruler, who united and restored his country, materially, politically, and economically. His Code, probably merely a collection of current laws, contains a vast number of criminal and civil statutes, many of which are similar, a few even to the degree of verbal agreement, to the laws of Moses, which they antedate by 1,000 to 1,700 years. Both of these collections are probably merely representative of the common stock of laws current throughout the Ancient Orient.

2. *The Hittites*. — This people once forgotten, except for their mention in the Bible, have been restored to their place in history. We cannot here follow the story of discovery and the as yet unsuccessful attempts at decipherment. Let it suffice to say that this people is now known from repeated mention in the Babylonian and Assyrian records and in those of Egypt. Their inscriptions, scattered over Asia Minor, Syria, and Assyria, date from 1000 to 600 B.C. Winckler's discovery in 1906, at Bogaz Köi, the ancient capital, Hatti, of the Hittites, of 2,500 tablets, partly Babylonian, and partly of another speech in cuneiform characters, known from the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, and supposed to be Hittite, promises the ultimate solution of the linguistic problem.

3. *Palestine*. — Palestine has afforded very little archaeological material in comparison with Babylonia and Assyria. Since the latter half of the nineteenth century systematic surveying has been carried on, and much of the topography of the land has been settled. Zion has been proved to be the eastern hill of Jerusalem upon which stood, in successive descent, the Temple and Palace of Solomon, and the ancient city, Jebus. The south wall of Jerusalem has been located, but doubt still exists as to the position of the second and third walls on the north. The chief results are thus topographical.

In 1880, however, one valuable monument was found: the Siloam Inscription. Some boys, playing in the old conduit which leads from the spring Gihon to the Pool of Siloam, having made the discovery, Schick and Guthe secured squeezes of the

inscription which, much damaged in removal, now rests in the Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople. It is the oldest monument but one in the Phœnicio-Hebrew alphabet, and the oldest original Hebrew document. It records the cutting of the conduit in which it was found, during the reign of Hezekiah. At Dibân, the ancient capital of Moab, there was discovered by Pastor F. Klein in 1868 a royal inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, who is known to us through II Kings 3. It contains thirty-four lines, in a language closely akin to Hebrew, and in the oldest form of the "Mediterranean" alphabet known to us. In 1896 at Madaba a mosaic map of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt was discovered. The *Palestine Exploration Fund* sent Petrie in 1890 to excavate the ancient city of Lachish. He believed it to lie buried in the mound of Tell-el-Hesy, and working there he examined strata dating from 1400 to 450 B.C. The remains were mostly pottery. In 1899-1900 the same society began to excavate Tell-Zakariya (Azekah) and Tell-es-Safi (Gath). In 1900 Bliss and Macalister excavated Tell-cj-Judaida and Tell-Sandahanna. Macalister published in 1902 a report of his excavations at Gezer, which he has continued (1907-08). In the same year Sellin excavated Ta'annak, a Canaanitish castle of c. 2000 B.C. In Phœnicia one remarkable find had been made. At Saida there was discovered in 1855, the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon (c. 350 B.C.), with an inscription which, in point of language and writing, is next in importance to that of Siloam. Many other sarcophagi have been found in Phœnicia, but with the exception of those of Tabnîth and Alexander, so-called, they are unimportant. A remarkable find, hardly falling under the present heading, is the place of sacrifice, discovered at Petra in 1901 by George L. Robinson.

4. *Egypt*. — This land was first opened to the West through the campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798. The great wealth of material which it has yielded, and the many-sidedness of the results — e.g. classical, and Hellenistic Greek texts (Logia of Jesus), Biblical, Gnostic, and other Coptic texts, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, and Latin texts, and monuments and papyri, allowing the reconstruction of the language and civilization of the country from about 4000 B.C. downward — make the almost total absence of Biblical illustrative material, like that of Babylonia, the more conspicuous. That no monument referring to

the Exodus has been discovered is disappointing. Of these results we are interested only in the Biblical.

The Rosetta stone, bearing an inscription in Hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek, discovered 1799 near Alexandria, and now in the British Museum, furnished the key to the ancient language. The stubborn script yielded its secret at last in 1822, to Champollion. The latter had completed at his death in 1832 a grammar and vocabulary. Exploration and decipherment followed uninterruptedly. Not only Egypt proper, but also Ethiopia (= Nubia, not Abyssinia!) was searched for materials hidden in ruined temples, pyramids, and tombs: Champollion and Rosellini in 1828; Perring and Vyse in 1837; Lepsius, Erbkam, and the Weidenbachs; Mariette from 1850 onward; Gardner, Griffith, Naville, and Petrie, for the *Egyptian Exploration Fund*, from 1883 onward; Gautier and Jequier, 1894-95; since 1896 Amélineau; and Schäfer, de Morgan, Spiegelberg, Newberry, and Breasted are some of the conspicuous discoverers. The cuneiform tablets found at Tell-el-Amarna have been spoken of above. Tanis (the ancient Zoan), Pithom, and Goshen have been located. The Fayûm has yielded a wealth of papyri of every sort and in many languages since 1878. Not only the old capital, Arsinoë (Crocodylopolis), but the towns Hawâra, El-Lahûn, and Gurob have been investigated. The Fayûm has also furnished a great deal of the material which has been bought from the natives. Not to be omitted are the Aramaic papyri discovered at Assuan, and published by Sayce and Cowley, 1907; and those found by Rubensohn at Elephantine, published by Sachau, 1907, representing a letter written by Jewish priests of that place, to the Judean governor Bāgoi, in the year 408/7 B.C., and a reply of Bāgoi and of the Samaritan Delājāh. The letter was a petition for permission to restore the Jewish temple at Elephantine, which had been destroyed three years before at the instigation of the priests of Anubis. The permission was granted in the reply, without any reference to the Persian government.

5. *Arabia*. — Arabia has furnished no historical monuments connected with Biblical history, but as a part of the Ancient Orient, and especially as the land from which the Semitic-speaking peoples probably came, and in which many of their primitive religious and social traits may be supposed to be

preserved, it engages our attention. Semitic anthropology and religion have long been studied through the copious, yet, for this purpose, meager literature of the Arabs. Now, not only have the cuneiform inscriptions given us glimpses of the peninsula in ancient times, but both the north and south of the country itself have yielded monuments.

The results of research in Arabia have been geographical, anthropological, and linguistic. No excavation has been attempted, the finds having been taken from the surface. The long series of illustrious explorers cannot here be even enumerated. The most important names are: Niebuhr, 1761-64; Seetzen, 1810-11 (Mecca visited, Aden and San'â, first S. Arabian inscriptions); Burckhardt, 1814-16 (Mecca and Medina visited); Wellsted, 1834-35; Cruttenden, 1838 (S. Arabian inscriptions); Arnaud, 1843 (S. Arabia and the Dam of Mârib; many inscriptions); Wallin, 1845 (N. Arabia; Medina); Burton, 1853 (Mecca and Medina), and 1877-78 (N. W. Arabia); Palgrave, 1862-63 (crossed Arabia); Halévy, 1869 (Mârib, Sirwâh, al-Yemen; *c.* 700 inscriptions); Maltzan, 1870-71 (S. coast); Doughty, 1876-78 (Central Arabia; Nabatæan, Minæan, Lihyânic, Thamûdic inscriptions); Glaser, 1882-84, 1885-86, 1887-88, 1892-94 (explored widely in South Arabia; collected, copied, and caused to be copied, a vast number of inscriptions, *e.g.* the Dam Inscription of Mârib, and that of Sirwah, *c.* 550 B.C., alleged to be of great value, but withheld from publication); Euting, 1883-84 (N. Arabia; Nabatæan, Lihyânic, and Minæan inscriptions from El-'Oela, the extreme northern caravan station of South Arabian commerce); Huber (companion of Euting; discovered Taimâ inscription of sixth century B.C.); Hurgronje, 1884-85 (spending a year in Mecca); Count Landberg, 1895-97 (S. Arabia).

The decipherment of inscriptions has been the work of many scholars, among whom are: Gesenius, Rödiger, Osiander, Halévy, Prætorius, Mordtmann, D. H. Müller, Glaser, Hommel, Nielsen, Littmann.

BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY

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BEFORE 1834 the work of identifying Biblical sites had made little progress. The Biblical data, while generally clear as to regions, gave meager and indefinite indications of distances and directions. Pilgrim interest, both Jewish and Christian, centered chiefly in a few places, and by its insistence and credulity created a supply of ecclesiastical traditions better suited to meet the demand than to substantiate their claims. Ignorance of the language, the opposition of authorities, the dangers and expense of travel, were further obstacles in the path of the explorer. Yet to the pilgrim interest we owe one great work, the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome, a geographical dictionary containing over a thousand Biblical place-names and suggesting some three hundred identifications. The preservation of popular names as they existed in the time of the writers and the notes of distances give it special value for the modern student.

Reland (1714, note the significant gap), although never himself an explorer, mightily cleared the way for others by collating in his geographical dictionary the data of the Bible, Josephus, Roman itineraries, Eusebius, and some of the more important pilgrim travelers; by inaugurating the discussion of the physical features of Palestine; and by his rigid insistence on scientific methods of research. His influence is to be traced on Pococke (1714), who collected and transliterated place-names, challenged ecclesiastical identifications, made suggestions of value, and explored less-traveled portions of the land such as the upper Jordan valley and the region about Damascus.

In 1805-07 Seetzen, a German traveler, traversed the eastern provinces of Palestine, made the tour of the Dead Sea, and crossed the desert of Arabia Petræa. He also explored the old pilgrim paths of western Palestine. He learned Arabic, he

made lists of places and ruins both visited and unvisited, he transliterated them carefully and scientifically, he copied many inscriptions. Best of all he discovered the remains of Gerasa and Philadelphia. Burckhardt (1810-12) went over much the same ground east of the Jordan, adding new observations, copying more inscriptions, and extending the list of Arabic place-names, which he was the first to write in Arabic as well as in transliteration. He also found, identified, and described long-lost, inaccessible Petra. He described in general the country between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba and in detail the topography of the Hauran, and added much to our knowledge of the general features of the Sinai region.

In the construction of maps some good work was done by the French government based on the coast-surveys of Jacotin and Paultre (1803), and by Klöden (1817) and Dufour (1825) in the combination of the best existing materials. Yet, after all has been summed up, it remains true that of the 1,282 place-names mentioned in the Bible and Apocrypha more than half still awaited satisfactory identification.

To this summary of progress in 1834 what can we add in 1909?

A year after the founding of Hartford Seminary appeared the great map of Berghaus, which, according to Ritter, opened a new era in Palestinian cartography. Its value lay in its critical use of all the most important sources, including the observations of the most recent travelers, and in the indication of the routes of Burckhardt and others. It was destined, however, to be superseded almost as soon as its value was fully recognized, by the work of Robinson and Kiepert. The former, in two journeys (1838 and 1852) covering five months all together, reaped the richest harvest that has fallen to any one man in this field. In his list of Biblical place-names there occur over 150 sites identified by himself, and he offered besides valuable suggestions regarding many others that he considered doubtful. A claim to genius, as well as a tribute to his exceptional scholarship, might well be founded on the fact that the labors of the succeeding half century have overthrown but few of his identifications. Among the important places that we owe him on our maps are Anathoth, Bethel, Shiloh, Michmash, Jezreel, Eleutheropolis, the Vale of Elah. Hardly less important was his work in fixing the orthography of Arab names, in bringing about the adoption

of a general system of transliteration, in distinguishing the "topographical tradition fastened upon the land by foreign ecclesiastics and monks from the ordinary tradition or preservation of ancient names among the native population." His work included further, to use his own words again, "a historical review of the Sacred Geography of Palestine (west of the Jordan) since the times of the New Testament, pointing out under each place described how far and in what period it has hitherto been known." He wrote a memoir on maps, but intrusted the preparation of his own to the expert aid of Kiepert. In it were embodied, besides the results furnished by Jacotin, Laborde, Burckhardt, etc., data from Captain Moresby's Red Sea chart and the manuscript maps of the Lebanon by Ehrenburg and Bird, all covering regions which he had not himself visited.

Closely following Robinson, Tobler (1845-65), "the father of German Palestinian research," explored a considerable part of Judea with minute pains, describing some seventy sites and doing careful work in the description of parts of Jerusalem neglected by Robinson. To continue this work with the requisite thoroughness over the entire country was beyond the purse of any properly equipped person. Guérin (1852-75), the great Frenchman who continued the task of exploration in Samaria and Galilee as well as Judea, had the advantage of commissions from his government, but lacked expert assistance. Yet his descriptions were so ample and accurate as to make his work a classic. The failures no less than the successes of this notable trio pointed the way for the great task of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

This British Society, organized in 1865, undertook, in 1871, the arduous survey of western Palestine on the scale of one inch to the mile. Under Stewart, Conder, and Kitchener the work was carried on to its completion in 1878. When published in 1880 it was found to represent an area of 6,000 square miles and to contain many Arabic place-names never before collected. The route-map of Van der Velde, the best after Kiepert, contained 1,800 place-names; the Survey map, 9,000. Close study of these yielded, according to Conder, suggestions for the identification of 150 more Biblical sites, the largest advance since Robinson. To be sure, a large proportion of these are named but once in the Bible, and few of the more important ones,

e.g. Debir, Tirzah, Mahanaim, Beth-Peor, Ramoth-Gilead, Ziklag, are without rivals, but this is inevitable as the field narrows.

The survey of eastern Palestine remained to be undertaken. Begun by the above society in 1881, and abandoned because of difficulties over the *firman*, it was taken up by Schumacher, a resident German railroad surveyor. Employed now by the British, and now by the German Palestine Society organized in 1878, he has surveyed the Jaulan, southern Bashan, and the region of the Yarmuk and Jabbok. Maps have been published from his surveys by the latter society from time to time in its journal. As was to be expected, his lists contain many more names before unknown than those west of the Jordan.

Meanwhile the land has continued to reward the efforts of the individual explorer. While serving as French consul, Clermont-Ganneau identified Gezer (1873) and Adullam with its famous cave. Succoth fell to the lot of U. S. Consul Merrill, who also made out the best case for his site for Jabesh-Gilead. Van der Velde claims Jogbehah, Harosheth of the Gentiles was found by Thomson, the true identification of Mt. Hor was first suggested by Wilton, and that of Kadesh-Barnea by Rowlands, but the claims of the two latter were first fully established by Trumbull (1880).

Meanwhile the efforts of the explorers on the field were greatly assisted and supplemented by the work of scholars at home. Tobler, unable to continue his work of exploration, devoted himself to collecting and editing the original texts of the mass of pilgrim-narratives written between 333 and 1483. These, issued in an English translation after his death in 1877 by the Palestine Pilgrim Texts Society, have been used with profit in tracing the history of many places, as has also the French collection of *Historians of the Crusades*. Tobler's work was continued by Röhricht (1878), whose exhaustive bibliography contains 3,515 titles of works on Palestine, and by others whose contributions are still appearing in the publications of the German Palestine Society. Armstrong's *Names and Places* brought the lists of Reland and Robinson up to date (1886), and his splendid raised map of Palestine has been of inestimable value to the untraveled student.

The material contained in the lists of Palestinian towns taken by Thothmes III (c. 1501 B.C.), Rameses II (1292 B.C.), Rameses

III (1198 B.C.), and Shishak (945 B.C.), together with that furnished in the Tell-el-Amarna letters from Palestine (c. 1400 B.C.), and the *Travels of a Mohar*, has been sifted with satisfactory results by Petrie, Winckler, Conder, Sayce, W. Max Müller. Of the more than 150 place-names thus listed fully half are identified with Biblical names according to some, three fourths according to others. Among the more important places whose pre-Hebrew antiquity is thus established are Megiddo, Kadesh, Gezer, Dothan, Aphek, Aijalon, Beth-shemesh, Jerusalem. Compared with these, the Assyrian data relating to places in Palestine derived from the accounts of Shalmaneser II, Tiglath-pileser III, and Sargon are meager. Among the Biblical place-names outside of Palestine the labors of Layard, Schrader, Delitzsch, Hilprecht, and other explorers and Assyriologists have found for us Nineveh, Ur, Shinar, Elam, Calah, Helam, Haran, the "river" Chebar.

Other sources made available by the patient efforts of scholars are: Talmudic Geography, treated by Neubauer; Mediæval Arab Geography, handled by Le Strange; and the notices of Josephus, compiled by Boettger in the form of a topographical historical lexicon.

Invaluable aid has also been furnished by Biblical critics. Not only does the Septuagint text of Joshua name eleven cities omitted in the Hebrew, but its rendering in twenty other cases helps greatly toward their identification. Were there really six Apheks, three Gilgals, three Hazors, two Mt. Hors? Why are there so many cases of the same name in southern Judah and northern Israel? Were Sinai and Horeb two names for the same mountain? Should it or they be looked for in the Sinaitic peninsula, in Moab, in Midian, in the eastern mountains of Seir, or near Kadesh-Barnea? Why have almost none of the camping places of the Israelites during the Exodus been identified? These and other questions bearing on our subject are being largely answered through the work of Guthe, Socin, Cheyne, Winckler, and numerous others.

There remained the task of sifting these multifarious sources and organizing the results in such form as would render them most useful to the general Bible student. A treatment of Biblical Geography was needed that should be accurate, systematic, comprehensive, and illuminating. The facts must be made to

yield their utmost of significance to the interpretation of the history of Israel, Judaism, and Christianity. The great master in dealing with the historical geography of Palestine following Reland and Robinson proved to be Ritter, the distinguished German geographer. In his encyclopedic work on the *Geography of Asia* ample space was given to Syria and Palestine. The large grasp of relations shown in this work, no less than the exhaustive treatment of material, continues to elicit the student's admiration, but its great length, even in the much abridged English translation of 1866, prohibited its general use. The need was fully met for the English student by the publication in 1894 of George Adam Smith's masterly *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, and for the German by the still more compact work of Buhl issued in 1896, and followed by Hommel's ten years later.

In concluding this brief account of seventy-five years' progress it is well to remind ourselves that while so much has been achieved that the great task may seem well-nigh completed, more than two hundred places still seek identification, and among them names of such interest as Sinai, Goshen, Rameses, Aenon, Bethsaida, Cana, Emmaus, Calvary. What the explorer and scholar shall fail to find may the excavator succeed in recovering!

II. OLD TESTAMENT

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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It has long been recognized that no miracle interfered to protect the text of the Bible against the dangers common to all ancient mss. Therefore, both in the interest of religion and of history, no effort must be spared to restore this book to its original integrity. However, we may not hope ever to see the Law and the Prophets in the extent and the form in which they left the hands of the sacred authors. Much has been hopelessly mutilated and a good deal has been lost. All we can expect is to approximate the Hebrew text as it existed a little before the making of the first version. Once this result is obtained, we can further improve it through the careful use of conjectural emendations. Old Testament Criticism has therefore to run two separate courses which will meet at the end. It must, on the one hand, trace as far back as possible the present Masoretic Text, which was fixed in the second century A.D. by an uncritical process of selection, and which was not immune from corruption even afterwards. On the other hand, it must somehow obtain a reliable text of the Septuagint as a check and source of correction for the final text. The aim of this paper is to show succinctly what has been accomplished in both of these fields of Biblical research during the past seventy-five years.

1. *The Massoretic Text.* — Before 1834 Sal. Norzi (1603), J. H. Michaelis, B. Kennicott (*Dissert. Generalis*, 1783), and de Rossi with his two important works (1784-88 and 1798) are the most prominent names connected with the study of Hebrew Old Testament mss. Perhaps Abr. Firkhovitsch deserves mention also as a collector of Karaite codices.

All the codices with superlinear (Babylonian or Oriental) punctuation became known after 1845. The great number of MSS. of the Geniza of Old Cairo (now in Cambridge), as well as some Bagdad fragments and Western MSS., are also recent discoveries. Among these the most valuable are the Babylonian codex of the Latter Prophets, 916 A.D. (photolithographic edition by Strack, 1876), and the Cairo codex of the whole Bible, 1008-10, both of which are in St. Petersburg; the Aleppo Bible, and the codex of the Former and Latter Prophets, 1089 A.D., now in the Karaite synagogue at Cairo.

Within the last seventy-five years Ginsburg and Baer have been the most active MS. students. An enormous amount of work remains yet to be done, as the whole of our MS. wealth is waiting for a new and thorough collating. König's *Einleitung* (p. 52) gives a list of the earlier great collections of variants. No work of this kind has appeared in the last century; but a large number of readings are to be found in critical editions of the Bible, commentaries, essays and articles on Biblical subjects, and critical apparatuses for the different parts of the Bible.

The older authoritative printed editions are the Bomberg Folio (1525-26), the Mantua Quarto (1742-44), and the Van der Hooght Octavo (1705). This latter was often reproduced in the nineteenth century. Among the more recent editions we may note the Baer and Delitzsch edition (1869 ff.), in single volumes based on Ben Asher MSS., with critical notes from Massoretic sources; the Ginsburg text (1894), also derived from Ben Asher MSS. and giving a large Massoretic apparatus in footnotes; Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (1905), based on the Bomberg text, with variants in footnotes from Hebrew MSS., ancient versions and modern emendations; Haupt's so-called *Rainbow Bible* (1893 ff.), which gives an unpointed corrected text. The readings here adopted come from Hebrew sources, versions (mostly the LXX), and conjectural emendations, which play an unduly large part. Lack of space forbids us to mention the critical editions of many individual books, such as the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament given by Strack in his *Biblical Aramaic Grammar*, etc.

The Massora, *i.e.* the once oral, now written tradition about the consonantal text and the vocalization of the Hebrew Old Testament, is a very treasury of corrections. It has taken the

form of alphabetical lists and may be distinguished as the *Massora Marginalis* (*Parva*, near the column, and *Magna*, above or under the column) and the *Massora Finalis*, which appeared at the end of the volume, and then gradually became an independent book. Before 1834 Ben Chayyim's Massora collection in the fourth volume of the *Bombergiana* was the main source of the later Massora publications. Recent editions are the *Okhla we Okhla* (1863) and the *Massora Magna* (1876), by Frensdorf; Elias Levita's *Massoreth ha-Massoreth* (1867) and the great Massora collection in 4 vols. (1880 ff.), by Ginsburg. Baer and Strack published in 1879 Aaron b. Asher's *Dikduke Hateamim*.

The Samaritan Pentateuch is a Hebrew text of the Pentateuch, unpointed and in ancient script, probably going as far back as 433 B.C., and therefore offering the oldest witness to the post-exilic Torah. Unfortunately many corruptions, which can be explained mostly from ignorance of Hebrew and theological scruples, crept into it in the course of time. The Samaritan Pentateuch shows six thousand variants as compared with the Massoretic Text, a considerable portion of which must be valuable. Rosen gives a list of the Samaritan mss. in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1864. Peterman collected variants (1868), and W. Scott Watson (in *Hebraica*, vol. IX) describes a critical ms. as a basis for a new edition. Von Gall is now issuing a new critical edition.

Aquila's version of the Massoretic Text into Greek, made for the Greek-speaking Jews and proselytes in the second quarter of the second century, was extremely systematic and literal, and therefore can readily be turned back into Hebrew. It was still in use in the sixth century, but now we know it mostly from Origen's Hexapla (see Field's edition). Some newly discovered fragments from the Cairo Geniza have been published by Burkitt (I Kings 20⁷⁻¹⁷, II Kings 23¹²⁻²⁷) and C. Taylor (portions of Psalms 90-103 and Psalm 22, a whole leaf of the Hexapla). Further, Grenfell-Hunt published a fragment of Aquila in the Amherst Papyri, Pt. I, pp. 30 ff., and Mercati, a continuous fragment of the Hexapla Psalms from a tenth century palimpsest (1896). The first five verses of Aquila's Genesis were also discovered on the top of a letter from Rome. A complete text, if ever found, will be an invaluable witness, either to the early codices of our Massoretic Text or to some other authoritative recension of the Hebrew Bible.

Theodotion's very early translation from the Hebrew is also lost, except the Book of Daniel, which circulated in the Church in this version, and the portions of Jeremiah with which Origen filled up the gaps of the LXX Jeremiah. Swete edits Jeremiah II¹⁴⁻²⁶ in his *Introduction*. It is also thought that Ezra B in our Greek MSS., a literal rendering of the Massoretic Text, comes from Theodotion's version.

Symmachus's version was made later than those of Aquila and Theodotion and aimed to express more the sense than the letter of the Massoretic Text. It is known to us only in Hexaplaric remnants.

The Targums, and perhaps the Bible quotations in the Midrash and Talmud, would yield some good readings if critically used. But almost nothing has been attempted in this field, although the Targums have begun to appear in reliable editions, e.g. Berliner's Onqelos, 1883, Levy's Isaiah, 1889; and specially Lagarde's Prophets and Hagiographa, 1872-73. The oldest and most trustworthy recension of the Targums is the South Arabian codex of the Pentateuch brought to Europe in 1876.

The Peshitta (Syriac) version was probably made by the Jews in the first century of our era directly from the Massoretic Text. Targumic influences are recognized in some parts. The revision of Philoxenus in 508, and also later revisions, brought into it a large element of LXX readings.

The oldest edition of the Peshitta (Michel le Jay's Polyglott, 1657) was reproduced by Lee, 1821, and by the missionaries in Urumia, 1852. The Dominicans at Mosul gave an unsatisfactory edition (1887-92). For critical purposes Ceriani's photolithographic reproduction of the *Codex Ambrosianus* (1876-81) is indispensable. The Apocrypha were edited by Lagarde (1861), the Psalms by Bedjan (1886). For a fuller list of MSS., printed editions, monographs, etc., on the Peshitta, see articles in Hauck's *Realencyclopädie*, Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Barnes in *Expository Times*, September, 1898, Ceriani's *Editions and MSS. of the Syriac Old Testament* (Italian) (1869). Not only the age of the Peshitta, but also the close relation existing between the Syriac and Hebrew languages, makes this version a great help in Old Testament textual criticism.

The Vulgate version was begun by Jerome in 390 A.D. from

the Hebrew text to take the place of the Old Latin translations current in the Western Church. It did not find a ready acceptance at first, nor was it complete. In time there developed a mixed text, especially in the Gospels. The Apocrypha were taken over from the Old Latin, except Judith and Tobit, and the ancient Latin Psalter survived in a revised form.

No valuable mss. have lately been added to our large stock of Vulgate codices, nor have these been thoroughly sifted. The mediæval *correctoria* remain unpublished. Critical work in this field is just in its beginnings. Vercellone gave a good collection of variants in 1860-64. Berger wrote an excellent history of the Vulgate (1893). Of recent editions we may note Vercellone's good reprint of the Clementine Vulgate (1861), with an invaluable preface, and Heyse and Tischendorf's imperfect edition based on *Codex Amiatinus* (1873).

2. *The Septuagint and Versions derived from it.* — This earliest of all the Old Testament versions was begun in the third century B.C. It therefore represents a post-exilic Old Testament text. However, it soon became corrupt and developed, as in the case of the Old Latin version, into different types or recensions. Origen made matters worse through his effort to bring the LXX into conformity with the Massoretic Text. The critical signs with which he inserted corrections or additions from the later Greek versions (mostly that of Theodotion) were gradually omitted, thus giving rise to a mixed text, whose original sources soon disappeared. The LXX was further manipulated by Hesychius and Lucian, so that little or nothing of the ancient version escaped the disastrous influence of these recensions. The task of present-day LXX scholarship is to rediscover the old text. Lagarde is the great master of our times in LXX criticism. He clearly enunciated its principles (see Art. "Texts and Versions" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*), and applied them in his multitudinous contributions. Yet it is still a question whether we may hope ever to attain a reliable LXX text. Perhaps we ought to be contented with a careful collation of the important codices with the Massoretic Text.

The *Codex Sinaiticus*, discovered by Tischendorf in 1844, is the most important recent addition to our wealth of LXX mss. Also many fragments and palimpsests have come to light (see Swete, *Introd.*, pp. 125 ff.). The best printed edition is that of

Swete (Cambridge, 1887-94), based on *Codex B (Vaticanus)*, with variants from the main uncials (*Alex., Sinait., Ambros., Marchal.*). The larger Cambridge edition by Brooke and McLean will repeat the same text, but the apparatus will include many good cursives, the main old versions (Old Latin, Egyptian, Syro-Hexapla, and Armenian), and quotations from Philo, Josephus, and important Christian Fathers. There are also many recent editions of the separate books of the LXX, such as Lagarde's *Genesis Græca*, etc. All the great uncials have appeared either in photographic or facsimile editions (the *Sinaiticus*, 1846-62; the *Vaticanus*, 1828-38 and 1881; the *Ephræmi Syri*, 1845; the *Bodleianus*, 1857; the *Alexandrinus*, 1879-83; and the *Vaticanus*, 1904-6).

The fifth (LXX) column of Origen's Hexapla was preserved separately through the copies of Eusebius and Pamphilus. The original unwieldy codex perished probably during the Arabian conquest. To our old stock of Hexaplaric codices (*Colberto-Sarravianus*, the surviving Syro-Hexapla portions, and many fragments) little has been added in recent times (see Aquila, above). Whatever we may discover of the other columns will not only be of value for the Massoretic Text, but also for the restoration of the prehexaplaric LXX. Field, on the basis of Montfaucon's work, gave the best edition of the surviving Hexapla fragments (1875).

Different parts of the Syro-Hexapla, which is a faithful seventh-century translation into Syriac of Origen's fifth column (of which large portions are extant in European libraries), have been published by Middeldorpf, 1835; S. Rördam, 1861; Ceriani, 1874; Lagarde, 1880 and 1882; and G. Kerber, 1896. The Syro-Hexapla, completed by the Arabic translation from it, is invaluable, not only for its text, but also for the Origenic signs, which it has scrupulously preserved.

Hesychius's recension of the LXX, made in Egypt after 350 A.D., is now lost as an independent work; but a number of Greek mss. which show peculiar readings are in agreement with the Egyptian versions. The *Cod. Marchalianus*, photographed and annotated by Ceriani (1890), has according to that great scholar a Hesychian text. Also *Cod. U* in the London Museum, purchased at Thebes, contains fragments of the Psalms closely corresponding to the Sahidic Psalter. The Egyptian version,

part of the Armenian, the Biblical quotations of Cyril of Alexandria and other Egyptian writers, have come to be recognized as important sources for Hesychian readings. Cornill's name is closely connected with this branch of LXX criticism.

Lucian's recension of the LXX was based on the Hebrew (and the Peshitta?). He had a Hebrew text which was different from Origen's and superior to ours (Driver). Lucian's work survives in many well-known LXX mss. (see Swete, *Introd.*). It found its way also into the Old Latin, the Philoxenian recension of the Peshitta, the Armenian, Gothic, Slavonic versions, and into the quotations of the Fathers of the Antiochian School. Lagarde's *Genesis-Esther* (1883) is the best attempt at restoring the Lucianic recension.

The Old Latin version, or so-called Itala, consisting of African and European recensions, is extremely important for LXX criticism, as it is undoubtedly derived from a prehexaplaric LXX text. It is preserved only in fragments and patristic quotations, the latter having been collected by Sabatier (1743).

The Lyons Heptateuch (seventh century), the most important Old Latin ms., was edited by Robert, 1900; the Freising palimpsest (fifth or sixth century), by L. Ziegler, 1883; the Würzburger palimpsests (fifth and sixth century), the Weingarten ms. of the Prophets (fifth century), and the Stuttgart fragments, by L. Ranke, 1871-88. The readings of *Cod. Ottobonia* are given in Vercellone's *Varie Lectiones*. The re-editions of Latin Fathers which are now appearing (*Vienna Corpus; Texts and Studies*, etc.) will necessitate a revision of Sabatier's collection. There are many important fragments, like the Vienna palimpsest of Genesis and the Historical Books, which have not yet been published. Berger published a notice on the unedited Old Latin texts, 1803; Lagarde rendered also important services to this branch of LXX criticism.

During the last seventy-five years the Egyptian version, a very early one, has attained great prominence, not only through the ever increasing number of its fragmentary codices, but also through recognition of the fact that it yields good LXX readings. This version occurs mainly in the Sahidic, Middle Egyptian, and Bohairic (so-called Memphitic or Coptic) dialects. Hivernat, Maspero, Lagarde, Bouriant, Krall, Ciasca, and others have done much for the description, study, and editing of Egyptian

Bible mss. Unfortunately, no complete codex of the whole Bible has yet been found. Even complete mss. of individual books are few, and occur mostly in the Bohairic dialect. Of the many recent editions of parts and fragments of the Egyptian version we note the following: Bohairic Pentateuch by Fallet (1854), by Lagarde (1867); the Boh. Psalter by Ideler (1837), Schwartz (1848), Lagarde (1875), F. Rossi (1894). Tattam edited Job (1846), the Prophets (1836-52), also some other fragments. Amélineau's Job, 1887 (*Proc. of the Soc. Bibl. Arch.*), and Budge's *Earliest Known Coptic Psalter* (Sahid. 1898), are both important. The value of the restored text of the Egyptian versions will consist both in their affinity with the Hesyehian recension and in their relation to an early LXX text.

The Palestinian Syriac version (Melkite) was also derived from the Greek and shows affinity with the Eusebian edition of the Hexapla LXX. It survives in fragments, many of which have been published by Laud (*Anecdota Syriaca*, 1875), Gwilliam (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1893-96), J. R. Harris (*Bibl. Fragments from Mount Sinai*, 1890), Mrs. Lewis (*Studia Sinaitica*, 1897), and Margoliouth (*Liturgy of the Nile*, 1897).

Only a few fragments of Genesis and Nehemiah have come down to us from the Gothic Old Testament, translated by Ulfilas about 350 A.D. (Lucianic). These have often been edited, along with the New Testament fragments, during the last century.

The original Slavonic version of Cyril and Methodius (ninth century) perished during the Tartar invasion. The surviving fragments were incorporated in Gennadius's Bible (1499), of which the Octateuch still contains old and interesting readings. The oldest Slavonic mss. are those of the Psalter (eleventh and twelfth centuries), of which a critical edition appeared in Moscow, 1879. Geitler published the Sinai ms. of the Psalter in 1884.

The Ethiopic version was also derived from the LXX, although the native authorities maintain that it was translated from the Arabic. The richest ms. collections are kept in the Bodleian, the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the British Museum, and the Royal Libraries of Berlin and Vienna. Ancient editions are described in Le Long's *Biblioth. Sacra*, Pt. II. In more recent times Dillmann edited *Genesis-Kings* (1853-71) and the Deutero-Canonical Books (1894). Joel was edited by

Merx; the Twelve Prophets, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Malachi, and part of Isaiah, by Buchanan (1893 ff.).

The Armenian version was made in the first quarter of the fifth century, probably from the Peshitta, and was then completed and carefully revised on the basis of a LXX copy brought from Constantinople. It shows traces of the Lucianic, Hesychian, and Hexaplaric recensions. There is great need of critical study in this field. The chief collections of mss. are found in Etchmiadsin, Moscow, the Armenian Catholic monasteries of Venice and Vienna, and the Bibliothèque Nationale. A good many codices are also to be found all over the Caucasus and Turkey, especially in ancient monasteries. Mss. of the whole Bible are rare; three of those in Etchmiadsin were written respectively in 1157, 1253, and 1270; one in Venice in 1220. The best edition before our period was Zohrab's, Venice, 1805; the Bible Society's edition (Constantinople, 1895) adopted the readings nearest to the Massoretic Text. A new critical edition appeared in Etchmiadsin in 1905.

EXEGESIS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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IN 1834 Hebrew grammar and lexicography received fresh impulse through the work of Gesenius, and in an important sense Old Testament learning may be said to have taken then a new direction. The fetters of language were broken, rabbinic methods and terminology were largely abandoned, and Hebrew scholarship entered upon a new career. There were great men before the Trojan heroes, yet their exploits are but the penumbra of a memory. So in the field of Old Testament scholarship few great names survive which antedate the past seventy-five years. What preceded became the substratum upon which much has since been built, but the creative work by which our life has been enriched has been done mostly within the compass of three quarters of a century. Edward Robinson, co-worker with Moses Stuart in Andover and later professor in Union Theological Seminary, contributed largely to the interest men were feeling in learning, and ambitious young students were impelled by his example and enthusiasm to visit the lecture-halls of Germany. The fact that throughout all the years since 1834 almost every Hebrew grammar and lexicon has borne upon its title-page the name of Gesenius, shows how sound was his method and how potent his influence. Robinson's translation of Gesenius's Lexicon links together two names of great significance for Hebrew learning.

Important monuments of the older day of Exegesis survived in 1834 in the Authorized Version and Luther's German Bible. These maintained their hold upon the public mind and conditioned largely the results of scholarship. The Authorized Version, because of its music and its incomparable English, could not be set aside. We own its sway to-day in the very word "Revision," which stamps the great products of our own period

in the department of translation as but reverent attempts to make more luminous the work of 1611. But if translators did not feel themselves free to reconstruct the Biblical version "which shall be known and read of all men," the new horizon that began to appear in 1834 inclosed a wider world than had ever been known before. Biblical knowledge at once differentiated itself into many special departments, exploration and discovery threw a new light upon the Word, Criticism received a new impulse, and Biblical Theology was born.

In 1841 Edward Robinson published his *Biblical Researches*, and thereby gave the world a vision of the Holy Fields such as no previous generation had possessed. His monumental work and Thomson's *The Land and the Book* (1859) may fitly be reckoned among the most effective modern aids to the study of the Word of God. The names of Ewald and de Wette, Olshausen, Delitzsch, Dillmann, and a host of others rise before us at the beginning of our period. Great comprehensive commentaries were projected and published. C. F. K. Rosenmüller completed a massive work just before his death in 1835, in which are embalmed the best results of his predecessors.

A scientific method, both literary and historical, gradually won its way, and this embodied itself in the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, begun in 1838, Knobel, Hitzig, and Olshausen being among the most prominent contributors. There was a vitality and a force to the *Handbuch* which gave it permanence. It was on correct lines, the scholarship exhibited was generally of a high order, and in 1875 Dillmann made it the framework for his own contributions to Old Testament exegesis. Much of it now seems ponderous, but Dillmann illuminates it by his own learning and brilliance, and the Hexateuch and Job from his pen are among our best commentaries. Genesis alone has been translated into English.

Different in tone was the *Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk* of J. P. Lange, begun in 1857. By it we cannot say that scientific study was so much stimulated, as that Biblical knowledge was popularized and made more accessible, while its translation into English introduced some of the simpler Old Testament problems to the American portion of the English-speaking world. The *Biblischer Kommentar über das Alte Testament* by Keil and Delitzsch, also translated, added far more. *Isaiah*,

Psalms, and *Job*, by Delitzsch, became the handbooks for those who wished a close approach to the great writings of the Old Testament; and the *Minor Prophets*, by Keil, is the best conservative work on the subject. *The Speaker's Commentary*, edited by F. C. Cook (1871-76), conservative and scholarly but apologetic, was the mainstay of those who were not yet ready to plunge into the deep waters of Criticism. *La Bible*, by Reuss (1875), was exceedingly critical. *The Pulpit Commentary*, by Spence and Exell (1882), contained several good introductions. The *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments*, by Strack and Zöckler (1886), represented the conservative party in Germany.

While these commentaries were appearing profound changes were taking place, for the great subject of the Literary and Historical Criticism of the Hexateuch was stirring all thoughtful Old Testament scholars. Alignment on this question was already manifest before 1860. In Germany many things were seen to be but provisional; and while dogmatism and intolerance were manifest, some were holding their minds open, while others ventured into untried fields, trusting to a method which might and did undergo revision as experience ripened judgment, but which was on the whole scientific. It was in the field of Old Testament Introduction that the greatest progress was made, for there men were freer, and there the scientific method was more natural and necessary. Although Vatke in 1836 put forth a work of great critical importance, Heinrich Ewald was the man whose brilliancy and insight popularized the new critical method, and his influence was tremendous and enduring. The *History of Israel* (1843-52), *Poetical Books of the Old Testament* (1833-38), *Prophets of the Old Covenant* (1849-51), some of which were translated into English, rapidly affected thought in Great Britain and more slowly in our own country. These were epoch-making books, and their power lay in their constructive character and their freshness of treatment, by which doubtless many were carried forward who were loath to accept his theories in their entirety.

A new stage of investigation had been reached in 1861 when Abraham Kuenen's work began to appear. This marked the beginning of the modern period of Higher Criticism. Analysis, minute and searching, often arbitrary and one-sided, but pains-

taking and thorough, was the distinctive feature of the sixties. The hypotheses of Kuenen, Graf, and Wellhausen made men at first view pause aghast. The far-sighted ones saw from the outset what a change in view-points for the whole history was involved in the acceptance of these revolutionary theories for the Hexateuch. In Germany the Grafian positions held the center of the field, in Great Britain twenty years were passed before they won their way to the front; but in 1881 the works of Robertson Smith for the first time rendered accessible to the English-speaking world the actual results of Old Testament Criticism. *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1881), *The Prophets of Israel and their Place in Jewish History* (1882), besides articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, were brilliant presentations of the new views. They did for England and America what Ewald had done in Germany forty years before; and though the application of new methods was slow and the acceptance of new results cautious and even timid, Cheyne and Driver in the eighties were among those who were already presenting in commentaries and similar writings a treatment of Old Testament problems and an explanation of Old Testament facts which proceeded upon the basis of the critical work of their immediate predecessors and contemporaries in Germany.

In America opposition was the rule; strong men held back the movement, and by conservatism prevented too rapid an absorption of the newer ideas, and enabled young scholars to weigh and test the theories that were presented for their acceptance. But the influence of the struggle was manifest. A series like that of the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, begun in the eighties, preserves almost in a stratified form a picture of the movement. Men of different schools of exegetical thought are there represented, and the contrast between the points of view of some of the volumes is marked and unmistakable. *The Expositor's Bible*, with many volumes which owe their brilliance and power to the stimulus received from the new view of Israel's history and of the worth of the Prophets, testifies to the vision of imperishable truth which our generation had gained.

Following in the wake of the great critical movement, and interpreting its results, are two important German commentaries, the product of the last quarter-century. The *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, edited by W. Nowack, and the *Kurzer*

Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament, edited by Karl Marti, number among their contributors the leading scholars of Germany. The greatest critical work that has appeared in modern times is the *International Critical Commentary*, edited by C. A. Briggs, S. R. Driver, and Alfred Plummer, the first volume, "Deuteronomy," appearing in 1895. The successive volumes embody the results of the best historical, critical, and archaeological methods of the age, and even antiquate and relegate to obscurity many polemic and apologetic works of the last half-century. There are still needed popular commentaries of a constructive type which will be available for those who are not technical scholars. Such a series as the *Westminster Commentaries* (Driver's *Genesis*, 1904) is meeting this need, and others will follow. Special discussions and individual commentaries follow the lines of controversy or mark the focal points of discussion. The Hexateuch has been the storm-center ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century. No adequate commentary on the Hexateuch, however, has yet appeared in English, but discussions in periodicals have been numerous, while monographs and large sections in Biblical introductions testify to the high estimate of the subject's importance and to the keen appreciation of the necessity of investigation and thorough debate before comprehensive work is attempted.

The Psalms from the nature of their contents have received a large amount of attention. German, English, and American scholars have added greatly to our knowledge of their meaning.

The Prophets have in an important sense been discovered within our period of seventy-five years. Beginning with Ewald, the task of their exposition was somewhat tardily taken up anew after 1875 in England and America; and now, not only is Isaiah interpreted and understood as never before, but Amos and Hosea, his companions of the eighth century, and the entire galaxy of the Twelve, have emerged from darkness illuminated by the work of our foremost scholars. The brilliant contributions of W. R. Smith particularly have helped to make the last quarter-century an epoch.

What has been the basis and motive power of this great advance in Biblical study? At the foundation of it all is the tremendous intellectual awakening of the nineteenth century. The mind and imagination, stimulated as never before by the great

agencies for production and investigation, have not been satisfied with past achievements in any department. Linguistic studies have received an impetus from the discoveries in Egypt and Western Asia, and grammar and lexicography have developed with unprecedented rapidity. The breaking of the seals of the book of ancient history has stirred a new interest in the Biblical records, and the materials which have been accumulated for a first-hand investigation of the history and growth of religion have given birth to Historical and Literary Criticism and Biblical Theology. The Bible, and theories about it, being thrust into immediate contact and comparison with the new science, men who love the Bible and believe in it have been compelled to study it anew to determine whether it can meet the modern scientific tests, or whether it is really understood by those who speak against it. Instead of being destructive in effect or derogatory in intention, the wonderful increase in Biblical study and the prolific production of exegetical work have been a great apologetic, which have forced upon the modern world the recognition of the Bible, and have demanded that its contents and its teaching be reckoned with. Hence colleges and universities which twenty-five years ago never thought to place it in their curricula, or treated it with ill-concealed contempt, now include it and provide for adequate instruction, demanding only that it be taught scientifically, while we insist that it be considered fairly, rationally, and systematically.

Several significant elements have further contributed to this great result: first, a new translation of the Bible. On June 30, 1870, a work was begun in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, which went on quietly and almost unnoticed for fourteen years, and yet was full of significance for the entire English-speaking religious world. This was the Revision of the King James Version. The Old Testament was completed June 20, 1884, and fitly closed this period of discussion, struggle, and reconstruction, and began the new age of advance and construction. The last third of our seventy-five-year period (1884-1909) might well be styled the period of Bible translation, for the English Revision of 1895 was followed by fourteen years of careful reworking of the material collected by the American Revisers, culminating in the American Revision of 1901, which is taking its place as the standard English version.

The second cause of progress in America has been the personal influence of one man. President William R. Harper, by his creative enthusiasm, raised the study of Hebrew and cognate languages to a position never occupied before. The interest awakened by him has been permanent, and his influence upon popular as well as upon scientific studies is marked and abiding. Biblical scholarship in this country owes him a debt which can never be repaid.

A third element in the great advance has been the spell of the Orient. Assyriology, though not a new science in 1885, revealed treasures which lured many of our best young scholars to further pursuit. Exegetical science felt the stimulus, and our commentaries are richer thereby.

Thus from 1884 to 1909, with a new version of the Bible which provoked inquiry by the newness of its phraseology, with brilliant coteries of scholars trained in the best methods of investigation, enormous strides have been made toward more perfect elucidation of Biblical problems. Works like the *Messages of the Bible*, by Sanders and Kent, and *The Student's Old Testament* by Kent, mark the new trend. The syntactical method of our best commentaries, and the growing appreciation of Hebrew metric, are the fruitage of decades of toil. Budde, in 1882, and Briggs have been pioneers in what seems to be really the finally won, though not fully explored, realm of Hebrew poetry.

The periodical, devoted exclusively to exegetical and expository research, is to a large degree the product of the last twenty-five years. The *Biblical World* spans the quarter-century. The *Expository Times* is one of its offspring, and the *Expositor* has had a long and brilliant history extending back into the middle of the nineteenth century. The *Journal of Biblical Literature* has also had a career of increasing usefulness during this period.

The Bible Dictionary is another great product. Smith was long the only authority, but in 1899 the *Encyclopædia Biblica* appeared, and in the same year *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*. Biblical articles of importance are found in all the leading Encyclopedias, and the *Standard Bible Dictionary*, edited by Jacobus, Nourse, and Zenos (1909), shows how far results, considered but a short time ago hypothetical and prob-

lematic, have been assimilated and made the basis for progressive and constructive work.

From the preceding rapid survey we are able to divide the three quarters of a century from 1834 to 1909 into three periods of twenty-five years each. These periods present certain distinctive features which may be briefly summarized. As in all organic development, factors which were subordinate at one time come forth into great prominence at a later date, while there are great determining features characteristic of all the periods.

In the first period of twenty-five years, extending from 1834 to 1859, the foundations for all future advance were laid. Grammar and Lexicography, Old Testament Criticism and Biblical Theology, added the elements of certainty and vitality which rescued Exegesis from dialectic scholasticism. Exploration and discovery made the Oriental world real and brought the past into our field of vision. The decipherment of cuneiform inscriptions was begun, and a new apologetic was created. The great comprehensive and popular modern commentary came into being. It was a period of awakening.

The second period, from 1859 to 1883, was one of readjustment and reconstruction. The comprehensive commentaries already projected in the preceding decades were completed, entered upon new editions, and were followed by other great works. It was the age of Criticism, when rival theories contended for the mastery. The monographic treatment of various exegetical subjects made the discoveries and conclusions of scholarship yearly more available.

The third period, from 1884 to 1898, was one of assimilation and construction. It witnessed the completion of long-continued labors for Bible Revision in Germany, England, and America. Oriental lands and Western Asia particularly yielded their richest treasures to the Bible student. This was the age of the journal devoted exclusively to Biblical subjects and of the Bible dictionary. Each of these has had predecessors, but the degree of perfection now reached shows an advance both in technique and in constructive ability which bears witness to the depth and thoroughness of the work of the seventy-five years which have now come to a close.

HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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PRIOR to the year 1834 higher criticism of the Old Testament had already passed through three main stages of development. (1) Through the investigations of Hobbes (1651), de la Peyrère (1653), Spinoza (1671), Simon (1672), le Clerc (1685), doubt had been thrown upon the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and traditional theories of the date and authorship of the other books had been called in question. (2) The inductive method of research, first formulated for the natural sciences by Francis Bacon (1620), had been applied to classical literature by Bentley (1699), and then to the Old Testament by Carpzov (1714-21), Wolf (1721-33), Parvish (1739), and Lowth (1753). (3) The analysis of the Pentateuch and Joshua into their literary constituents had been effected in the main correctly. Astruc (1753) divided Genesis into two documents on the basis of the alternation of the divine names Jehovah and Elohim. Eichhorn (1780) made independently a similar, but more accurate analysis of Genesis. Geddes (1792) and Vater (1802) called attention to the lack of unity in the rest of the Pentateuch, but did not advance beyond the theory that it was composed out of isolated fragments. Ilgen (1798) made the important discovery that there are two writers in Genesis who call God Elohim. De Wette (1806) recognized the independence of Deuteronomy from the rest of the Pentateuch, and proved that it was the law-book discovered in the Temple in the reign of Josiah. Bleek (1822) established the fact that Joshua is an integral part of the Pentateuch, and so originated the name Hexateuch. Ewald (1831) showed that the documentary analysis of Genesis is justified by the statement of Ex. 6², and that this analysis can be carried through the rest of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua.

By the year 1834 the analysis of the Hexateuch was practically complete, and great progress had been made in the analysis of the historical, prophetic, and poetical books. Little had been accomplished, however, for the determination of the true dates of the constituent elements. It was commonly assumed that P (the First Elohist, or Priestly Code) was the earliest document of the Hexateuch, because it furnished the first chapter of Genesis, and because it was the framework of the entire narrative. This was a fundamental error that prevented a historical conception of the growth of Hebrew literature. So long as it prevailed, the analysis of the books of the Old Testament remained a fruitless exhibition of critical acumen.

A new era in the higher criticism of the Old Testament was inaugurated in 1834 through the recognition by Eduard Reuss, then a young *Privatdocent* in the University of Strassburg, that the Priestly legislation of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers is the latest portion of the Pentateuch. To him it seemed incomprehensible that the elaborate regulations of the Levitical code should have appeared at the beginning of the Hebrew religion, and, if they were ancient, that the early histories and the pre-exilic prophets should know nothing about them. All attempts to explain the Old Testament on this basis resulted in cumbersome and improbable hypotheses. It appeared to him, therefore, that the simplest solution of the difficulty was to revise the current idea of the age of P. Just as Copernicus simplified astronomy by supposing that the sun, not the earth, was the center of the solar system, so Reuss simplified Old Testament criticism by supposing that the Priestly Code was later, instead of earlier, than the Prophets. This theory was as revolutionary in criticism as the Copernican theory was in science, and Reuss did not dare at first to print it, although he communicated it to his students in his university lectures. One of these students was K. H. Graf, through whom the new idea was subsequently given currency.

It often happens that a great scientific discovery is made almost contemporaneously by a number of independent workers. This was the case with the new theory of the Pentateuch. What Reuss detected by the method of inductive reasoning, Wilhelm Vatke divined by the method of philosophical speculation. In 1835 he published his *Biblische Theologie*, which was an attempt to explain the religion of Israel from the stand-

point of Hegelian philosophy. The book was cumbered with technical phraseology, and was written with such a decided Hegelian bias as to be almost useless for one who was not an adherent of the Hegelian school; nevertheless it grasped correctly the fact that development is the fundamental law in religion, as in thought and life in general. Arranging the documents of the Old Testament in the order demanded by logic, Vatke reached the same conclusions that had been reached already by Reuss; namely, that the Law is later than the Prophets, and that the Psalms are later than both.

In the same year J. F. L. George published his treatise on *Die älteren jüdischen Feste*. Starting from the same Hegelian standpoint as Vatke, he concluded that the simple festal legislation of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21-23 and Ex. 34) must be earlier than the more elaborate provisions of Deuteronomy, and that Deuteronomy in its turn must be earlier than the still more elaborate enactments of the Priestly Code. This *a priori* assumption he fortified with a number of solid historical arguments, many of which still retain their validity. The abstract philosophic form of presentation affected both by Vatke and George, and the apparent dependence of their theories upon the truth of the Hegelian philosophy, prevented their views from gaining at the time any wide currency. Conservative and liberal critics alike agreed in denouncing their revolutionary treatment of the history of the Hebrew religion, Reuss still refrained from printing his views, and the current hypothesis that P was the *Grundschrift*, or "Fundamental Document," remained unshaken.

For the next thirty years Heinrich Ewald was the dominant personality in Old Testament Criticism. His monumental work, the *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1843-52), sums up the results of the period of criticism closing with 1834. For him, and for his numerous followers, P remained the *Grundschrift* of the Hexateuch. In 1853 Hupfeld established Ilgen's discovery of the Second Elohist, and perfected the analysis of the Hexateuch into its four constituents P, J, E, D, but he also held fast to the traditional dating of the documents. As late as 1861 Abraham Kuenen, in the first edition of the first volume of his *Historisch-critisch onderzoek*, maintained substantially Ewald's view of the priority of P.

In 1862 J. W. Colenso, Missionary Bishop of Natal, electrified the English-speaking world by the publication of the first volume of his elaborate work, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*. This work grew out of the practical difficulties of its author as a teacher on the mission field. His Zulu boys were constantly asking him in regard to the truth of the stories of the Pentateuch, and he was unable to answer their questions. Resolving to study into the matter, he found nothing in English theological literature to help him, and so turned to Germany for aid. Here he found much information in regard to the composition of the Hexateuch, but no satisfactory discussion of its historical character. Accordingly, he set himself to investigate this problem afresh. In his first volume he points out a large number of historical difficulties in the middle books of the Pentateuch. Nearly all of these are found in P, yet it does not occur to him to ask how this document, which is supposed to be the oldest, can be the least historical of the Pentateuchal records.

Attention was first called to this question by K. H. Graf's epoch-making treatise on *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1865). In this work Deuteronomy is made the starting point of the investigation. Its independence of the rest of the Hexateuch is proved, and its identity with the law-book discovered in the reign of Josiah is demonstrated. Evidence is then brought to show that it must have been written shortly before its discovery. A fixed basis is thus found for the criticism of the other Hexateuchal documents. Graf then inquires what portions of the middle books of the Pentateuch are presupposed by D, and discovers that the JE sections are constantly cited, but that the P sections are not mentioned. He next examines the institutions of D and of P in comparison with the Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, with the result of establishing the priority of D in every case. Chronicles, which stands alone in its testimony to the existence of the Priestly legislation before the Exile, is subjected to a searching critique, which shows that its testimony is unreliable over against that of the earlier historical books. Thus the conclusion is reached that the Priestly legislation was first promulgated by Ezra in the assembly described in Neh. 8. This late date is assigned only to the *legislation* of the middle books; in regard

to the *narratives* of the Hexateuch the view is retained that P is the earliest document. Thus Graf developed and presented to the world in scientific form the idea that he had received as a pupil of Reuss in 1834.

In 1862 Colenso's book came into the hands of Kuenen and once raised the query, which had failed to suggest itself to Colenso, whether P could be the earliest document of the Hexateuch. A work by J. Popper on *Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte* also appeared in 1862 and presented new difficulties in the theory of the antiquity of P. All these considerations were leading Kuenen to the view that the Priestly legislation was late, when Graf's treatise appeared. Its irrefutable logic crystallized his own opinion, and without further hesitation he adopted the idea that the Priestly legislation of the middle books is post-Deuteronomic. He was unable, however, to follow Graf in splitting the Priestly document into two sections, a narrative and a legislative, the former of which is early, while the latter is late. A close examination showed that the narrative and the legislative sections are homogeneous in language and in theology; consequently, either the legislative sections must be brought back to the date of the narratives, or the narratives must be brought forward to the date of the legislation. This conclusion he communicated to Graf in a letter which convinced him of its correctness. Shortly before his death in 1869, Graf revised his theory, maintaining the unity of the Priestly document, and dating its narratives and its legislation alike after the Exile. Thus the modern theory of the age of the Hexateuchal documents received its perfected form.

In the second and third volumes of his *Historisch-critisch onderzoek* (1863-65) Kuenen defended the new conception. In 1868 Kosters showed that D knows neither the narrative nor the legislative portions of P. In 1869 de Goeje argued against the theory that P is an esoteric document, which may have been in existence, even though it is never cited in the pre-exilic period; and claimed that there is no need of this theory until it is first established that P was in existence before the Exile. In his *Godsdienst van Israël* (1869-70) Kuenen presented the Reuss-Grafian theory with great elaborateness, and showed that it is the key to the understanding of the historical development of the Hebrew religion. August Kayser (1874) attempted

by purely literary methods of comparing words and phrases to prove that the historical order of the documents is J, D, P. Paul de Lagarde also, from 1864 onward, in university lectures and published works, argued for the late date of P. It remained, however, for Julius Wellhausen in his remarkable work, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1875), to give the Grafian theory such a brilliant demonstration that since that time it has been generally accepted by Old Testament scholars. In this work he shows in five representative cases, the place of worship, the sacrifices, the feasts, the priests and Levites, and the endowment of the clergy, that the order of development of the Hebrew codes is always J, E, Deuteronomy, the Holiness Code (Lev. 17-26), Ezekiel, and P; and that this order of literary development is also the order in which we find the institutions appearing in history. The teaching of JE is that of the early histories and of the Prophets before Jeremiah, the teaching of Deuteronomy first appears in Jeremiah and the editorial framework of Kings, the Holiness Code is first known to Ezekiel, and in Ezekiel the bridge is found from Deuteronomy to the Priestly Code. This is followed by a critique of the other historical books of the Old Testament in their relation to the Hexateuch, and a sketch of the development of the Law in the post-exilic period. Subsequently, in his *Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher* (1876-77), Wellhausen gave new precision to the analysis of the Hexateuch, particularly to the discrimination of the J and E sources, and also showed that Judges, Samuel, and Kings are composed in a similar manner to the Hexateuch by a weaving together of parallel Judæan and Ephraimitic histories in a Deuteronomic framework.

The new conception of the development of the religion and the literature of Israel was naturally not accepted without a conflict. Ewald and the school of critics that he had raised up opposed it fiercely. Schrader, Knobel, Dillmann, and Riehm had already committed themselves to the older view, and continued to maintain it so long as they lived. All did good service in clearing up details of the analysis and in contributing to the solution of many of the historical problems. Opposition was also encountered from the reactionary school of Hengstenberg (1831-39), who turned his arms with equal energy against both Ewald and Vatke, and tried to defend the traditional theory of the Old

Testament by methods of modern critical science. He was followed by H. A. C. Haevernick (1836-39), C. F. Keil (1853), and W. H. Green (1882-95). Although these critics made no positive contribution to Old Testament study, they rendered important service in calling attention to weak spots in their opponents' theories. They also familiarized British and American students with the methods of higher criticism, which they would have been unwilling to accept in a less conservative dress. In England no critical literature of any sort on the Old Testament appeared after Geddes (1792) until Colenso (1862). Colenso's work called forth a storm of ridicule, scorn, and denunciation that to us of this day seems almost incredible, yet his work accomplished the result of setting people thinking, and so paved the way for better times to come. In 1857 Professor Samuel Davidson was expelled from Manchester College, England, for teaching the new critical views of the Old Testament. In 1879 the same fate befell Professor C. H. Toy at Greenville Seminary, South Carolina. In 1881 W. Robertson Smith was removed from his chair in the Free Church College of Aberdeen, Scotland, for teaching the views of Wellhausen. In 1891 Professor C. A. Briggs was deposed from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America for holding the same views, and in 1892 Professor H. P. Smith was condemned in a similar manner and lost his professorate. The latest victim is Professor H. G. Mitchell, who in 1907 was ejected by the Bishops of the Methodist Church from his chair in Boston University.

In spite of these assaults, by argument in Germany, and by ecclesiastical trials in Great Britain and America, the modern views have triumphed all long the line. The old opponents of the Reuss-Grafian theory have nearly all died, or have come over to the new way of thinking. In all the universities of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, France, Scotland, England, and America this theory is now established as firmly as is the Copernican theory of the solar system. The same is true of the majority of the independent Protestant theological schools both in the Old and in the New World. Even among liberal Roman Catholics "Modernism" has found wide acceptance. Only among strict Roman Catholics, and in other denominations where ecclesiastical authority prevails, are the traditional theories

in regard to the Old Testament still maintained. Younger scholars throughout the world are all on the side of the new views, and all the introductions, histories of Israel, Biblical theologies, and dictionaries of the Bible that have appeared during the last ten years have unhesitatingly adopted the Grafian position. It appears, accordingly, that we stand at the conclusion of a great epoch of Old Testament research. During the seventy-five years that have elapsed since 1834 the arrangement of the literature of the Old Testament in a historical order has reached practically a final form. There will doubtless be readjustments at certain points, but there is no reason to think that the fundamental tenets of the dominant school of criticism will ever be materially modified.

Meanwhile there are many signs that we are entering upon a new period in the study of the Old Testament. Now that the documents have been recognized and their dates have been determined, the question is unavoidable, whence did the traditions come that have been incorporated into the various documents? It was formerly supposed that ancient Israel was isolated from the surrounding nations, and that the traditions embodied in the Hexateuch and other historical books were either brought in from the desert, or were developed after the conquest of Canaan. There might be room for question whether some of the stories referred to incidents in the lives of the forefathers, or to experiences of the nation or its tribes; but there was no question that all of the traditions were genuinely Hebrew. Within the last quarter-century the problem has been given a new aspect by archæological researches in Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, and Palestine, and by the deciphering of the inscriptions discovered in these countries. In 1872 George Smith published the famous Babylonian Flood Story, which bears so close a resemblance to the Biblical narrative. In the same year the first edition of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* appeared. Since then, through the labors of Delitzsch, Sayce, Pinches, Hommel, Jensen, Winckler, Zimmern, and many others, a vast amount of Babylonian mythological material has been unearthed, that bears a more or less close connection with the traditions of Genesis. Egyptian and Canaanitish archæology have also disclosed points of contact. It has gradually become clear that, instead of leading an isolated

existence, Israel lay in the very center of the ancient world and was exposed to foreign influences from every quarter. In the mass of traditions that go to make up the Hexateuch we can now detect not only old Hebrew elements brought in from the desert, and late Hebrew elements developed in the land of Canaan, but also Babylonian, Egyptian, and Canaanite elements. The problem now confronting the Old Testament critic is the determination of the extent to which each of these classes of traditions is represented. The tendency at present is to make everything Babylonian, and to interpret the stories of the Patriarchs, and even of the Judges, early Kings, and Prophets, as transformed Babylonian nature myths. This view is doubtless untenable; still it seems clear that we must make more allowance for Babylonian influence in the Hebrew religion than we have been accustomed to do. How far we must go in this direction, however, and how much we must ascribe to primitive Hebrew, Egyptian, or Canaanite sources, still remains a problem to whose solution the energy of the next generation must be devoted.

ORIENTAL AND OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

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DURING the last seventy-five years our knowledge of the ancient Orient has expanded with extraordinary rapidity. This has come, partly through the more critical use of old sources of information, and partly through the acquisition of new sources. The discoveries both of Criticism and of Archæology have been fragmentary, and have been scattered irregularly throughout this period; so that, in attempting to trace the progress of Ancient Oriental History it is most convenient to treat the subject topically rather than genetically. Let us then consider, first, the researches that have been carried on in ancient chronology; and, after that, the new light that has been thrown upon the history of each of the great nations of antiquity.

1. *The Chronology.*—An accurate chronology is the first need of scientific historical research, but prior to 1834 no such chronology of ancient Oriental history existed. Then the only sources of information were the statements of Greek writers and the figures of the Old Testament. The most important of these sources was the so-called *Ptolemaic Canon*, a chronological table preserved in the writings of the Alexandrian astronomer Claudius Ptolemæus. It is a list of the kings of Babylon, Persia, Macedon, and Rome, from Nabonassar down to Antoninus Pius. After the reign of each king stands the number of years that he reigned, and, in a second column, the sum-total of years from the beginning of the era of Nabonassar. The Ptolemaic Canon thus makes the connection between the chronology of classical history and the chronology of the Old Testament.

On this basis numerous historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Scaliger, Ussher, Capellus, Marsham, des Vignoles, Mercator, and Kohlreif, following the example of the Greek chronographers and the Church Fathers, attempted to

construct a chronology of the pre-Christian centuries. The scheme of Ussher (*Annales V. et N. Testamenti*, 1650-1654) was no better than many of its rivals, but it gained extraordinary prestige through the fact that it was inserted in the margin of the Authorized English Version of the Bible. Ussher dated the fall of Jerusalem in 588 B.C., the fall of Samaria in 721, the Syro-Ephraimitic war in 742, Menahem's payment of tribute to Tiglath-Pileser in 774, Ahab's death in 897, the division of the kingdom in 975, the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt in 1350, and the creation of the world in 4004.

In 1834 this system was still generally accepted. Since that time, however, many new facts have come to light, which have made it possible to construct a far more accurate chronology. In 1875 George Smith discovered among the tablets of Ashurbanipal's library the so-called *Eponym Canon*, a list of dignitaries of the Assyrian Empire who were chosen to give their names to a series of 227 consecutive years. One of the copies of this list contains also a record of the most important events that occurred in the respective eponymies. This list overlaps the beginning of the Ptolemaic Canon; hence, assuming the Ptolemaic Canon to be correct, it is possible to determine the dates of the Assyrian eponyms as far back as 889 B.C. For the year which, according to these calculations, should be 763 B.C., the Assyrian Canon adds after the name of the eponym the remark, "In the month Sivan the sun was eclipsed." Modern astronomical science has shown that on June 15, 763 B.C., an almost total eclipse of the sun occurred at Nineveh. Thus the strict historical accuracy both of the Ptolemaic Canon and of the Eponym Canon is brilliantly demonstrated, and it becomes possible to date with absolute precision all the kings of Assyria from 889 B.C. onward, and also all the main events of their reigns. These conclusions were worked out with great thoroughness by Eberhard Schrader,¹ and, since his time, it has been generally conceded that the Ptolemaic Canon and the Eponym Canon are trustworthy foundations for a chronology.

A number of events mentioned in the Old Testament are also mentioned in the Canon and in the Assyro-Babylonian records. From these we learn that the fall of Jerusalem occurred in 586 B.C., the fall of Samaria in 722, the Syro-Ephraimitic war in 734,

¹ *Die Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung*, 1878.

Menahem's payment of tribute to Tiglath-Pileser in 738, and that Ahab was alive and able to fight with Shalmaneser II in 854. These figures differ widely from those of Ussher, and necessitate a thoroughgoing reconstruction of his chronology.

For the period prior to the beginning of the Eponym Canon another chronological authority has come to light since 1834. The so-called *Babylonian List of Kings* was discovered by George Smith, and was first published by Pinches in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, May, 1884. It contains in consecutive order the names of the kings of eleven dynasties, who reigned over Babylon from the time when it first became the capital of Western Asia down to the time of the Persian conquest. The name of each king is preceded by the number of years that he reigned, and at the end of each dynasty the sum-total of all the reigns is given. This document overlaps the beginning of the Ptolemaic Canon, and of the Eponym Canon, with both of which it agrees absolutely. By means of this List the chronology of Babylon is carried back to about 2060 B.C.¹ The names of eighteen kings are broken out of the third, or Cassite, dynasty, but these have been restored from other sources.² King, in his *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, 1907, has recently demonstrated, what has long been suspected, that the second dynasty of the List is contemporary with the first; and has thus made possible a more accurate dating of the beginning of the List.³

In 1888 the famous Tell-el-Amarna letters were discovered. From them we learn that Burnaburiash, king of Babylon (1382-1358 B.C.), was contemporary with Ashurballit, king of Assyria, and with Amenophis IV, king of Egypt. Thus a fixed point is given for the determination of the dates of the kings of the New Egyptian Empire. With the help of Egyptian astronomical data the reign of Amenophis IV has been fixed *circa* 1375-1358 B.C. Coming down the list of kings given by Manetho, we then obtain 1292-1225 B.C. as the date of Ramses II, the Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites, instead of Ussher's 1350 B.C.

¹ See Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, 1889; Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie*, 1898.

² See Clay, *Documents dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers*, 1906.

³ See Ranke, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, 1906; Poebel, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1906, pp. 229 ff.

In 1899 the *Papyrus Reinhardt* was published by Borchardt.¹ This contains the record of a heliacal rising of Sirius in the seventh year of Sesostris (Useratesen) III, which establishes the beginning of his reign in 1887 B.C. Thus a fixed point is given for the chronology of the Middle Egyptian Kingdom. Reckoning back the sums of the earlier reigns, so far as they are known, 3400 B.C. is reached as the latest possible date for Menes, the first king of the first dynasty of Manetho.²

For Babylonian History prior to the first dynasty of Babylon we have a large number of chronological lists that have been discovered within the last ten years.³ With the help of these and other data derived from the contract-tablets that have been found in such vast numbers in Southern Babylonia since 1877, the chronology of ancient Babylonia has been carried backward with considerable certainty to about 3000 B.C. Thus it appears that, since 1875, a whole series of ancient records have come to light, which have enabled historians for the first time to construct a precise chronology of the ancient Orient. This is an achievement of incalculable scientific importance.

2. *The History of Egypt.* — Prior to 1834 nothing was known about ancient Egyptian history, except what could be gathered from Manetho's list of kings and the confused legends recorded by Hecataeus of Miletus, Herodotus, and Diodorus. These Greek writers were trustworthy only for the period of the twenty-sixth dynasty, which immediately preceded their own day. Since 1834 the history of Egypt in all its main features has been reconstructed from the statements of the ancient monuments.

The key to the decipherment of the hieroglyphics was not discovered by Champollion until 1822, and at the time of his death in 1832 only a beginning had been made in the interpretation of the texts. Egyptology was first placed on a scientific basis by Lepsius (after 1835) and by de Rougé (after 1846). Through the labors of these scholars and of Mariette, Chabas, Goodwin, Brugsch, Erman, Steindorff, Sethe, Schäffer, Spiegelberg,

¹ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1899, 2.

² All these new chronological data have been investigated with great thoroughness by Eduard Meyer, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, 1904; *Geschichte des Altertums*², I. 2, 1909.

³ See King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, 1897; Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, 1907, pp. 224 ff.

Breasted, Griffith, Borchardt, Müller, and many others, the knowledge of the hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic styles of writing has gradually been perfected, until to-day an ordinary Egyptian text can be read with ease and certainty.

Along with this has gone the discovery of an immense amount of archaeological material belonging to all periods of Egyptian history. It is now known that nearly a thousand years before Menes, the first king of Manetho's first dynasty, the Sothic era, beginning with the year 4241 B.C., was already established.¹ Since 1896 many remains of the pre-dynastic period have been found in Upper Egypt, that carry us back certainly into the fifth millennium B.C.² These disclose to us the earliest stages of Egyptian civilization, and in particular the origin of the hieroglyphic writing.

The Thinite kings of Manetho's first and second dynasties (3400-2980 B.C.), which were formerly supposed to be mythical, are now known to be historical. Objects bearing their names have been found in various parts of Upper Egypt, their inscriptions are carved on the rocks of Sinai, and the tombs of most of them have been excavated at Abydos.

From the Old Kingdom of dynasties XI to XII (2160-1788 B.C.) we have the memorial stelae of Abydos, the biographies in the tombs of Benihassan, and the royal inscriptions in Nubia, at Sinai, and in the quarries. In this period literary papyri and private business-documents begin to be fairly plentiful.

Under the New Empire of dynasties XVIII to XX (1580-1150 B.C.) the sources of history become abundant. There are now the extensive temple-reliefs, with their accompanying inscriptions, recording all the important events in the lives of the kings. The great campaigns in Syria, or in Africa, are here described with considerable circumstantiality. Most important of these is the record of the Asiatic wars of Thutmose III on the walls of the temple of Karnak, which contains a list of 119 cities captured in Palestine. Officers of these kings have also left accounts in their tombs of the parts that they played in the foreign wars, and papyri and private documents of all sorts are exceedingly common.

¹ Breasted, *Biblical World*, May, 1906.

² See Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, 1896; *Diospolis Parva*, 1900; *Abydos*, 1902-04; Maciver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, 1902; Quibel, *Elkab*, 1898; *Hierakonopolis*, 1900 ff.; Garstang, *Ma'asna and Bet Khalláf*, 1903.

From the period of Egyptian decline (1150-663 B.C.) monuments are rarer; still they do not fail us entirely, and they are supplemented by information derived from Hebrew and Assyrian sources.

The publication of this vast amount of inscriptional material is entirely the work of the last seventy-five years.¹ Besides this there are an immense number of texts scattered through smaller works and periodicals in all languages. A comprehensive translation of this material is now being made in Germany under the title *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, of which several volumes have already appeared. An admirable English translation of the most important historical documents is given by Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (5 vols., 1906-1907). Since this task has been accomplished it has at last become possible to write a history of Egypt. The first work on this subject that has scientific value is Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens* (1877). This has been followed by Wiedemann (1884), Meyer (1887), Petrie (1894-1905), Erman (1885-1887), Müller (1893), Maspero (1895-1899). These have all been superseded in large measure by Breasted, *A History of Egypt*² (1908), and by Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*² (1909).

3. *The History of Babylonia.* — Prior to 1834 as little was known about ancient Babylonia as about ancient Egypt. From Herodotus, Ctesias, and other Greek historians fairly accurate information could be obtained concerning the New Empire of the eleventh dynasty (626-539 B.C.), but concerning earlier times they knew nothing. Berossos, a Babylonian priest (c. 280 B.C.), wrote a history of his native land on the basis of cuneiform documents, but this work survived only in fragments preserved by Josephus and Eusebius (Syncellus) through the mediation of Alexander Polyhistor. These fragments referred almost exclusively to legends of the times immediately before and after the Deluge, and to the late period of Judah's relation to Babylon. Accordingly, they yielded practically nothing for Babylonian history. Since 1834 the original records of the Babylonia-

¹ The great standard collections are Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, 1835 ff.; Rosellini, *Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia*, 1832 ff.; Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, 1842-45; Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments égypt.*, 1847; *Histoire de l'art égypt.*, 1878; de Rougé, *Recherches sur les monuments, qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, 1860; Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*,² 1878; Erman, *Aegypten und ägyptisches Leben im Alterthum*, 1894.

nians have been discovered, their language has been deciphered, and their history has been written with a fair degree of completeness from about 3000 B.C. down to the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C.

In 1802 Grotefend succeeded in reading the names of the Achaemenian kings in the Old Persian first column of the trilingual inscriptions of Persepolis. On this foundation Burnouf and Lassen (1836) and Rawlinson (1847) succeeded in deciphering the Persian variety of cuneiform writing. From this the Babylonian cuneiform of the third column of the Persepolis inscriptions was gradually deciphered from 1849 onward by Rawlinson, de Saulcy, Hincks, and Oppert. Eberhard Schrader (since 1872) and Friedrich Delitzsch (since 1874), with the help of a large number of younger scholars, have put the study of the language on a thoroughly scientific basis, and have made it possible to translate a Babylonian text with as much certainty as a passage in the Old Testament.

Along with this decipherment has gone the discovery of a vast number of inscriptions, either carved on stone, or written on clay tablets, that were afterwards baked, and so became indestructible, except through breaking. In 1889 excavations were begun by the University of Pennsylvania at the mound of Nippur in Southern Babylonia. Here was discovered the tower-temple of En-lil, the chief god of ancient Babylonia. In the period prior to 3000 B.C. Nippur must have been the capital of a united empire, and its god retained his prestige even after his city had lost the hegemony. To his temple inscribed objects were presented by princes from all parts of the land, and from these inscriptions the earliest history of Babylonia has been reconstructed with surprising fullness.¹ These discoveries have been supplemented by the rich finds of the French excavations at Tello. Here also thousands of tablets have been excavated in the temple-archives, that belong to the very earliest period of Babylonian civilization.² The French expedition to Susa has also unearthed many important monuments of early Babylonia that were transported thither as trophies by victorious kings of Elam.³

¹ For the history of the excavations see Peters, *Nippur*, 1897; Hilprecht, *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia*, 1904; *Explorations in Bible Lands*, 1903.

² See de Sarzec and Heuzey, *Découverts en Chaldée*, 1877 ff.; Heuzey, *Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes du Louvre*, 1902.

³ See de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, 1902.

The historical texts of this period that have hitherto been scattered through many magazines, have recently been collected by Thureau-Dangin (*Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, 1907). The religious texts are collected by Jensen (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1900 ff.).

From these remains it appears that in the fourth millennium B.C. Babylonia was inhabited by a non-Semitic race, the so-called Sumerians, who invented the cuneiform writing and laid the foundations of later Babylonian civilization. The earliest inscriptions are in pure Sumerian, and in an archaic linear character that approximates picture-writing. During the third millennium the Semites began to pour into the land, and a long struggle for supremacy ensued between the Sumerians and the Semites, which resulted about 2500 B.C. in the victory of the Semites. At this time Semitic cuneiform texts first make their appearance. For a thousand years at least before the founding of the first dynasty of Babylon (2060 B.C.) Babylonia was divided into a number of petty kingdoms that were in constant warfare with one another. Between 3000 and 2500 B.C. the most important states were Lagash, Kish, and Gishuh, whose rulers bore respectively the title of *Lugal*, 'King,' or *Patesi*, 'Viceroy,' according to their success in the conflicts with their neighbors. Fourteen kings of Lagash are known, eleven of them in regular sequence. The names of the contemporary kings of Kish and of Gishuh, with whom they fought, are also known.

About 2575-2550 B.C. a certain Lugalzaggisi united Babylonia under his rule, and carried his arms as far as the shore of the Mediterranean. Between 2500 and 2000 B.C. Babylonia stood successively under the rule of the dynasties of Akkad (2500-2300 B.C.), of Ur (2300-2200), and of Isin (2200-2000 B.C.), all of which reigned as far as the Mediterranean. Contemporaneous with them were the *patesis* of Lagash (2500-2200 B.C.) and the beginning of the first dynasty of Babylon. From the reigns of these kings public and private documents of all sorts have been recovered, from which an excellent idea is gained of the history and the civilization of Babylonia in the third millennium B.C.

Hammurabi, the sixth king of the first dynasty of Babylon (probably the same as 'Amraphel of Gen. 14), expelled the Ela-

mites from the land, and united Babylonia under his rule (1958–1916 B.C.). From his reign and from those of the other members of his dynasty many tablets have come down to us, that allow the construction of a very complete picture of the history of the period.¹ The Law-Code of Hammurabi, in 282 sections, was discovered in Susa in 1901, and was first published by Scheil in 1902. It gives a marvelous insight into the civilization of the age, and shows the origin of many provisions found in the Hebrew legislation more than a thousand years later.² Palestine stood under the rule of Hammurabi and his successors, and during this period Babylonian civilization took deep root in the West. The stories of the Creation, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, and other Babylonian elements in the Old Testament, probably all found their way into Canaan at this early date.

About 1760 B.C. Babylonia was conquered by the Cassites, an alien race from the East, and, in consequence, the glory of Hammurabi's dynasty waned rapidly. The names of thirty-six kings of the Cassite dynasty (1760–1185 B.C.) are known in chronological order. Records of their reigns are less complete than for the earlier period, still many tablets of this time have been recovered.³ From the subsequent period down to 626 B.C. we have not only native Babylonian sources of information, but also the annals of the Assyrian kings, who during this period reduced Babylonia to servitude for the greater part of the time.

From the New Babylonian Empire that arose after the fall of Nineveh (626–539 B.C.) we have all the historical inscriptions collected by Strassmaier and Everts in their *Babylonische Texte*.⁴

On the basis of these sources it has become possible since 1875 to write histories of ancient Babylonia. The most important works are those of Hommel (1885), Tiele (1886 f.), Murdter-Delitzsch (1891), Winckler (1892; revised Eng. trans., 1907), Radau (1900), Rogers (1900), Goodspeed (1902), and most

¹ See King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, 1898; Ranke, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, 1906.

² See Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*, 1904.

³ See Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers*, 1906; Radau, *Letters to Cassite Kings*, 1908; *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii. 1892.

⁴ *Nabuchodonosor*, 1889; *Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, and Laborosoarchod*, 1892; *Nabonidus*, 1889. For a full exhibit of the Babylonian texts, see Bezold, *Ueberblick der bab.-assy. Literatur*, 1886; Weber, *Die Literatur, der Babylonier und Assyrer*, 1907.

recently Meyer in his *Geschichte des Altertums*² (1909). Everything earlier than these is now so hopelessly antiquated as to be unusable.

4. *The History of Assyria.* — In 1834 there was even less knowledge concerning Assyria than concerning Egypt and Babylon. Herodotus was the main source of information, and his ideas were scanty and sadly confused.

Since 1834 the reading of the Assyrian records, which are written in the same language as the Babylonian, has become possible; and, through the labors of Botta, Layard, Rassam, Rawlinson, and George Smith, vast numbers of stone inscriptions and of clay tablets have been recovered from the mounds of Assyria. Most important of all was the discovery of the library of King Ashurbanipal at Nineveh by Rassam in 1852. The Assyrian kings were in the habit of adorning the walls of their palaces with long inscriptions, in which the principal historical events of their reigns were recorded; and they kept elaborate and accurate annals on clay tablets and cylinders. Consequently, the monumental sources for Assyrian history are much more abundant and accurate than is the case either in Egypt or in Babylonia.

In the native records Assyria appears at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon as a vassal-state ruled by *patesis*. During the period of Cassite rule the contemporary Assyrian kings are known in their chronological order. Through the efforts of these monarchs Assyria became independent of Babylon, and several times succeeded in conquering her former mistress. With Adad-nirari I (c. 1330 B.C.) longer historical inscriptions begin. From Tiglath-Pileser I (c. 1175–1100 B.C.) we have extensive annals, which, together with a document known as the *Synchronous Chronicle*, show that he conquered Babylon, and carried his arms from Lake Van to the Persian Gulf, and from the mountains of Media to Syria.¹ After Tiglath-Pileser I Assyria suffered a great decline, and little is known of its history beyond the names of the kings until the reign of Ashurnasirpal III (884–860 B.C.). With him begins the expansion of the Assyrian Empire, and the writing of copious annals and of other sorts of historical inscriptions.²

¹ See *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i. 14 sq.

² The principal historical texts of the Assyrian kings from Ashurnasirpal to Ashurbanipal have been published by Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, 1851; and in the five folio volumes of Rawlinson, *Cuneiform In-*

5. *The History of Canaan.* — In 1834 nothing was known about ancient Canaan prior to the Hebrew conquest, except the vague statements of the Old Testament concerning the Horites, Zuzim, Emim, Amorites, Canaanites, and other races that formerly dwelt in the land. Now, through excavation of the mounds of Palestine (since 1890), and through statements of the Egyptian and Babylonian records, the main features of pre-Israelitish civilization are well known.

Before 2500 B.C. Canaan was occupied by a non-Semitic race that dwelt in caves, and was still in the Neolithic stage of development. These people burned their dead, and in and about their caves excavated hundreds of circular depressions, known as "cup-marks," that were probably symbols of a mother-goddess. Their belief in immortality is attested by offerings of food, weapons, ornaments, etc., which they placed with the dead.

About 2500 B.C. the Semitic race of the Amorites entered Canaan and dispossessed the cave-dwellers. They lived in houses on the surface of the ground, and buried their dead in the caves of their predecessors. Their chief divinity was the mother-goddess, Ashtart, the Ashtoreth of the Old Testament, and the Astarte of the Greeks. She was worshiped in high places furnished with small conical stones as symbols of herself, and with tall standing stones, the "pillars" of the Old Testament, as symbols of her male consorts. Under the floors of these high places hundreds of jars have been found containing the bones of new-born infants. This shows that the Amorites sacrificed their first-born children in honor of the mother-goddess. Babylonian seals and astrological tablets found at Gezer and Taanach show that Syrian art and religion were strongly influenced by the contemporary civilization of the first dynasty of Babylon.

In the middle of the seventeenth century B.C. the same great migration of races that brought the Cassites into Babylonia

scriptions of Western Asia, 1861-84, which are now being continued in the several volumes of Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum. German translations of the more important texts are found in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vols. i and ii, 1889-90; for additional publications see the works of Bezold and Weber cited above. The Annals of Ashurnasirpal have been carefully reedited by King, 1903; those of Tiglath-Pileser III, by Rost, 1893; of Sargon, by Winckler, 1889; and of Ashurbanipal, by Winckler, 1890. For the history of Assyria as based upon the new monumental discoveries, see the works on Babylonian-Assyrian history referred to above.

brought the Hyksos into Egypt, and a new Semitic race that we call the Canaanites into Syria. After the expulsion of the Hyksos, the Egyptians undertook the conquest of Canaan, and from 1580 to 1200 B.C. it was an Egyptian province. The Egyptian records of this period furnish much information about Palestine, and the Tell-el-Amarna letters, discovered in 1888, give a wonderfully clear insight into the conditions that prevailed there about 1400 B.C.¹

6. *The History of Israel.* — Progress in the study of the history of Israel during the last seventy-five years has come, first, through a more accurate dating of the Old Testament documents, and second, through the progress of Oriental history in general.

The critical analysis of the Hexateuch, and the dating of its documents in their true chronological order, which have been the work of the last three quarters of a century,² have profoundly modified our conception of the beginnings of the history of Israel. The Book of Genesis is now seen to be, not the work of Moses, but a compound of extracts taken from three sources; namely, a Judæan document (J), written between 850 and 800 B.C., characterized by the use of the divine name Jahweh; an Ephraimitic document (E), written between 800 and 750 B.C., characterized by the use of the divine name Elohim; and a Priestly document (P), written about 450 B.C. The traditions recorded in these documents are not all of the Patriarchal age, as was supposed when Genesis was believed to be the work of Moses. Many of the stories clearly refer to incidents of the period of the Judges or early Kings. Other stories are now known to be of Babylonian origin, and were probably learned from the Canaanites after the conquest of the land. Still others, such as those which explain the origin of the holy places of Canaan, are probably of Canaanitish origin. In view of these facts, it has become exceedingly difficult to say precisely which

¹ On the excavations in Palestine, see Petrie, *Tell-el-Hesi*, 1892; Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 1894; Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations*, 1902; Macalister, Reports in *Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1902-09; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, 1904; Schumacher, *Tell-el-Mutesellim*, 1908. On the Amarna Letters, see Winckler, *The Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, 1896; Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 1907 ff. On the Egyptian occupation, see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 1893; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 1906; Cormack, *Egypt in Asia*, 1908. On the history of early Canaan in general, see Paton, *The Early History of Syria and Palestine*, 1901.

² See the preceding article on the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament.

traditions of Genesis are of primitive Hebrew origin, and how far these are historically trustworthy. Great differences of opinion exist at present, and the problems of pre-Mosaic history cannot yet be regarded as having reached a satisfactory solution. Still, the following main elements of Hebrew tradition are now generally regarded as credible: that Israel was originally a nomadic race in the Arabian Desert; that it was related to the other Semitic peoples in the manner recorded in Genesis; that it entered Canaan in the fifteenth century B.C., along with the Habiri, or Hebrews, who are mentioned in the Amarna Letters; that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were historical personages, the leaders in the migration into Canaan; and that part, at least, of the Hebrew clans subsequently made settlements in the steppes of eastern Egypt, where they were enslaved by the Pharaoh Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.), and were compelled to build the store-cities of Pithom and Raamses, whose ruins were excavated by Naville in 1883. (So Cornill, Guthe, Klostermann, König, Ottley, Ryle, Wade.)

On the other hand, a radical school of historians, particularly in the camp of the Assyriologists, regards all the Patriarchal stories as transformed Babylonian nature-myths (so Winckler, Zimmern, Stucken, Jensen); but this view has not yet found wide acceptance among critics. Since 1898 Winckler seems to have proved from the Annals of Sargon that there was a North Arabian district called Muşri, which in Assyrian days was distinguished from Mişri, or Egypt, the Mişraim of the Old Testament. On this basis he holds that most of the mentions of Egypt in the Old Testament have arisen from confusion of Muşrim and Mişrim, and that the exodus of Israel was not from Egypt but from North Arabia. This view has been taken up by Cheyne (*Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, 1907, and numerous other writings), but it has not yet commended itself to other historians.

The history of Mosaic times has also been greatly modified by Pentateuchal criticism. Exodus-Deuteronomy can no longer be used as Moses' autobiography, but the varying traditions therein recorded must be carefully sifted. It is now seen that the post-exilic Priestly Code yields little historical information for the Mosaic age, and that Deuteronomy also is so late that it is useful only when it can be checked by the older documents.

The early J and E histories are our primary sources of information in regard to Moses and his work. From them most historians of to-day conclude that Moses was a historic personage; that he was born in Egypt, as his Egyptian name indicates; that he made an unsuccessful attempt to liberate his kinsman, and was compelled to flee to the desert, where he took refuge among the Kenites; that he received a revelation from Jahweh, the God of Sinai, and in the strength of this brought the enslaved Hebrews out of Egypt and united them with the kindred tribes in the desert into a nation on the basis of the exclusive worship of Jahweh. The prophetic addresses in Deuteronomy, and the elaborate ritual of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers do not come from his hand; nevertheless, he was the fountain-head from which both the prophetic and the priestly developments in later Israel took their origin.

The history of the period of the Judges and of the Early Kings has gained new sources of information in proportion as the Patriarchal period has lost them. The scanty records of Judges and Samuel are now supplemented by many of the narratives of Genesis, and the J and the E documents are now seen to be among our most important authorities for the religion of Israel in the times of Elijah and Elisha. In general, however, thought has changed less during the last seventy-five years in regard to this period of Hebrew history than in regard to any other.

The history of the era of the later Kings and Prophets from 800-586 B.C. has been revolutionized within the last fifty years by the development of Assyriology. During the long period in which Palestine was subject to Nineveh we have the accurate original annals of the Assyrian kings, which tell us year by year where they were and what they were doing. These confirm and supplement the scanty statements of the Book of Kings, and illumine the Prophets in a truly wonderful manner. In the light of this new information most of the oracles of the Prophets can now be dated with precision, and their meaning becomes as intelligible as the editorial comment upon current events in a modern newspaper. The chief controversies in this period are over the questions, How much use is to be made in the interpretation of the Prophets and the Book of Kings of Winckler's distinction between Mušri (North Arabia) and Mišri (Egypt)? and, Was there a second expedition of Sennacherib against Jerusalem

after the well-known one in 701 B.C.? On these rather minor matters critics are almost evenly divided; on other points there is a practical consensus of opinion.

For the period of the Exile, Archaeology has less material to offer than for the Assyrian period, still the annals of Nebuchadrezzar and his successors have within the last few years yielded much valuable information. Criticism also has rendered important service by showing that large sections of the Prophetical and of the Poetical Books belong to this era.

Persian times have received some new light from the Babylonian texts of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius,¹ and from the Old Persian texts of Persepolis (deciphered since 1836).² Criticism also has illumined this era by the recognition that in it were written the Priestly Code, the bulk of the Psalms, and many sections of the Prophets and of the Poetical Books. The chief controversy in this period is over the question, How far can the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah be trusted as sources of history? It is generally admitted that they were compiled by the author of Chronicles, not earlier than 300 B.C., but it is commonly supposed that the compiler made use of the authentic memoirs of Ezra and of Nehemiah, and that, in general, his representation of the Restoration is historical. This has been much questioned within recent years. Van Hoonacker in his *Néhémie et Esdras*, 1890, maintained that the activity of Nehemiah preceded that of Ezra. Kusters, in *Het herstel van Israel in het Perzische tijdvak*, 1893, claimed, chiefly because of the silence of Haggai and Zechariah, that there was no general return of exiles in 536 B.C., as the Chronicler reports. His views have been followed by Wellhausen, Torrey, Kent, H. P. Smith, and many other recent writers. They are opposed by E. Meyer, Klostermann, König, and others; but the newer view seems to be gaining ground, and it is probable that we shall need to modify considerably our ideas of the history of the post-exilic period. The recently discovered letters from the Jewish community in Elephantine in Egypt to the Persian governor Bāgoi establish the date of Nehemiah as hitherto supposed, but they throw no light upon these other vexed questions.

¹ Strassmaier, *Babylonische Texte*, 1890-97.

² Bezold, *Achämeniden Inschriften*, 1882; Spiegel, *Altpersische Keilschriften*, 1881.

The history of the Greek period has gained little from archaeological discoveries, but much from a critical dating of the Old Testament literature. It is now known that this age, which was formerly supposed to be a blank between the two Testaments, is well filled with some of the most important writings of the Old Testament. Here belong Daniel, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Joel, Zechariah 9-14, Isaiah 24-27, a number of the Psalms, the Song of Songs, and many other fragments of the Old Testament, together with several of the books of the Apocrypha.

So greatly has our knowledge of Hebrew history been enlarged during the last seventy-five years through Criticism and Archæology, that everything written on this subject before 1834 has now merely an antiquarian interest. Ewald's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1843-1852) still has value as a summing up of the analytical criticism of the preceding century; but none of the results of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian Archæology are found in it; and its erroneous dating of the Priestly Code as the earliest Pentateuchal document vitiates all its conclusions in regard to the pre-regnal period of Hebrew history. Stanley (1863-1877) follows Ewald closely. Weber and Holzmann (1867), Hitzig (1869), and Herzfeld (1870) are all still on the ground of Ewald. Until the documents of the Hexateuch were arranged in their true chronological order, it was impossible to write a correct history of Israel, at least in the early period of its national existence. Not until 1865 was the modern conception of the order of the Hexateuchal documents established.¹ Since that time scientific histories of Israel have become possible. In 1881 Wellhausen first embodied the results of the new criticism in his article "Israel" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The views there expressed have become normative for the subsequent development of the discipline. As modern histories, which embody the results both of Archæology and of Criticism, mention may be made of Stade (1887), Renan (1887), Kittel (1888-1892), Buhl (1893), Winckler (1895-1900), Wellhausen (1895), Kent (1896), Klostermann (1896), Thomas (1897), Cornill (1898), Piepenbring (1898), Guthe (1899), Löhr (1900), Ottley (1901), Wade (1903), and H. P. Smith (1903).

Side by side with this modern historical school there has existed a conservative school, which has adhered to the traditional

¹ See the preceding article on the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament.

theories of the date of the Pentateuch and of the other Old Testament books, but has tried to combine with them the modern discoveries of Archæology. The result has been an essentially antique representation of the history of Israel, decked out here and there with scraps of new knowledge. Here belong Kurtz (1848-1858), Milman (2d ed., 1863), Hengstenberg (1869-1871), the Catholic historian Zschokke (1872), W. Smith (1875), Köhler (1875-1893), Edersheim (1887). For the last twenty years no important work of this school has appeared, so that it is evident that this reactionary type of thought is on the wane.

The treatises on special periods of Hebrew history and on special problems are too numerous to attempt to enumerate them in this article. General works, which attempt to gather up all the results of modern study in a comprehensive view of the history of the ancient Orient, are Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples d'Orient*, 1894-1901; McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 1894-1901; and E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*², 1909.

THEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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BIBLICAL THEOLOGY is the youngest of the theological sciences. Three quarters of a century ago it was almost unknown outside of a small circle of German scholars. The name "Biblical Theology" had been used, indeed, at least as early as 1768 (K. Haymann, *Biblische Theologie*, 4 Aufl.), but it was not until a half century later that works bearing this name represented the beginning of a new scientific development. To-day Biblical Theology is the final Biblical science. To it the other branches of Biblical study contribute their results; for its sake they may be said to exist.

This paper and the following one in the New Testament division will attempt to describe the origin and nature of this, the latest of the theological disciplines, and also to sketch briefly the development of its two coördinate subdivisions, Old Testament Theology and New Testament Theology.

We shall better appreciate the significance of the rise of this new theological discipline if we recall briefly the conditions under which Biblical study was carried on in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The great reformers of the sixteenth century attempted honestly to make the Bible the sole foundation of the Church's faith. Both to them and their opponents, the Bible was the word of God. To this Bible as such they came, to study it as God's word, not at all as a human production, in order to discover God's truth. Thus they were not engaged in investigating the Biblical writings or personalities *per se*, but rather in seeking to discover something that they believed to be expressed by those writings, or communicated to or taught by those personalities. Questions of the origin, dates, mutual relations, environment, and limitations of the Biblical books were hardly recognized as of great importance, although in many minor details of their exegetical work such

men as Luther and Calvin paid attention to these things. The Reformers were after doctrine; and the Bible was, first of all, the source (or the proof) of doctrine.

In the post-Reformation age the place of the Bible in theological science was actually secondary to that of the formulated creeds or confessions. Theoretically the source of the confessional theologies, it was practically only a storehouse for proof-texts; and the creeds determined the exegesis of the texts. Traditional views as to the dates and authorship of the Biblical books were generally accepted without question, and little or no attention was paid to the historical environment of the Biblical writings as determining their interpretation.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century a strong reaction began to manifest itself against this complete subordination of the Bible to the formulated creeds. It was in the circles of Pietism that the first efforts were made to free the Bible from this bondage, and to set forth its teachings or doctrines in a purer form.¹ But these first efforts were crude, being based on no clearly defined principles and being hampered by altogether imperfect and incorrect ideas as to the real character of the religious teachings of the Bible.

The rapid development of the science of Exegesis led naturally to attempts to define more precisely the relation of the Biblical doctrines to those of the confessions. One of the noteworthy works with this aim was that of Gottlob Christian Storr, *Doctrinæ Christianæ, pars theoretica, e sacris literis repetita*, Stuttgart, 1793,² written from a purely supernaturalistic standpoint. Storr's work attained a wide circulation, passed through many editions, and was ultimately translated into English.

Among the many attempts to formulate a satisfactory definition for the new science that marked the closing years of the eighteenth century the only one that contributed to the further development of the science was the essay by Joh. Phil. Gabler, *De justo discriminæ theologiæ bibliçæ et dogmaticæ*, Altdorf, 1787. In this essay the principle was laid down, that the distinction

¹ By A. F. Busching, *Epitome Theologiæ e solis literis sacris concinnatæ*, Lemgovia, 1757; W. A. Teller, *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens*, Helmstadt, 1764; and *Topice sacre Scripturæ*, Lipsiæ, 1761.

² K. F. Bahrtdt in his *Versuch eines biblischen Systems der Dogmatik*, Gotha and Leipzig, 1769, 1770, had already written from an extreme rationalistic viewpoint. Cf. von Cölln, *Biblische Theologie*, Leipzig, 1836, pp. 20 f.

between Biblical Theology and Dogmatic Theology must be found in the *historical* character of the former. It was pointed out that Dogmatic Theology has to do with general truths, not limited by local or temporal conditions. But as the theological ideas of the Bible are found connected or involved with or mediated through local or temporal conditions and through different individuals, consequently the determination of the true character of the theological teachings of the Bible is essentially a historical study.

While the immediate results of Gabler's definition of the new science were disappointing, this was due probably to the fact that the time was not yet ripe for a full and intelligent application of his fundamental principles. The science of Higher or Literary Criticism was then in its infancy, and the different stages in the development of the religious teachings of the Old and New Testaments were only imperfectly discerned. The majority of scholars were still under the sway of traditionalism and confessionalism; while those who were not so trammelled were either inclined to extreme rationalistic views, or tried to impose upon the Bible fanciful theories of philosophy or history, and thus reached results of no historical value whatever.¹

In the nature of the case, until the chronological order of the literature of the Bible was made out with some degree of certainty, all attempts to work out a satisfactory scheme of Biblical Theology were doomed to failure. Consequently progress in this science was largely determined by the progress that was being made in the related science of Higher Criticism. At the same time, as work after work appeared, details of the subject became more clearly apprehended, until at last the general nature of the science and of its problems was well recognized. In the works of de Wette, *Bibl. Dogmatik des A. und N. T.*, 1813 (3d ed., 1830), and of D. G. C. von Cölln, *Biblische Theologie* (posthumous, edited by David Schulz, 1836), serious attempts were made to deal fairly with all aspects of the subject. De Wette used the results of his studies in the literary criticism of the Pentateuch, in which field he was one of the pioneers. The method of presentation was quite elaborately

¹ Of such a character were the works of C. C. E. Schmidt, Jena, 1788; of G. L. Bauer, *Theologie d. A. T.*, 1796; *Heb. Mythologie d. A. u. N. T.*, 1802; *Biblische Moral d. A. T.*, 1803, etc.; and of P. C. Kaiser, *Die biblische Theologie, oder Judaismus und Christianismus, etc.*, 1813-21.

worked out by von Cölln (pp. 30 ff.), with a good understanding of the essentially historical character of the subject. By both writers the fact that there were great periods, each with its own characteristics, in the historical development of the religion of the Bible was clearly perceived. But both of these works failed, in that their writers, in spite of good intentions, were unable to free themselves from theoretical, especially philosophical, pre-suppositions which were allowed to determine the interpretation of Biblical material and thus vitiated, to a large extent, their conclusions.

Contemporaneous with the publication of von Cölln's work was the appearance of the first volume of the projected *Biblische Theologie*¹ of Wilhelm Vatke (Berlin, 1835). This truly great work (never completed) revealed on the part of the author a remarkable mastery of the fundamental principles of the subject. Unfortunately, Vatke's devotion to the Hegelian philosophy was so earnest that he used its terminology extensively. The constant appearance of these clumsy, abstract philosophical terms in the work undoubtedly did much to obscure its real value. Few had the patience, even if they possessed the ability, to study the work thoroughly. Yet Vatke's book stands practically alone among the general works on our subject published at that time (seventy-five years ago) in its harmony with the essentially historical character of the subject — and this in spite of the author's devotion to Hegelianism. "He comprehended the history of the Old Testament religion not only as a logical process in which each separate phenomenon had its necessary place; he also, with his deep interest in and profound understanding of the Old Testament literature, perceived the development of this literature as a real movement full of life. He showed that the history of Israel's religion was conditioned by the experiences of the people, and with keen insight judged the specific historical and literary problems according to this fact. He was the first to discover that the Law, as such, had its historical place after and not before Prophecy. Consequently, he taught that three great periods must be distinguished in the history of the Old Testament religion, the pre-prophetic, prophetic, and post-prophetic." (Smend, *Alltestamentliche Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 3 f.)

¹ With the significant sub-title, *Die Religion des Alten Testaments*.

As has been indicated, Vatke's work failed of making any great impression. He did not set forth the critical process through which he had arrived at the conclusion that the Law was subsequent to the Prophets. His contemporary Eduard Reuss had reached the same conclusion in 1833, but refrained from making this known outside of his lecture-room until 1879. Consequently, Vatke's critical position was altogether new and, being undefended and its grounds unknown, it found no adherents.

Both von Cölln and Vatke, as well as other early workers in this field, included the theology of the New Testament as well as that of the Old in their field of labor.¹ With the rapid development of critical study and the ever increasing number of difficult historical and literary problems peculiar to each department, subsequent workers have been more inclined to limit themselves largely to one or the other of the two main fields, although the number of those whose work has covered the whole Bible is by no means small. With the exception of Ewald, the most eminent names in our science have confined themselves to one Testament.

From Vatke (1836) to Graf (1866) little progress was made in the study of Old Testament Theology as such. The attention of the ablest Old Testament scholars was concentrated on the literary criticism of the Old Testament, especially of the Pentateuch, and until that problem was solved little could be done in the way of tracing the development of the religious ideas or teachings of the Old Testament. It is probable that the most important contributions to the science in this period are to be found in the works of H. Ewald (*Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, 1840-41; and *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1843-59). The works of Bruno Bauer (1838, 1839) and of L. Noack (1853), both from the Hegelian standpoint, of C. von Lengerke (1844), from a more critical standpoint, of S. Lutz (1847), from a confessional point of view, of Steudel (ed. Oehler, 1840) and Hävernick (ed. Hahn, 1848), both apologetic in purpose, contained little of permanent value.

The widespread and rapid acceptance, in its general outlines, of the critical theory of the development of the Old Testament

¹ Though the New Testament part of Vatke's work was never published.

literature propounded by K. H. Graf (1866) and A. Kuenen (1861-65), and further developed by a number of eminent Old Testament scholars, was almost immediately fruitful in bringing about a new period in the study of Old Testament Theology. It was at last possible to interpret the Old Testament material in such a way as to discover the steps or stages of development through which the religion of Israel passed. The historical character of the Old Testament religion was more clearly discerned. The position taken by Vatke so many years before was now vindicated. The intimate relationship existing between the history of the Old Testament literature and the history of Israel's religion became ever more convincingly apparent.

Corresponding to this new period in the method of the study and interpretation of the Old Testament has been the great, even amazing, increase in our knowledge of the ancient history of Western Asia through the decipherment of the ancient Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian, and other records belonging to the peoples contemporary with and either neighbors to or masters of Israel. Through the recovery of so much of the ancient literature of these peoples, their manners and customs, their religious systems and beliefs, are now becoming understood on the basis of their own records, and it is astonishing to find at how many points these records and the Old Testament touch upon the same or closely related matters. Many Old Testament statements have come to be understood in an entirely new light. Ideas and customs, once thought to be the peculiar property of Israel and original with her, have been found to have been either the common property of the ancient Semitic world, or to have been borrowed by Israel from some other Semitic people.

From the general field of Comparative Religion also the investigations carried on by many scholars during the past few decades have gathered much information, especially as regards primitive types of religious beliefs and practices which had a tendency to linger long after their original significance had been forgotten. By this means many obscure and difficult passages in the Old Testament have come to be better understood, and much that was once thought to belong to the revealed religion of Israel is now seen to have belonged to the early and more primitive stages of Israel's religion.

In view of these facts, the science of Old Testament Theology has assumed, in recent years, a significance and importance that would have been inconceivable thirty or forty years ago. It is the function of Old Testament Theology to assemble and arrange in the order of their progressive development the facts, in the broadest sense of the word, germane to the religion of Israel. In the nature of the case, the field from which the Old Testament theologian draws his material cannot be strictly confined to the canonical books of the Old Testament. It is true, and will ever remain so, that these books are our main source of information regarding Israel's religion and that they contain a revelation of divine truth such as cannot be affirmed of any other writings of that ancient world. But it is just as true that the information gained from other sources often supplements or completes that contained in the Old Testament itself in such important respects that we cannot afford to neglect it. This is the case not only with the material contained in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, through which we are able to trace the development of Israel's religion into New Testament times, but also with all other sources of information, whether Israelitic or not.

What has just been said is based on the view that Old Testament Theology should concern itself with setting forth the religious (and ethical) phases of Israel's history in a purely objective way. The Old Testament literature is thus viewed primarily as a source of *information*, not as a source of doctrine. Biblical Theology (as a whole) is not to be defined as a presentation of the religious (and ethical) *teachings* of the Bible, but as a presentation of the religious and ethical *facts* (ideas, institutions, etc.) of the Bible. In this there is no danger of belittling the *authority* of the Bible as containing a revelation. If the facts of the religious development contained in the Bible are presented accurately, as they were in themselves and in their relation to their environment, whatever divine authority or character these facts possess will be apparent of itself. It is the task of Systematic Theology to gather from Biblical Theology the permanent, universal, and authoritative truths given in the historical development of the Biblical religion and to make these the fundamental elements of its system of doctrine.

Such being the nature and task of Old Testament Theology, the method of treatment of the subject becomes a matter of no small moment. We are not concerned here with the method to be adopted in a monograph restricted to some specific topic. The number of such monographs is constantly increasing, and among them are to be found many of the most valuable contributions to Old Testament Theology. Such studies should always be strictly scientific in character and should follow the method best adapted to the nature of their subject. It is rather with the method proper to a general work on Old Testament Theology that we are here concerned.

Most modern works on our subject can be classified into three groups, according as they follow one of three different methods.

We have, first, the method dominated by the idea that the Old Testament is primarily a didactic book and that Old Testament Theology is mainly an exhibition of the *doctrines* of the Old Testament. In such treatises the fundamentally historical nature of the subject is neglected. The method of these treatises is necessarily topical. The Bible itself exhibits no formal system of doctrine, and in an Old Testament or a New Testament Theology constructed on the topical-doctrinal plan the arrangement is necessarily somewhat arbitrary, the main headings being borrowed from Systematic Theology. Theoretically, it may be possible to make use of a topical arrangement and treat each subject so as to show its historical development. But practically, even this use of the method labors under serious disadvantages. For no religious idea in the Old Testament was developed, or even revealed, by itself, apart from intimate relations to other ideas and to the general religious conditions existing and changing from time to time. Consequently, a topical method, in order to exhibit the historical development of each of the different religious ideas or practices, must necessarily go over the same ground with each separate subject. Even then it is impossible to present each subject in its true character as but a part of a general situation in which many ideas existed side by side, mutually conditioning one another and all moving forward together under the same general circumstances. The finest topical treatment of Old Testament Theology in English is probably that by the late Dr. A. B.

Davidson,¹ in which the four main topics are, The Doctrine of God, of Man, of Redemption, and of the Last Things. But with all its excellences, this work fails to give its reader an adequate idea of the actual course of the Old Testament religion.

A second method seeks to combine the historical with the topical or doctrinal arrangement. This is the method followed by H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (5 Aufl., 1896), who devotes the first division of his work to "The Development of the Religion and Ethics of Israel to the Establishment of the Hasmonæan State," and the second to "The Religion of the Community (*Gemeinde*) of the Second Temple." In this work, by an acknowledged master in our field, the historical nature of the subject is constantly recognized and its importance clearly perceived. But it was a mistake to trace the development, somewhat summarily, down to the Maccabæan times and then to single out the last great period, that of the Second Temple, which, though dominated by the legal spirit, was also full of complicated movements and changes of opinion, for an extended topical treatment which takes up one half of the whole work. In this second half the reader loses touch with the historical development almost entirely. The same general defect, and to a greater degree, mars the (posthumous) work of A. Dillmann, *Handbuch der Alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1895), in which a sketch of the history of the Old Testament religion (pp. 75-201) is followed by a "Lehrteil," or doctrinal part (pp. 202-544), which presents the Old Testament doctrine under three main topics, God, Man, and the Kingdom of God. In this work, from one of the ablest Old Testament scholars of modern times, the conception of the Old Testament as a doctrinal book completely overshadows the truth that it is first of all a historical record. Nevertheless, Dillmann's work contains much that is of great value.

The third and correct method seeks to show how in successive periods, each one of which had its own distinctive features, the Old Testament religion moved forward, developing, changing, presenting many and varying aspects according as persons,

¹ *The Theology of the Old Testament*, in the *International Theological Library* (1904). Another excellent work of the same class is the *Biblical Dogmatics* of M. S. Terry.

times, and other circumstances changed. In some works the recognition of this as the true method appears only in the main subdivisions, while it is neglected in the actual discussion. This is especially true of the work of G. F. Oehler (1873-74) with its three main divisions, Nomism, Prophetism, and the Wisdom period, which utterly fails to perceive the vital character of the Old Testament religion. The *Alttestamentliche Theologie* of Dr. Eduard Riehm (1889) subdivides the history of the Old Testament religion into three periods, Mosaism, Prophetism, and post-exilic Judaism. Riehm marks a great advance over Oehler, but his discussion is likewise dominated by the *doctrinal* instead of the *historical* conception of the subject.

Over against such works as these may be placed, as more clearly and consistently exhibiting the essentially historical character of our science, the great work of A. Kuenen, on *The Religion of Israel (De Godsdiens van Israël, Eng. trans., 1874-75)*; the treatise by B. Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten* (1875), one of the first essays in this line on the basis of the Graf-Wellhausen critical theory; and the brief sketch by August Kayser, *Die Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1st ed. 1886, 2d ed. by K. Marti, 1894; 3d 1897, 4th 1903, and 5th 1907, eds. also by K. Marti, under the title, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*). The fifth edition by Marti gives a most excellent brief treatment of the whole subject. The *Lehrbuch der Alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* by Rudolph Smend (2d ed. 1899) has become a standard work, although the historical development of Israel's religion is not so well presented in it as it is in the briefer treatise of Kayser-Marti. The recent treatise by B. Stade (since deceased), *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments; erster Band, die Religion Israels und die Entstehung des Judenthums* (1905), contains the fruit of many years' study by one of the ablest scholars of modern times. In the extensive treatment of the Religion of Israel by E. Kautzsch in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, Extra Volume* (pp. 612-734), written in a most admirable spirit, the results of the many and varied investigations of leading scholars during the past decades will be found to be presented with conspicuous ability and sound judgment. In the past few years some excellent short treatises have been published which are worthy of mention, such as *The Religion of Israel* by R. L. Ottley (1905), *Hebrew Religion* by W. E.

Addis (1906), and *The Religion of the Old Testament* by K. Marti (Eng. trans., 1907).

From what has been said it need not be thought that the last word has been uttered in Old Testament Theology. Excellent as the last-mentioned works may be, in many respects they leave important problems still unsolved. Monographs that have appeared but very lately, such as by Baentsch, *Allorientalische und israelitische Monotheismus* (1906); by E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906); by P. Volz, *Mose* (1907); by D. Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mondreligion* (1904); by R. Kittel, *Studien zur Heb. Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1908); and many others on a great variety of topics show only too plainly how far we are, as yet, from a satisfactory solution of many important questions in the field of Old Testament Religion. The great stages of the development, and the literature that belongs to these and reveals their general character, have been satisfactorily made out, but many details are not yet perfectly understood.¹

¹ See the later article by the same author on New Testament Theology, p. 132.

THE APOCRYPHA

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THERE is no need to begin this sketch with an outline of the condition of the study of the Apocrypha in 1834. The collection of writings which bear that name not only failed to interest the scholars of the first half of the nineteenth century, but attention to them by way of careful study was rather disreputable. The echoes still rang of the great fight which in 1827 had eventuated in the refusal of the British and Foreign Bible Society to give aid to any organization that circulated the Apocrypha. The truly orthodox Scotchmen had insisted on this course for many years, while the auxiliaries in Continental Europe had been equally clear that the Bibles circulated by them must contain the Apocryphal books. Yet this insistence led to no careful study by scholars of the nature and contents of these writings. Neither those who considered the inclusion of the Apocrypha a concession to Popery, nor those who felt that a sort of secondary inspiration demanded their wide circulation, really thought them worthy of study.

Yet by indirection the Apocrypha won some little attention. The books thus indicated were included in the fifth volume of Holmes and Parsons' edition of the Septuagint, which appeared in the very year when the Bible Society resolved to have nothing more to do with extra-canonical writings. To this day the collation of Holmes and Parsons remains the only available record of the readings of several important mss. Even those scholars who find fault with the edition as below modern standards of accuracy are driven back to it in their attempt to get a satisfactory text.

But the few scholarly divines who owned Holmes and Parsons' Septuagint in 1834 used the fifth volume least of all. Few read the Apocrypha; none studied them. The theory of revelation

then almost universally prevalent in Germany as well as in England, among Unitarians as well as in orthodox circles, made it seem a waste of time to study books which had no direct value as a source of doctrine.

It would be too much to claim that the study of the Apocrypha has become established as a necessity to the well-equipped theologian. A minister may be recognized as a man of scholarly attainments who hardly knows more of them than their collective name. Probably he owns no copy of them outside of the Septuagint. His attention is called to them in the theological seminary in most cases only by casual reference. Yet all the seminaries now offer some opportunity for acquaintance with them; you find now and then a quotation by a modern preacher from the Wisdom of Jesus ben-Sirach, and such quotations no longer make the pious tremble for the preacher's soundness in the faith. Especially is there increasing recognition of the importance of the Apocryphal literature to an understanding of the progress of Hebrew thought and to a comprehension of the background of the New Testament.

The seventy-five years under review have had results in the matter both of text and of expositions. In 1834 *Codex Vaticanus* was inaccessible. Holmes and Parsons collated it for Judith, Tobit, 1 Esdras, and the additions to Esther, when further access to it was denied them. Tischendorf and Tregelles both had similar tantalizing experiences, though both were concerned more with the New Testament than with the Septuagint. The first printed edition was held back for twenty years or more before it became available in 1857. A better edition was printed in 1881, but it was not until 1890 that the photographic facsimile first made its appearance.

The discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus* was the only other great event in this department of study. The romantic story of the rescue of the ms. from the waste-basket of the monastery and its journeyings to its resting-place in St. Petersburg has been told too often to need repetition in this brief outline. The publication of the ms. in 1862 placed a new wealth of critical material in the hands of scholars. Neither of these great codices is complete in the Apocrypha, but one or the other at least gives help in every book except 2 Maccabees and the Prayer of Manassch.

In 1845 Tischendorf published the Old Testament portions of the text which he rescued from the famous palimpsest known as C. Here are found for the Apocrypha only parts of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.

In the field of critical apparatus mention should be made also of the publication of an autotype facsimile of *Codex Alexandrinus*. This codex formed the basis of the edition of Holmes and Parsons and was generally accessible to scholars of accredited standing who could go to the Bodleian Library at Oxford; but a facsimile makes the testimony of the codex available for scholars in all parts of the world. The date of this publication was 1881-83.

The era of photographic reproductions of the great uncials is still too recent to allow of the publication of a complete critical text of the Septuagint. Two editions sufficiently critical to serve practical purposes have appeared, however, and the Cambridge University Press has in preparation a monumental edition which will contain a complete critical apparatus. It is doubtful whether the centennial volume which Hartford Theological Seminary may issue in 1934 will record the completion of this work, the first fascicle of which is still fresh from the press, but the first volume will be completed before many years.

The other editions referred to are those of Nestle and Swete. Nestle's is the seventh edition of Tischendorf's work, and was published in 1890. Tischendorf based his text upon that printed first at the instance of Pope Sixtus V in 1587, which used Codex B as its chief authority, though a number of other mss. were carefully collated by the editors. Nestle's work gives the variants of \aleph , B, C, and A, supplementing a text which represents his own skillful, but imperfectly informed recension of the Sixtine text as revised by Tischendorf.

Swete's text is the foundation of the Cambridge edition, and is to be used in the complete critical work. It is based chiefly on B, but gives the variants and supplements of several other important uncials. The three volumes of the second edition of this text, in the preparation of which Nestle collaborated, were issued in 1895-99. The coöperation of Nestle brings this edition into line as representing the latest and best work available to the public, but its rule of following some one ms. (B where it is available) makes it less satisfactory than, for instance, the Greek New Testaments of Tischendorf or West-

cott and Hort. It must be conceded that for the present this method is the only practicable way of publishing a critical edition of the Septuagint, since the material is both more massive and less available than in the case of the New Testament, while the determination of the "families" of MSS. is much less simple than in the case of the New Testament. Yet the fact that B, most noble of witnesses to the New Testament, is positively inferior in so important a book as Ecclesiasticus, makes one wish that Lagarde had been a good executive as well as a great scholar.

For our review must include mention of the undertaking which was cut short by Paul de Lagarde's death in 1891. He had gathered much material and had begun work on an edition which was intended to exhibit the recension of Lucian, desiring also to interest some other competent scholar in preparing an edition according to the readings of Hesychius. But, so far from setting such a scholar at work, even that which he himself undertook was left unfinished, and the material he collected is still beyond reach.

Something of the same purpose, but more comprehensive, is the work of F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt*, which was published in 1875, and which contains all the material then known for a reconstruction of Origen's own critical text. Much new material makes a revision of this work the most promising step forward toward approximation to knowledge of at least one of the "families" of the MSS. of the LXX.

During the last dozen years, the questions about the text of Ecclesiasticus have attracted more attention than any others within the field we are considering. This book, unlike some others in the Apocrypha, was certainly written first in Hebrew, and Jerome declared that he had seen a copy of it in that language. But he was the last man to have that privilege, or at least to notice it, until 1896, when a fragment in Hebrew was discovered. Within a few years other bits came to light, representing in all about four fifths of the book. The unique nature of this discovery, coupled with the intrinsic value of the book, has led to the production of a considerable mass of literature. Criticisms, arguments, discoveries, comments, have been printed in many journals and not a few books. The material may still be said to be undigested, and the book which sums

the whole matter up has not yet been published. The Hebrew fragments, however, were published by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in facsimile in 1901, and the work of scholars will undoubtedly soon bring the learned world to something like a conclusion regarding the value of the Hebrew text and the nature of the original text.

The second line of work on the Apocrypha during the past seventy-five years has been in the production of commentaries. I have been unable to find bibliographical notice of any work of this character published before 1834 sufficiently important to require attention. Even in Germany, where the Apocrypha are included more generally in vernacular Bibles than is the case with us, the field was unworked. The first important modern commentary on the Apocrypha, however, was a German work, that of Fritzsche and Grimm, published at Leipzig in 1851-60. The six volumes of this commentary remain a landmark in the study of the Apocrypha.

Second in point of time is the volume prepared by Professor Edwin Cone Bissell of Hartford Theological Seminary to accompany the American translation of Lange's Commentary. This volume was published in 1880, and contained a translation of each of the Apocryphal books, based upon a careful revision of the text and compared with the Authorized Version. Full notes explain textual conclusions, and there are brief exegetical remarks, characteristically careful and illuminating.

England contributed to the special study of the Apocrypha Ball's volume, forming a part of the *Variorum Bible* and published at London in 1892. More important was the volume on the Apocrypha belonging to the *Speaker's Commentary*, issued under the editorship of Canon Wace in 1888. Ten other scholars assisted in the preparation of this work, which still stands for the greater part of the Apocrypha as the latest and best word to be found in English. The only exception is Ecclesiasticus, to the study of which an entirely new aspect, as well as a new interest, have been given by the discovery of the Hebrew texts.

The most complete summary of modern knowledge about the Apocrypha available in a single work is the book issued under the general direction of Professor E. Kautzsch of Halle, and prepared by a number of leading German scholars. It is in two volumes, bearing the title *Die Apokryphen und Pseud-*

epigraphen des Alten Testaments, and was published at Tübingen in 1900. It contains an elaborate general introduction, a special introduction for each book, a new German translation and brief exegetical and critical notes. Mention should also be made of André's *Les Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament*, 1902. For the ordinary student these need supplementing by only two hitherto unpublished volumes — the Cambridge *editio critica* and a work summing up the present condition of knowledge regarding the text of Ecclesiasticus.

The character of these works is significant of the radical change in the motive and aim of modern study of the Apocrypha as compared with the attitude toward this group of books taken at the beginning of our period. If any man read or studied the Apocrypha then, he did so for whatever direct value the books might have. This direct value, except for 1 Maccabees and Ecclesiasticus (perhaps also exception should be made of Wisdom), is so slight that Biblical scholarship was fully justified in ignoring the Apocrypha. The modern student feels that the Apocryphal writers have a historical value which demands attention. The New Testament, and still more the Christian thought and life of the sub-apostolic and ante-Nicene periods, were so deeply affected by Hellenistic Judaism that the Apocrypha and the Jewish pseudepigrapha are essential to a complete understanding of them. It must therefore be that we are really now at the beginning of a new period of interest in the study of these works, in which the formal distinction between Apocrypha and pseudepigraphic literature will more and more disappear, and in which no man unacquainted with the results of scholarship in this field will appear competent to treat of the epistles of Paul and the Fourth Gospel, to say nothing of many other less important documents of the early Christians.

III. NEW TESTAMENT

NEW TESTAMENT PHILOLOGY

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THE original language of the New Testament has now for a period of three centuries been the object of unremitting study. After the Renaissance had given impetus to the study of the classics, and the Reformation had of necessity led men to go back to the originals of the Old and New Testaments, the Greek of the New Testament entered upon a period of investigation which has persevered to our days.

In the early seventeenth century began a keen debate between the Purists and the Hebraists. The former claimed classical purity for the New Testament Greek, citing hosts of parallels common to it and the best Greek writers. They regarded it as sacrilege to hold that the Holy Spirit should dictate a gospel in any inferior style of Greek prose, but they were soon confronted with the insuperable difficulty of accounting for the many points of divergence which defied classical precedent, or worse, which contravened classical usage. Hence their opponents, the Hebraists, steadily gained the field. Theirs was certainly a more plausible case. They pointed out in the Septuagint and New Testament a number of Hebraisms which, in the absence of vernacular contemporary Greek, were apparently irrefutable. Probability and common sense seemed to be on their side. What could be more natural than that the New Testament should draw largely upon the vocabulary and construction of the Septuagint, which appeared to be a slavishly literal translation, not avoiding but rather harboring contortions of Greek favorable to the sacred original? Besides, the writers of the New Testament were mostly Jews, whose efforts after Greek could hardly escape contamination through commerce with their native Aramaic.

The victory of the Hebraist gave rise to another view which long hindered true appreciation and scientific study of the New Testament Greek — what we may term ‘separatism.’ The idea of the Canon and the dogma of verbal inspiration were extended to the language, which was canonized accordingly. The New Testament could not appropriately be written either in the idiom of pagan classicism or in the common vulgar speech of the day. The Holy Spirit demanded a select idiom which the dogmatists soon assumed. Then classical scholars observed that New Testament Greek was in style, vocabulary, grammar, and syntax far from classical; they dubbed it vulgar and pigeon Greek, which afforded them abundant scope for pedantic correction.

But on the period previous to 1834 we may not dwell, this volume requiring us to define in outline the progress of New Testament Philology in the past seventy-five years. Unfortunately the year 1834 corresponds exactly with no definite opening of a new epoch in our subject. We must go back about twelve years before we find anything like a clearly defined boundary line. Still, roughly speaking, we may recognize in the past seventy-five years two periods of quite unequal length, refusing to set unalterably fixed confines, as period passes into period almost imperceptibly. The curtain nowhere drops to warn us that one act is finished and another about to begin. Besides, we shall find in each period hesitant laggards as well as precocious pioneering spirits.

First, we have a period of sixty years (more correctly, seventy, by borrowing a few years previous) — the beginning of and the preparation for the fullness of the times in which we live. This had been preceded by a lull in activity till G. B. Winer in 1822 published the first edition of his *New Testament Grammar*. This was an amazing work for its day and a protest to scholars against the wild empiricism then in vogue. There had been abundant observation of facts, but without scientific marshaling. Lists of examples and exceptions, of words and constructions, were compiled, proper deductions, however, failing. To most students the New Testament Greek was an aggregate of elements loosely thrown together: the writers could not be interpreted as meaning literally what they said. Only the faintest idea of the grammatical organism of the language obtained, so that the relation, e.g. between tense and tense, mood and mood, was not deeply in-

quired into. When a New Testament writer used a form of expression which did not immediately fall in with preconceived ideas, the Greek in question was submitted to a Procrustean treatment. The standards were external and despotic. Instead of tabulating New Testament usages and seeming or real irregularities with a view to explanation or reduction to a scientific system, they were explained as departures, abnormalities, solecisms. Theology, therefore, could march untrammelled up and down the pages of the New Testament, issuing her dictatorial decrees irrespective of strict philological considerations.

The change which has since come in the position of Philology among New Testament sciences is to be attributed in no mean degree to the previous activity of the classical philologists. The new science of Comparative Philology had arisen and justified its claim to a position of first importance. In the closing decades of the eighteenth century English scholars like Sir W. Jones, Wilkins, and others had mediated between India and Europe in bringing ancient Sanskrit from British India to the knowledge of European scholars, which gave impetus to linguistic study in a new direction. English scholars took the first step in connecting Sanskrit organically with Greek and Latin and in producing translations. It was, however, in Germany in the early part of the nineteenth century that the new science was actually founded. German scholars, the Schlegel brothers, Herder, von Humboldt, Franz Bopp, and others took up the study of Sanskrit. F. von Schlegel in *Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* brought the comparative and historical method to bear upon the science of language (1808). Comparative Grammar was introduced in the work entitled *Ueber das Konjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache* (Frankfort, 1816) by Franz Bopp, who is usually regarded as the father of modern Comparative Philology. Scholars came to recognize that the languages of the Indo-Germanic (called also Indo-European and Aryan) family stood in various degrees of relationship to one another, being all descended from one original tongue. Hence one language could be used to cast light upon the obscurities of another of the same group. Not only the development in the widening or narrowing meaning of words could be studied, but the steps by which men attempted to express their thoughts and the relation between thought and thought. To Descriptive Grammar, which occupies itself with classifying

and describing words as separate entities and registering the changes they undergo in relation to certain conditions, was added Comparative Grammar, which analyzes words, accounts for their forms, and pries into their origin — thus dealing with the growth of language.

Winer foresaw in a measure the far-reaching consequences of this progressive comparative science for the Greek New Testament, and embodied his belief in the rational and historical treatment of language in his Grammar, which, though it did not break entirely with the past, introduced a new era in the study of New Testament grammar. Winer was followed by A. Buttmann, an English edition of whose Grammar we owe to J. H. Thayer. To English-speaking scholars are well known the translations and revisions of Winer by J. H. Thayer and W. F. Moulton, especially the work of the latter, which has had a wide influence on exegesis for nearly half a century.

The awakened attention given to New Testament Greek study was before long directed also to lexicography and resulted in the appearance of Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti philologica* (Leipzig and Dresden, 1841) — the first notable lexicon for over half a century (since that of J. F. Schleusner in 1792). This famous *Clavis* has really formed the basis of New Testament lexicography down to our own day, having been revised by C. W. Grimm in 1868, and attaining in Thayer's translation and revision of the Grimm-Wilke, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, its highest excellence.

During this period it became clear that Philology had to do with words and forms in their interrelationships, that examples had to be collected and classified before proper inductions could be made. Such a collection as an organon for further investigation in the economy of study was needed, and so appeared the *Concordance* of C. H. Bruder (Leipzig, 1842), endeavoring to be only an improved, enlarged, better arranged, and modern edition of the old work of Erasmus Schmid.

Another evidence of the philological activity of this period is seen in synonym studies, chiefly Tittmann's *De Synonymis in Novo Testamento* and the various editions of Trench's *Synonyms of the New Testament*.

Thus we find in this period the laying of the broad foundations of modern New Testament Philology, the accumulation and ar-

rangement of material, the evidence of earnest purposes, the preparation of the instruments for further investigation. It is, however, still a period of contrast, the New Testament language being regarded as standing by itself in linguistic isolation. Philology is still too much under the influence of the theologian. Unfortunately the eyes of the sober workers of this period were not permitted to behold the richest additions made to our knowledge of contemporary Greek that render New Testament Philology one of the most fascinating of studies. Yet Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* had begun to appear in 1828, so they had material which they left unworked, the accessibility of which makes the lack of epigraphical interest inexcusable.

About fifteen years ago began the modern period of New Testament Philology brought about by the interest created by the unexpected discoveries of recent years. The name of Adolf Deissmann deserves an honored place as being the first to show us (in his *Bibelstudien* of 1895 and *Neue Bibelstudien* of 1897) that the language of the New Testament is *lexically* part and parcel of the colloquial Greek of that day extant in inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca, that the New Testament is not primarily a literary, but a spoken living language. Then the renowned philologist, Albert Thumb, in a book (*Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, Strassburg, 1901), which no New Testament student may neglect, took another great step. Deissmann had connected the New Testament language *lexically* with that of its day, but Thumb not only made clear to us the nature of the common dialect, but placed the New Testament language in line with the unbroken development of the whole Greek tongue. Against the Hebraisms, which Deissmann attacked from the evidence of contemporary documents, Thumb brought to bear his extensive knowledge of modern Greek, which he showed must henceforth form part of the curriculum of every New Testament philologist. Yet another name stands prominent in this period, that of the Hellenist, James Hope Moulton, who first supplemented and corroborated the *lexical* discoveries of Deissmann by independent work upon other finds of inscriptions and papyri. Then, not forgetting the services of modern Greek which Thumb advocated, he entered the department which he has made his own, demonstrating in his *Prolegomena* that New Testament *grammar* is virtually that of the contemporary vernacular. Though

many New Testament grammatical works were in the field, the author of the *Prolegomena* produced an absolutely independent and epoch-making work, the second volume of which is now in the press.

A year before Deissmann's first work Schmiedel had inaugurated the era of recent New Testament grammatical activity in his revision (the eighth edition) of Winer, which began to appear in 1892. But Schmiedel allowed himself to be swayed too often by the previous work of Winer: he advanced most in availing himself of the Greek inscriptions. Then followed Blass's *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (English translation by Thackeray), still hesitating even in the second edition between the old and the new. Two other New Testament Grammars, one by L. Radermacher and one by A. T. Robertson, are promised in the near future. To this period belong also grammatical studies such as the *Études* of Viteau, the monographs of Deissmann, Burton, Votaw, etc. Moreover, much work has been done on the Septuagint, the early Christian literature, the papyri and inscriptions, all of which bear on New Testament Philology.

This, then, is the period of *contact* as opposed to the *contrast* of the preceding, the period in which the long-established isolation of New Testament Greek has been entirely broken down. The comparative and historic method has come into full force in Philology as in Theology. In these past fifteen years Philology has for the first time gained her rightful place. Heretofore theologians had the privileged position of remaining a generation behind the rest of the world in matters of philology. Now Theology and Philology have formed an alliance: no one may any longer hope to become a New Testament theologian without having first qualified as a philologist, else he must, to use Deissmann's expressive phrase, "put on the laid-off clothes of the philologist," and allow his vision to be limited and his words to fall without authority. It may be predicted that the New Testament will in the future receive more thorough appreciation from Philology than from scholastic Theology.

A word in conclusion on the outlook for New Testament Philology and its future tasks.

It is evident that the comparative method must be increasingly extended to New Testament study, and that New Testament Philology must be recognized as only a branch of comparative

and historic Indo-European Philology. The New Testament student should be interested in the results of this Philology, *e.g.*, in the evolution of tense, *Aktionsart*, mood, voice, etc. One may go far afield here, but must not neglect the work that is nearer at home — the drawing upon the vast materials of the common dialect, and the interpretation of the New Testament in the light of Hellenistic remains. With a view to this must be undertaken the construction and interpretation of the unedited and undeciphered texts both with and for the New Testament. All that is of interest and importance has not yet been given us. Nor can we say that the age of startling discoveries is at an end. We know not at what moment one of the excavating schools may surprise us with pertinent inscriptions. And who will venture to say that Egypt has surrendered us all its potsherds and papyri?

Our early New Testament manuscripts are to be purified in the light of the contemporary dialect before we can regard them as giving us the vernacular autographs. Established criteria of these dialectic peculiarities may be applied — we know not yet with what profit — as one means of solving the critical questions of manuscript provenance; and conversely, the New Testament uncial manuscripts may be used with fair promise by the investigator of the common dialect.

Innumerable points of New Testament grammar still call for detailed investigation, — several are mentioned by Moulton in the *Prolegomena*, — and, as the whole domain of the *κοινή* is subjected to systematic examination, New Testament grammar will profit by the results.

Philology has already, in works like Milligan's *Thessalonians*, Lietzmann's *Romans* and *First Corinthians*, Gressmann and Klostermann's *Mark*, and Allen's *Matthew*, begun to take definite hold of exegetical commentary work interpreting the New Testament in its Hellenistic environment. All New Testament books have not yet received such treatment, neither would the authors of commentaries above mentioned profess to have exhausted their material.

Scholars have begun to realize that a knowledge of modern popular Greek is valuable, almost essential, for the study of New Testament Philology, and that, as Pallis has in a slight way shown, it may aid the exegesis of the text.

It is of importance for the exegesis of the future to realize that

all the New Testament writers cannot be subjected to the same rules, that differences of style and grammar are so marked that each writer must be taken separately, due consideration being given to his idiosyncrasies. Abbott in his *Johannine Grammar* has made a beginning of such individual studies.

And, lastly, the greatest need of the present time is a modern New Testament lexicon, which may place for us the New Testament vocabulary in the contemporary surroundings of that period of world-culture to which it belongs, and acquaint us with the usages (especially the vernacular) of extant Greek from the days of Alexander the Great till the end of antiquity. Thayer's *Greek-English Lexicon* — the best we now possess — is in many respects antiquated, and Preuschen's *Lexicon of the New Testament and Early Christian Literature*, the parts of which are now appearing, has failed to grasp the present situation of Philology. It is gratifying to know that we shall not be obliged to wait indefinitely for a satisfactory New Testament lexicon, for Deissmann, who has done so much to remove the isolation of Biblical Greek, and has defined for us what a New Testament lexicon should accomplish, is himself engaged on the preparation of such a work.

NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

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SEVENTY-FIVE years ago New Testament Textual Criticism was either unknown or ignored in both England and America. The authority of the so-called Received Text (Stephen, 1550; Elzivir, 1633) was almost supreme. In Germany, however, Bengel (1687-1752) did pioneer work; and Griesbach laid solid foundations for a scientific treatment, his canons still holding good. Lachmann (1793-1851), who published his first small edition in 1831, did not attempt to present the true text, but only the oldest form accessible; but his labors prepared the way for the restoration of a critical text. As far as Textual Criticism of the New Testament is concerned, the past seventy-five years may be conveniently divided by two prominent events; namely, the discovery by Tischendorf of the *Codex Sinaiticus* in 1859, and the appearance in 1881 of the text of Westcott and Hort, coincident with the publication of the Revised Version of the New Testament. Three periods are thus presented for review.

I. From 1834-1859. The most efficient workers during this period were Tischendorf (1813-1874) and Tregelles (1813-1875). The former was the greater palæographer; the latter, the more judicious critic.

Between 1841 and 1859 Tischendorf published seven editions of the Greek Testament, but only the fourth (1849) and seventh (1859) have value for purposes of Textual Criticism. Each of these contained a full critical apparatus. In the former the trend was decidedly away from the "Received" Text. But the seventh edition, which was much larger, differs from the fourth in 1290 places, thus showing a reaction, especially in the Gospels. This was due, not to any change in critical principles, but to the apparent insufficiency of evidence in support of the readings now

generally accepted as the more ancient. The *Codex Sinaiticus* had not yet been discovered, and the readings of the *Codex Vaticanus* were in uncertainty, since it was practically inaccessible.

Meanwhile, in England Tregelles was actively engaged in investigation of the text. The story of his labors is a pathetic one. Affiliated with a minor English sect (Plymouth Brethren), he had little assistance in his efforts, and his arduous toil finally left him "old, poor, and blind." He did much to show the uncritical character of the early printed editions (Erasmus, Stephen, and Beza), and in 1844 published an edition of the Apocalypse in Greek. In 1848 he issued a prospectus for an edition of the entire Greek Testament. Lack of means compelled its publication by subscription and in parts (from 1857 to 1872). Though the first part of the Gospels was issued before the discovery of *Aleph*, the readings he accepted are very frequently found in that manuscript. His grouping of the authorities is discriminating, and his judgment of the highest order.

The revival of New Testament scholarship in England led the prominent expositors to a more careful study of the Greek text. Alford, Ellicott, and others, by their citation of authorities, produced a movement in favor of the more ancient readings. Scrivener was the chief supporter of the "Received" Text, but by publishing successive editions of the Greek Testament in which the readings accepted by critical editors appeared in footnotes, he did much to awaken inquiry.

II. From 1859 to 1881. The most important single event in the history of modern Textual Criticism is the discovery by Tischendorf of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, now designated by the Hebrew letter *Aleph*. In 1844 he had recovered from a wastebasket in the monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai 43 leaves containing parts of the Old Testament, which he published. In 1853 he made another and fruitless visit to the same place. In 1859 a third visit seemed equally fruitless, when, on the eve of his departure, the entire Codex was shown him. This he obtained by purchase from the monks (at Cairo). The discovery took place February 4, 1859, and on the 28th of the following December the entire manuscript was in his possession. (The stories of theft in connection with his obtaining the manuscripts are groundless.) He at once began the publication of an edition, the most elaborate one up to that time. This

appeared in 1862, and in the fall of that year the manuscript, according to agreement, was given to the Emperor of Russia, and is now in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg.

Undoubtedly of nearly the same age as the Vatican manuscript, the oldest manuscript authority, the Sinaitic, contains the text of the entire New Testament, while B is defective, lacking one third of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Apocalypse. The state of Textual Criticism in 1859 made the value of the document for critical purposes exceptionally great. Interest was quickened everywhere. The editors of critical texts began at once to use the new evidence. Tregelles presented the readings of *Aleph* in the parts of his edition that afterwards appeared. Alford cited the readings in his revised commentary. Westcott and Hort, who were already preparing to issue a Greek New Testament, had the opportunity of using *Aleph* in their long joint labors. But Tischendorf felt compelled to prepare an entirely new critical edition, the eighth, according to his reckoning. In this the text differs from that of the seventh in 3369 places, thus showing the great influence of *Aleph* upon his judgment. The Gospels appeared in 1864, and the second volume in 1872. Even the more conservative critics were compelled to recognize the value of the new evidence. A very important effect of the discovery was the publication of the text of B (*Vaticanus*). A splendid edition appeared in 1868. (The photographic facsimile appeared in 1889.)

As the readings of *Aleph* are in general agreement with B, the fourth-century manuscript evidence is doubled in weight. Yet the differences between the two codices are rightly held to indicate a text of a much earlier date, probably in the second century. This is earlier than the various revisions (recensions) which have been assumed to account for early variations. Moreover, there were many readings in regard to which *Aleph* turned the scale, the evidence prior to 1859 seeming to be evenly balanced. In a few years there was virtually an agreement among critical editors, except a few ultra-conservatives. The consensus was that the so-called Received Text is far inferior to that of *Aleph* and B, that when these witnesses agree, they present the true reading, except where there are internal grounds to the contrary; that when their testimony is corroborated by fairly good later witnesses, the reading is established. This attitude was doubt-

less one of the principal causes that led to the Revision of the Authorized Version. Begun in 1871, the New Testament portion was published in 1881. In America the publication of Dr. Schaff's edition of Lange's *Commentary*, which contained full notes on the various readings, led to a wider knowledge of the claims of Textual Criticism. In 1881, almost simultaneously with the appearance of the Revised New Testament, the critical edition of Westcott (†1901) and Hort (†1892), upon which twenty-eight years of labor had been spent, was given to the public. These two events mark a definite stage in the acceptance of the results of Textual Criticism. The impression prevailed that the text of Westcott and Hort was that of the Revisers, but this was not specifically true. The Revisers made no critical text. They formed an independent judgment on readings that would affect the English dress, but did not follow Westcott and Hort. Indeed, the work on the Gospels was well in hand before these editors printed, for private use, their text of the Gospels. The present writer had in his hands, to collate for the information of the American New Testament Company, the only copy in this country. This collation showed that the Revisers agreed with Tregelles oftener than with Westcott and Hort. But the impression that this edition presented the Revisers' text probably did much to give it authority. It soon became in many theological institutions the standard edition, and the publication of a smaller students' edition greatly furthered the use of it.

III. Since 1881 little new material for purposes of Textual Criticism has been collected. The main feature of this period has been the discussion of the theories of Westcott and Hort. The ready acceptance of their edition was not without its disadvantages. The absence of any critical apparatus in connection with the text prevented the forming of an independent judgment as to the readings. The more important passages, it is true, were fully discussed in the Appendix, which appeared in a second volume. But these discussions were not only highly technical, but assumed the correctness of the critical theories of the editors. These theories, while elaborately presented in the second volume, were stated in language too technical for the average reader. Indeed, Gregory, who supports Westcott and Hort, intimates that some of the explanations are not only obscure, but fail to present correctly Hort's real views. Thus embarrassed, the students, and

often the professor, failed to investigate. The authority of the editors took the place of the manuscript authorities. It may be added that the grouping of the readings upheld by Westcott and Hort involves a sifting of manuscript evidence that the ordinary student cannot apply for himself, even if he understands the theories of the editors.

Moreover, subsequent discussions have cast much doubt upon the correctness of these theories. The main contention is: that there are four classes of readings, which they name Neutral, Alexandrian, Western, and Syrian that no one manuscript presents exclusively the readings of each class, though B has the largest Neutral element; that the Syrian class is latest and decidedly inferior. The last point is now conceded almost universally, and disposes of the accuracy of the Received Text, which is distinctively Syrian. But "Western" is now generally regarded as a misnomer, while the existence of a "Neutral" Text is very doubtful. It is probably a somewhat purer form of the Alexandrian text. In consequence of the views stated above, Westcott and Hort give to B paramount authority, since they use it as a witness for all the groups they call pre-Syrian (Neutral, Alexandrian, Western). The effect of this reliance upon a single manuscript appears in those parts of their edition where this authority fails them. In nearly a score of instances (in these parts) they accept an "original corruption," implying that the true reading has been lost. As they depend too much upon B, Tischendorf quite naturally gives too great value to the readings of *Aleph*. (It may be noted in passing that the latter editor is too much disposed to accept "peculiar" readings in the Gospels, even when slightly supported.)

Weiss has accepted to a great extent the positions and results of Westcott and Hort. Gregory, while claiming to support their views, has adopted a new set of terms for the assumed forms of the text in the earlier centuries. The Stuttgart Greek Testament, edited by Nestle, presents a compromise (or resultant) text. The method adopted, that of accepting the reading preferred by a majority of selected editors, is not scientific, but the result is an excellent text. The British and Foreign Bible Society has chosen this as their standard, which will give it very wide circulation. Baljohn (Holland) has published a Greek Testament with a very full and accurate critical apparatus. The readings adopted

recognize the too great reliance of Tischendorf and of Westcott and Hort upon *Aleph* and B respectively.

The recently discovered Freer manuscript has critical interest, because it contains a hitherto unknown portion of the conclusion of the Gospel according to Mark. This fact serves to increase the evidence against the genuineness of that conclusion.

It has been impossible to refer to the mass of secondary witnesses, the ancient versions and patristic citations. But the labor spent upon these has been extensive and useful.

To sum up the results: the uncritical character of the Received Text has been abundantly proved; the superior value of *Aleph* and B is well-nigh universally recognized; a few readings are still open to discussion, but the more important ones are practically determined.

The chief problems that remain are: the origin and character of the Bezan manuscript designated D, the history of the so-called "Western" Text, and the relation of the early Syriac, discovered by Mrs. Lewis at Mt. Sinai, to the Peshitto as it now appears.

The indefatigable labors of the great critical editors have been abundantly rewarded. Only a false conservatism can prevent the churches from accepting the results.

NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS

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IN a certain sense the Reformation was based upon Exegesis. Its protest was against the conception which made the Church the interpreter of Scripture, as well as against the corruption which made it the perverter of morals. In place of this claim of the Church to impose the meaning of Scripture upon the individual, it asserted the right of the individual to decide the meaning of Scripture for himself. It was not the Church which should decide what Scripture should teach, but Scripture which was to determine what should be taught in the Church. Scripture was held to be its own interpreter; so that the determination of its meaning rested upon the individual under the guidance of the illumining power of the Spirit of God.

This idea tended naturally to two very opposite developments — one which should put the authority of Scripture in place of the authority of the Church; the other which should put the authority of reason in place of the authority of Scripture. Both of these developments issued, with the result, first of all, that the scholarly interpretation of Scripture, which had made the Bible of the Reformers a well-spring of truth and morals, degenerated into a scholastic and coldly formal process which turned it into an armory of controversial proof-texts, whose only object was the service of party creed; and, with the further result, that in protest against this fossilizing of the intellect, reason was constituted the test of revelation and the judge of the meaning of Scripture — a protest which was definitely formulated and reached its full power in the Rationalistic philosophy of the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The power of this Rationalism was broken by Kant, whose philosophy left reason impotent to be judge of Scripture, and set interpretation practically adrift without direction or control.

Into this confusion Schleiermacher and his followers came with a philosophy of feeling that for the time turned interpretation into a practical service of the religious life, though it was not able fully to stem the rationalistic tide. This tide rose to new power in the philosophy of Hegel, who reaffirmed the claim that Scripture was to be judged by reason, and whose rationalism formed the basis of such interpretation as was produced by the Tübingen School (1831).

This was the situation when Hartford Seminary was founded. Especially were these the conditions in respect of the New Testament, in which field the work of the Tübingen School was carried on. Its writings were studied from a purely naturalistic point of view; and while investigation of their origins rather than interpretation of their contents was the task to which these scholars devoted themselves, this task was accomplished with those negative results which always follow a naturalistic spirit of work.

At the same time, the method followed by this School contributed to interpretation a positive principle which has never since wholly lost its influence. In the preceding century Semler (1725-91) — followed later by Eichhorn († 1827) and Eckermann († 1836) — claimed that not only were the Apostles and Evangelists under the influence of the Judaism of their time, but that the New Testament writings could never be rightly interpreted save from the point of view of the surroundings in which they were written. As a consequence, the philosophy of Hegel, being distinctively a philosophy of history, this theory of Semler's came into a new prominence, and formed the characteristic feature of such expository work as they produced. That this idea of historical interpretation was real and lasting is evident from the fact that it survived the blow given by Ritschl to that conception of the history of the Apostolic times which was the basis on which the Tübingen interpretation was founded — a blow that destroyed once and for all the influence of that School in the critical world.

The new movement instituted by Ritschl has been as determinative in its influence as that of Baur. In fact, it has not simply given the color to interpretation since its day, but has created the spirit with which interpretation has been carried on, and has constituted it the kind of interpretation that it is. As

in the case of the Tübingen scholars, however, Ritschl did not conceive a new idea of interpretation, he simply reaffirmed an old one. The Tübingen exegetes formulated with a new definiteness Semler's claim that there could not be any right interpretation of the Biblical writings save on the historical basis of the surroundings in which they were written. Ritschl maintained this claim, but added to it the one that characterized Schleiermacher's position — that Scripture constitutes a spiritual message to the soul.

Naturally this claim of Schleiermacher had in a distinctive way already controlled the work of the Evangelical scholars who followed in his path.¹ In fact, they developed this idea of the spiritual character of Scripture to evangelical limits which Schleiermacher himself would not have accepted. Particularly is this true of Tholuck, who, though free as was Schleiermacher from any mechanical conception of inspiration, wrote not only in a deeply spiritual tone, but with a profound conviction of the divine authority of Scripture.

Schleiermacher's idea was also largely present with another group of exegetes, who while not so immediately under the influence of his spirit, carried out his method of the organic treatment of Scripture.²

¹ His spiritual idea of Scripture profoundly influenced such exegetes as Ols-hausen († 1839; *A Word on the Deeper Sense of Scripture*, trans., 1824; *The Biblical Exposition of Scripture*, 1825; *Commentary on the New Testament*, continued by Ebrard and Wiesinger, trans., 1847-49); Neander († 1850; *Life of Jesus*, trans., 1848; *Commentary on I John, Philippians, and James*, trans., 1859); Lücke († 1855; *Commentary on the Writings of John*, trans., 1837); Rückert († 1871; *Commentary on Galatians*, 1833; *Ephesians*, 1834; *Corinthians*, 1836-37; *Romans*, 1839); and Tholuck († 1877; *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, trans., 1836; *Romans*, trans., 1848; *Hebrews*, trans., 1852; *Sermon on the Mount*, trans., 1860).

² The better representatives of this group are Winer († 1858; *Exegetical Studies*, 1827; *Commentary on Galatians*, 1859); Bleek († 1859; *Commentary on Hebrews*, 1828-40; *Lectures on the Apocalypse*, 1862; *Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon*, 1865; *Synoptical Explanation of the First Three Gospels*, 1862); Meyer († 1873, contributing to the first edition of his *Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament* [trans., 1873 ff.] *Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon*); Beck († 1878; *Exposition of the Epistles to Timothy*, 1879; *Apocalypse*, 1883-84; *Romans*, 1884; *Ephesians*, 1891; *Peter*, 1896); Lange († 1884; contributing to his *Commentary on Holy Scripture* [N. T. portion trans., 1861-65] *Matthew, Mark, John, Romans, James, and Apocalypse*); Lechler († 1890; *Commentary on Acts*, in Lange, 1860); Ebrard († 1888; *Commentary on Hebrews*, 1850; *Apocalypse*, 1853; *The First Three Gospels*, trans., 1853; *Epistles of John*, 1859; *Gospel of John*, 1860); Beyschlag († 1900; *The Parables of Jesus*, trans., 1875; *Commentary on the Apoca-*

In the meanwhile, however, the Tübingen School had proclaimed its insistence upon the historical basis of criticism. It was inevitable that this emphasis, made as it was from a purely naturalistic point of view, should result on their part in an ignoring of Schleiermacher's spiritual conception of Scripture, and in an abandoning of it on the part of their opponents, for these opponents being forced to meet the Tübingen scholars on their own ground of historical method, while maintaining a supernaturalism over against their naturalism, found themselves driven from the warm spiritual emphases with which Evangelical interpretation had grown familiar to a colder handling of Scripture in which the historical element was the dominant feature.

It is not unlikely, therefore, that this in a measure accounts for the failure of the Evangelical group of Schleiermacher's followers (Tholuck, Neander, etc.) to continue the distinctive influence of their spirit in the other group which immediately followed them (Meyer, Lange, Weiss, etc.). Indeed it accounts in large measure for the fact that there were two groups instead of one, and enables us to understand how the most vigorous opposition to Tübingenism expressed itself in a group of scholars whose position was one of strict conservatism, rather than of informing spirituality. The one refuge of supernaturalism, when the spiritual element is withdrawn, is confessionalism. Consequently, as the spiritual emphasis of Schleiermacher and his closer followers came to be given up, the supernaturalism with which the naturalism of Tübingen was met became more traditional in its presentation.¹

lypse, trans., 1876; *James*, in Meyer, 1897); B. Weiss (*Commentary on Philip-
pians*, 1859; *Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Romans, Hebrews*, and *Epistles of
John*, in Meyer, 1893-1901; *The New Testament Text Critically Investigated,
with Exegetical Notes*, 1894-1900); and Heinrici (*Commentary on Corinthians*,
1880-87; *ib.* in Meyer, 1896-1900).

¹ This was the characteristic spirit of the school of Hengstenberg († 1869; *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, trans., 1851; *Gospel of John*, trans., 1865); Stier († 1862; *Commentary on Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude*, 1850; *Hebrews*, 1862; *Words of the Lord Jesus*, trans., 1869; *Apostles*, trans., 1869); and Keil († 1888; *Commentary on Matthew*, 1877; *Mark and Luke*, 1879; *John*, 1881; *Peter and Jude*, 1883; *Hebrews*, 1885), to whom may be considered as belonging more or less closely, according to their degree of conservatism, such exegetes as Philippi († 1882; *Commentary on Romans*, 1878; *Galatians*, 1884); Franz Delitzsch († 1890; *Commentary on Hebrews*, trans., 1868-70); Luthardt († 1902; *Commentary on John's Gospel*, 1852-53; *Apocalypse*, 1861; also in the first edition of Strack and Zöckler [1886-88] *John's Gospel and Acts* [with Zöckler, trans., 1878-79] and personally *John's Epistles and Romans*); Nösgen (*Com-
mentary on Acts*, 1882; *Matthew, Mark, and Luke* [in the first edition of Strack

From all this it is evident that the position of Ritschl was a most significant one. It not only maintained a historical basis for Exegesis, claimed by Tübingenism as essential to all Biblical interpretation, but it brought Exegesis back to the spiritual claims of Schleiermacher, and solved the problem under which interpretation had been confusedly laboring since that scholar's day by contending for what he had practically carried out in his work — the separation of the critical and religious elements in Biblical study. It is this idea which may safely be said to have controlled interpretation during the last half-century. Its influence has been felt conspicuously in two ways. It naturally emphasized that denial of all conception of mechanical inspiration which had been growing during the previous twenty-five years; and, in addition to this, it wrought for the abandonment of any objective authority of Scripture and the acceptance of a conception of the Church as a spiritual community whose religious consciousness interprets for itself the contents of Scripture.¹

On the Continent outside of Germany there has not been the development in the spirit and method of New Testament inter-

and Zöckler)); and Zöckler († 1906; editor with Strack of the *Concise Commentary on the Holy Writings of the Old and New Testaments*, to the first edition of which he contributed the Pastoral Epistles, Hebrews, and Apocalypse [with Riggenbach]; and John's Gospel and Acts [with Luthardt]. Occupying a position unaffiliated with either of the above lines of development, though strenuous in his hostility to Tübingenism was Ewald († 1875; *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 1828; *Exposition of the First Three Gospels*, 1850).

¹The exegesets who have most prominently given expression to this idea are H. J. Holtzmann, editor of the *Hand Commentary to the New Testament* (1889-91), to the first edition of which he contributed *Matthew, Mark, Luke, John's Gospel and Epistles, The Apocalypse and Acts*; Lipsius († 1892; *Commentary on Romans, Galatians, and Philippians*, in the first edition of Holtzmann, 1889-91); Schmiedel (*Commentary on Corinthians and Thessalonians*, in the first edition of Holtzmann, 1890); von Soden (*Commentary on Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, Pastorals, Hebrews, James, Peter, and Jude*, in the first edition of Holtzmann, 1891); Wendt (*Commentary on Acts*, in the last edition of Meyer, 1899); Kühl (*Commentary on Peter and Jude*, in the last edition of Meyer, 1897); Bornemann (*Commentary on Thessalonians*, in the last edition of Meyer, 1894); Bousset (*Commentary on the Apocalypse*, in the last edition of Meyer, 1896); B. Haupt (*Commentary on the First Epistle of John*, trans., 1879; the *Captivity Epistles of Paul*, in the last edition of Meyer, 1897); Klöpffer (*Commentary on II Corinthians*, 1869, 1874; *Colossians*, 1882; *II Thessalonians*, 1889; *Ephesians*, 1891; *Philippians*, 1893); B. Weiss (*Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (1902); also with J. Weiss, *Mark and Luke*, in the last edition of Meyer, 1892). More conservative in his critical viewpoint, but with the same conception of the separation of the critical and the spiritual elements in Exegesis, stands the scholar Zahn, editor of the newly begun *Commentary to the New Testament*, (1903 ff.), to which thus far he has contributed the interpretation of Matthew, the Gospel of John, and Galatians.

pretation which has taken place in Germany. In France and in Holland the only considerable work which has been accomplished has been along the older conservative lines — Godet in France († 1900; *Commentary on Luke*, trans., 1875; *John*, trans., 1879–80; *Romans*, trans., 1880; *I Corinthians*, trans., 1886) and van Oosterzee in Holland († 1882; *Commentary on Luke*, trans., 1863; *Pastorals*, and, with Lange in the latter's large work, *James*, 1858–62). In Great Britain and America the influence of Ritschl has only in the later years come in any way to be marked. It is the conservative tendencies which are represented by most scholars.¹

A freer attitude is seen in Stanley († 1881; *Commentary on Corinthians*, 1862) and Jowett († 1893; *Commentary on Galatians, Romans, and Thessalonians*, 1859). In the recent works, however, the newer method is more in evidence. Such are the *Expositor's Greek Testament* (1897 ff.) — a reworking of Alford's earlier work — edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, to which so far Bruce († 1899) has contributed the *Synoptic Gospels*; Dods († 1909), *John's Gospel*; Knowling, *Acts*; Denney, *Romans*; Findlay, *I Corinthians*; Bernard, *II Corinthians*; Rendall, *Galatians*; Salmond († 1906), *Ephesians*; Kennedy, *Philippians*; and Peake, *Colossians*; also such individual commentaries as *The Gospel of Mark* (1898), by Swete; *The Earliest Gospel* (1901), by Menzies; *The Epistle of James* (1897) and *The Epistles of Jude and II Peter* (1907), by Mayor; *Ephesians* (1903), by Robinson; and *Thessalonians* (1908), by Milligan. Notably is this true of the *International Critical Commentary*, edited by Briggs, Driver, and Plummer (1895 ff.), to the New Testament portion of which have already been contributed *Matthew*, by W. C. Allen; *Mark*, by Gould († 1892); *Luke*, by Plummer; *Romans*, by Sanday; *Philippians and Philemon*, by Vincent; *Ephesians and Colossians*, by T. K. Abbott;

¹ Such are Alford († 1871; *The Greek New Testament with Commentary*, 1849–61); Ellicott († 1905; *Commentary on Galatians*, 1854; *Ephesians*, 1855; *Pastorals*, 1856; *Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon*, 1857; *Thessalonians*, 1858; *I Corinthians*, 1887); J. B. Lightfoot († 1880; *Commentary on Galatians*, 1865; *Philippians*, 1868; *Colossians and Philemon*, 1875); Westcott († 1901; *Commentary on John's Epistles*, 1883; *Hebrews*, 1880; *John's Gospel*, 1892; *Ephesians*, 1906); Eadie († 1876; *Commentary on Colossians*, 1850; *Philippians*, 1859; *Ephesians*, 1861; *Galatians*, 1860; *Thessalonians*, 1877); Plumptre († 1891; *Commentary on Acts*, 1879; *Mark*, 1879; *II Corinthians*, 1883).

and *Peter and Jude*, by Bigg — the last quite conservative in its conclusions.

On the whole, the exegetical work in America has been more pronounced in its conservatism, while perhaps not so marked in its scholarship. Among its more prominent representatives are J. A. Alexander († 1860; *Commentary on Acts*, 1856; *Mark*, 1858; *Matthew*, 1860); C. Hodge († 1878; *Commentary on Romans*, 1835; *Ephesians*, 1856; *Corinthians*, 1857-59); Cowles († 1881; *Notes on the Old and New Testaments*, 1867-81); Broadus († 1895; *Commentary on Matthew*, 1886). At the same time, it has shown practical tendencies which as early as the beginning of this period placed it at the service of Sunday-school work in such popular series as those of Barnes († 1870; *Notes on the New Testament*, 1832-52), Jacobus († 1876; *Notes on the Gospels*, 1848-56; *Acts*, 1859), and later (since 1875) in such distinctively teachers' books as Peloubet's *Notes on the Sunday-School Lessons*, and for more general use such works as the *Commentary on the Old and New Testaments* (1874-86), by D. D. Whedon, and *Bible Work* (1887 ff.), by J. G. Butler. Even in such popular efforts the influence of newer and more scholarly methods has shown itself, as is evident in the series *The Bible for Home and School*, now in course of publication under the editorship of Shailer Mathews. The lead of America in this direction was followed later in Great Britain by such series as the *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students* (1879-85), edited by Marcus Dods († 1909) and Alexander White; *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* (1878-1901), edited by J. J. S. Perowne; and, for more advanced readers, by the same editor, *The Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges* (1881-91); also in the same popular line, but for a more general circle, *The Pulpit Commentary* (1880 ff.), edited by Canon Spence and J. S. Exell; the *Library Commentary* (1871), by Jameson, Faussett, and Brown; the *Commentary for English Readers* (1877-79), by Bishop Ellicott; the *Biblical Museum* (1871-81), by J. C. Gray; and of a much more scholarly character, *The Expositor's Bible* (1888 ff.), by W. Robertson Nicoll; *The Speaker's Commentary* (1871-82), by Canon Cook; and the much more concise but critical series now in publication, known as *The New Century Bible*, by W. F. Adeney.

From this review it is obvious that the two great principles

which have set forward Exegesis during these last seventy-five years are those of its historical basis and of the separation of its critical and religious elements. It may not be true that they have equally influenced it, since the latter came in some twenty-five years after the former was in power, and is only now being given general recognition; but, so long as their combined influence continues, they make impossible a return of interpretation to that method which has always been its greatest danger and, when in control, has always marked its death — the method of allegory, which supposes that the plain and simple statements of the Bible have behind them secret meanings which constitute its real message to the soul. This method has come into play not only when vital religion has degenerated into a sickly mysticism, but also when it has hardened into a formal confessionalism, whose ecclesiastical emphasis on the letter of the word seems to make needful for life a hidden sense behind it. In either condition all true interpretation ceases. Naturally such a method cannot obtain when the historical background of Exegesis is recognized, and when its critical and religious factors are separated and held apart.

That these two principles are likely to continue in their influence can hardly be questioned when we understand that behind them is the scientific spirit of our day, which not only calls for the facts which historical Exegesis produces, but insists upon the presence of evolution in that religious life which historically has found its expression in the Bible writings. Allegory stands small chance of regaining a hold on interpretation so long as Science controls the spirit in which it is carried on.

It would be foolish, however, to flatter ourselves that no dangers lie along the way of modern Exegesis. In fact, the great danger in Exegesis to-day comes from this very Science which seems so to control it for good. For it is obvious that the historical element in Exegesis can be made so dominant, and the separation between the religious and the critical elements can be made so vital, that the Bible will come to be treated not merely as literature, which it is and must always be recognized as being, but as literature whose spiritual message is nothing more than man's religious guess at the humanly unsolvable problems of the soul. Whether this danger will materialize into a real condition will depend upon the philosophy which furnishes the ultimate

conceptions on which interpretation rests. If it admits a supernatural element in the history and the experience of the race, the insistence on the historical method of Exegesis will never so separate between its religious and its critical elements as to reduce the Bible's message to a word which, however full of religious fervor it may be, is after all only human in its source and in its guiding power.

HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

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WHEN the founders of Hartford Seminary were counseling together over the beginnings of this School of their faith and love, there had begun in Germany a movement whose effect upon the Criticism of the New Testament was, at the time, well-nigh revolutionary, and whose influence upon it can never wholly be lost.

The Reformers came to the study of the Bible with all the warmth and freedom of their great conviction of a personal approach to God in the concerns of the soul. This Book was the well from which without hindrance each man drew for himself the water of life, and where he found by all the rights of private interpretation the will of God for his salvation. But as the polemics of their position developed, the principles of their appeal to Scripture brought them face to face with the danger of emphasizing its authority over its spiritual service; until, in the formalism which followed the vital enthusiasm of the Reformation, the Bible degenerated into a book of texts for proof, and the Rationalism that was born of this death began its work of criticism, which promised a destruction, not only of the Bible's authority, but even of that spiritual power which is supposed by some to remain when authority has disappeared.

The reaction of the mystic Rationalism of Schleiermacher and his followers had practically no effect in stemming the tide. A criticism based on feeling and uncertain of its historical facts could not be of influence against a criticism which challenged the facts and ignored the feeling. Criticism continued negative and without permanent value to the study of the Bible.

It was at this time (1832) that Baur published in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift* his article on the parties in the Corinthian Church which formulated the idea — first suggested by Semler more

than half a century before, and taken up by Paulus a quarter of a century after him — that the Pauline and the Petrine lines of thinking in the Apostolic Church represented an essential opposition. With his book on *Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe* (1835) and his comprehensive work on *Der Apostel Paulus* (1845) there was finally placed in full before the scholarly world the theory of the Tübingen School — that beneath the primary unity of the Apostolic Church lay inherent hostilities which finally issued in a disruption that was healed only in the irenic stage of the second century.

This constituted a great advance upon the desultory and unconstructive criticism which had obtained before that time. In the first place, instead of treating the difficulties of individual books here and there in the New Testament, it bound all its writings under a unity of critical investigation and, further and more significantly, it suggested an explanation for the difficulties of which Criticism had already been conscious, as well as for the deeper ones which were now brought to light, in the ecclesiastical situation of the second century. It is not surprising, therefore, that its theory dominated the critical thinking of the day. The facts that it furnished a unity of critical view by which the New Testament could be studied together as an organism, and then supplied the historical conditions which accounted for the differences its writings showed among themselves, satisfied the scholarly mind as nothing in the previous criticism had been able to do.

But the Tübingen criticism was founded upon the Hegelian philosophy, which held that all history must progress in a development which moves from a primary integrity through disintegration to a final unity. With the passing of this philosophy, the contention of Ritschl in the second edition of his *Altkatholische Kirche* (1857), that the Apostolic history disclosed no such deep-seated hostility as Baur had claimed, produced an effect upon critical thinking which all the protests aroused by Tübingenism had failed to do; and with this revolt of one who himself had been an adherent of this school its power was broken, never to be regained.

For the fifty years since this date the progress of New Testament Criticism has been, generally speaking, in the direction of reconnecting the New Testament writings with the life and

thought of the Early Church. This will be seen, if we give a brief review of the different fields in which this Criticism finds its activity.

I. THE HISTORICAL BOOKS. (1) *The Synoptic Gospels*. — Before Baur's day the Synoptic Problem — the problem of the literary interrelations of the Gospels — had been given wide and careful consideration, and the main theories which make up the history of this problem had already been formulated. With Baur, however, this problem receded necessarily into the background.

According to his view, the Gospels were writings so individualized by tendencies related to the ecclesiastical conditions in which they were written that the question of original sources and the interdependence of the writers in their use of them was lost sight of. As such individual writings, they represented the compromising tendencies of the second-century Church, and consequently fell wholly out of all first-hand relation to the Gospel history which they professed to record.

With the recovery of the Gospels to the first century the question of the primary character of their relation to these sources came again to the front. This question has received most careful and patient investigation, with the result that the scholarship of both continents is practically united in assigning to the Synoptic record two primary sources — a teaching source (designated as *Q*), represented by the discourses of Jesus so conspicuously present in Matthew and Luke, and a narrative source which is essentially our present Gospel of Mark and forms the narrative framework of both Matthew and Luke. In other words, of the three Synoptic Gospels Mark is primary, and has been used by Matthew and Luke as the main source of their narratives. In addition to Mark, both Matthew and Luke have used the source *Q*, made up mainly of the teachings of Jesus, together with other sources, oral or written, peculiar to themselves. There is still open to discussion the question of the interaction of these two primary factors — the teaching source and the narrative source — in the transmission of the Gospel tradition; but the main fact as to the sources themselves and the relation to them of our first three Gospels is assured.

(2) *The Fourth Gospel*. — At no point perhaps did the Tübingen School make so brilliant a showing as at its accounting

for the origin of the Fourth Gospel. The differences between this Gospel and the Synoptics had been recognized since the end of the eighteenth century as difficult of solution. To suggest that they were due to the fact that the Gospel was born of the controversies which the reunited Church of the second century waged against the Gnosticism and the Montanism which threatened its life, seemed to be final truth, and for the time practically swept the critical field. But the reaction from this extreme position gradually brought the Gospel back to the Apostolic age, and scholarship began to devote itself to debating the question of the historical credibility of its contents. This question centered itself naturally at the discourses of Jesus. Can the Jesus who spoke the plain parables of the Synoptics have delivered also the involved discourses of this Gospel? The answer to this question largely determines the Apostolic authorship of the Gospel; since, if the discourses can be understood as in substance coming from Jesus, the Gospel as a whole can be understood as coming from the Apostle John.

Up to the last decade the progress of the criticism of John, in Germany at least, had been toward a drawing together of the extreme radical and conservative positions. On the one hand, more allowance was given to the historical character of the narrative; on the other hand, there was recognized more clearly the presence of a subjective element in the reproduction of the discourses, and a common critical standing-ground seemed to be in sight for a specific discussion of the Gospel's authorship. But since the nineties, there has been a strong movement in the direction of a complete rejection of the historical character of the Gospel, together with an utter denial of its Apostolic origin. Signs of a reaction may be apparent in the judicial evidence presented by such a book as Drummond's *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* (1904), which maintains the Apostolic date and authorship of the writing, though conceding much to the unhistorical character of its narrative; but that the position has not returned to that of twenty years ago is evident from the radical claims of such a brilliantly written work as Scott's *The Fourth Gospel* (1906), which claims the book to be a wholly symbolic treatment of the Gospel history by an unknown writer of the second century.

(3) *The Book of Acts*. — The Tübingen School claimed that

Acts is historically untrustworthy — that it is the product of the Catholic Church of the second century, written with the irenic motive of so presenting Peter and Paul in their ideas and in their work as to show essential harmony between them — a harmony which, according to their view of the Church's history, did not actually exist.

With the disappearance of this view, however, there came to new significance the question of the historical value to be assigned to the Book, which necessarily gave new interest to the specific question of the sources which its writer had at his command.

This latter question has received a large amount of critical attention in the last twenty years. In fact, it has been over-worked into a multiplication and refinement of sources which even most liberal critics have been compelled to admit offer no solution to the question of the historicity of the record.

In this last year there has appeared from the pen of the historical scholar Harnack what is likely to prove the first step towards a general reaction from this hopeless confusion of ideas. His two books, *Luke the Physician* and *The Acts of the Apostles*, have subjected the Lukan writings to a thoroughgoing critical investigation, with the result that not only is Luke shown to be the writer of the canonical books ascribed to him, but the much disputed Acts is "as a whole a genuinely historical work," and "even in the majority of its details it is trustworthy." As a consequence, the outlook for the usefulness of this particular New Testament writing in furnishing a historical groundwork for the critical study of the Apostolic literature is most promising.

While it would seem from the foregoing facts that the progress of Criticism in the historical writings of the New Testament has been in the direction of a positive recovery of their credibility, we must not ignore certain facts which confront us clearly to-day. But a few years had elapsed after Baur launched his attack on the New Testament when it seemed as though the only outcome of his theory would be one of most hopeless negativism. Baur had said, the New Testament narrative writings are based on nothing more than a pure naturalism of history. The supernatural and the miraculous which they contain are wholly artificial. The logical inference from this, Strauss said (1835), is

that there is no history at all; for the arguments which in view of this literature lead to naturalism lead logically to fiction. Consequently, the so-called Gospel history which lay at the basis of Christianity is after all mere myth.

We are not free from similar suggestions to-day. With all the recovery of the Gospels to the Apostolic century, we face the questions not only whether the religious enthusiasm of the Early Church did not largely idealize the Jesus of the Gospels, but also whether the Jesus on whom the Christianity of the centuries has rested the convictions of its faith ever so existed as to justify that faith — whether the presentation of His character and His life, His consciousness of His relation to God and to man which the Gospels give, is not after all so historically unreliable as to leave the Christian faith in Him as the Son of God and the Saviour of the world with nothing of fact on which to stand. This is frankly where we are brought by such men as Schmiedel and Wellhausen, to say nothing of the hopeless negativism of Kalthoff and F. W. Newman.

But as the position of Strauss in his *Life of Christ* seventy years ago proved to be a by-product of Tübingenism rather than its final outcome, so is this skeptical attitude to the Gospels likely to prove in its relation to the scientific thought of our day. With all the shifting struggles of a restless radicalism, which seems just now to be conspicuously in evidence, it is coming to be recognized not only as an intellectual, but as a critical impossibility that the common faith of the Early Church could have had its origin in anything less than the actual consciousness of Jesus regarding Himself.

II. THE EPISTOLARY WRITINGS. (1) *The Pauline Epistles*. — The historical presuppositions with which the Tübingen School conditioned their criticism of the New Testament writings left but four of Paul's Epistles genuine, and these were the four which betrayed the struggle between the Pauline and Petrine parties in the Apostolic Church — First and Second Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans. In fact, these four Epistles and the Apocalypse were to this School the only genuine writings in the New Testament. These Epistles became thus not only the great witnesses to the Apostolic age, but practically the sole witnesses to the origin of Christianity; and while the historical fact of Christ was not denied, or even his technical

relation to Christianity as its founder questioned, he receded so into the background through the unhistorical value of the Gospel records that to all intents and purposes the character and the conception of the Christian religion gathered around Paul.

With the destruction of these presuppositions the Pauline Epistles came to their right to be interpreted in accordance with the claims of origin and authorship which they made for themselves, and to be accepted or rejected as they showed themselves to be or not to be consistent with their claims.

This has resulted in the reassignment to the Apostle of almost all his writings. Second Thessalonians is still doubted in some quarters because of its troublesome "Man of Sin" passage. Ephesians is still queried by many because of its close literary parallelism to Colossians and its fancied disclosure of a later Gnosticism; while the unquestioned difficulties in language, style, and statement displayed by the Pastoral Epistles render them still the most assailed of all his asserted writings. In the last few years, however, a saner judgment has shown itself in respect to these *antilegomena*. The study given to the Jewish background of the Gospel and Apostolic times has disclosed on the part of the Thessalonian passage quite as natural a relation to the current legends of the Antichrist as to anything in the apocalypics of the post-Pauline age; the investigations of the origins of Gnosticism have shown the peculiarly elemental, and consequently early, character of the errors combated in Ephesians, while its literary relation to Colossians has come to be recognized as natural in the circumstances of a synchronous writing to churches located in the same general region and subject thus to the same general disorders; finally, the problem of the Pastorals' relation to the developed thought and organization of the Church shows signs of being cleared up through the growing recognition in these letters of the primitive features which after all characterized the Apostolic age.

This progress towards recovery of the Pauline Epistles, however, has not been uninterrupted. As in the case of the Gospels, so with the Pauline Epistles there was a by-product of Tübingenism in the radical theory of Bruno Bauer (1850), who held that the argument which, on the Tübingen basis of an unhistorical record of the Church's history (Acts), led to a largely rejected

literature, really led to no literature at all. He consequently rejected the entire New Testament. But such radicalism was without influence, and accounts for the significant lack of reception given to the recrudescence of his ideas in what is known as the modern Dutch school of criticism, which ventures essentially to reaffirm his position (Loman, 1882-86; Pierson and Naber, 1886; van Manen, 1891). Certain less radical members of this school have applied to the Pauline writings the principles of composite authorship; and while the failure of the application may be said to be conspicuous, it has opened a line of investigation which has borne some fruit in a possible solving of one of the problems present in Second Corinthians, which by not a few scholars to-day is held to be composed of parts of two letters of Paul (Kennedy, *The Second and Third Epistles to the Corinthians*, 1900).

(2) *The Remaining Epistles*. — The Tübingen critics assigned all the remaining writings to the sub-Apostolic age with the exception of the Apocalypse. Later scholarship has reassigned practically all of them to the Apostolic century. The Second Epistle of Peter, of course, still finds it impossible to secure a place in the Canon. The fact of its exceedingly late appearance, together with its startling divergence from the First Epistle and its suspicious literary resemblance to Jude, are critical obstacles which to all save a few scholars still seem insurmountable. On the other hand, its companion Petrine letter and its parallel Epistle of Jude have gained largely in favor, not only as to date, but also as to authorship. The Epistles of John have shared the fortunes of the Fourth Gospel, though the authorship of the Second and Third letters is still involved in the general question of the existence and the literary activity of the "Presbyter." The intimate relation of Hebrews to the troubles which naturally would arise in the thought and life of the Apostolic Church is now quite generally recognized, though there is a strong tendency among scholars to view it after all as an academic address to Gentile readers; while the mystery of its authorship and destination seems still far from being unraveled. The Epistle of James has come to be placed by many among the early writings of the New Testament, by some among the later ones, and by most to be held as the product of the Brother of the Lord.

(3) *The Apocalypse*. — The criticism of the Apocalypse has been

somewhat varied. The Tübingen School accepted it as representative of the Jewish side of the Apostolic controversy and, as such, the work of the Apostle John. With the transference into New Testament Criticism of documentary methods and the newer study of apocalyptic literature, it came to be considered as a redacted work by an unknown writer, or writers, based upon early Jewish apocalypses, or derived from ancient Babylonian written and unwritten legend. While final conclusions have not been reached, it is to-day generally held to be a Jewish Christian work of the time of the Domitian persecutions (94-96 A.D.) by a single author, embodying in its material current apocalyptic writings which in their form may have been influenced more or less by Babylonian lore.

From the above review it is clear that the Criticism of these last seventy-five years has been characterized by an unmistakable progress toward reëstablishing the New Testament writings in vital contact with the life and thought of the Apostolic Church. This progress has not been wholly undisturbed; but the interruptions have come from unscientific applications of the principle of historical criticism that characterized the critical revolution with which the period began and that, in spite of the negative results which issued at the first, has been the determining influence in the recovery of this primitive literature of the Church.

In this article free use has been made of the New Testament section contributed by the writer to the composite article on "Exegesis" in the *New International Encyclopædia*.

HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST

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THE advance during the past seventy-five years in the treatment of the Life of Christ has perhaps been as great and significant as that made in any other department of theology. At the beginning of this period Strauss published his *Leben Jesu* (in 1835) and startled the Christian world from its mediæval slumbers. It is true that skepticism in philosophy, religion, and morals had for several decades disturbed and distressed the minds of earnest men and raised many questions concerning the foundations of the Christian faith. Hume had denied the credibility of miracles, Voltaire had scoffed at everything Christian, and Reimarus had pronounced Jesus a Jewish revolutionist and His disciples clever conspirators. Religion was at low ebb and the Rationalists were patrolling the coast. All miracle and mystery was challenged and the Creator was not permitted to rule over and regulate His own universe. The past as well as the present was under suspicion. Traditional Greek and Roman history were declared to rest on fraud and fiction, myth and legend. But everything now was to be explained in a "natural" way, and the mind of man was deemed adequate to the task. Theology even was viewed as a "natural" science, and Christian history a sequence of secular events. The Life of Christ also had come to be conceived in a "naturalistic" way, and the Gospel stories interpreted to the exclusion of the supernatural. Hess, Reinhard, and Herder in the latter decades of the eighteenth century had written works on the Life of Christ, which minimized the miraculous and found "natural" explanations for most of the Gospel incidents. Then Paulus in 1828 published his *Leben Jesu* as the basis of a pure or rational history of primitive Christianity. He assumed that in the Gospels we must look for nothing but actual facts, and that these facts were natural events, which had only taken on the appearance of being

supernatural through the errors of commentators or the defective apprehension and judgment of the narrators. In the execution of the task before him, Paulus reduced the Biblical narratives to commonplace stories, with little or no religious, or even moral, significance. This "natural" interpretation of Jesus' life-work proved it hardly worth the doing, and indeed almost trivial, though He was not lacking in cleverness. Paulus's attitude, however, was not wholly appreciated, since men like Schleiermacher adopted the principles of "natural" interpretation under modified forms. For example, when it came to the story of the resurrection, Schleiermacher could find no better explanation than that Jesus had not really died, but only swooned, and later came to life again. Hase had likewise in his *Leben Jesu* (1829) reduced the miraculous to the vanishing point, though he sought to preserve, as did Schleiermacher, the spiritual and moral import of the Gospel history. This was accomplished by making the Gospel of John, with its relatively few concrete miracles, the reliable, authenticated source of information for the earthly career of Christ.

But Strauss put an end to this form of "natural explanation" of the Gospel events, yet he, at the same time, created a far greater crisis in Christendom. Strauss assumed that the Gospel stories are in warp and woof mythical and legendary. "The simple historical structure of the life of Jesus," he declared, "was hung with the most varied and suggestive tapestry of devout reflections and fancies, all the ideas entertained by primitive Christianity relative to its lost Master being transformed into facts and woven into the course of his life-history." In this criticism of the Gospel history there was the cold indifference of fate, weighing as in a balance the Christ of Christendom and pronouncing Him a man of earthly mold, adorned in the garb of myth and legend. The effect of the publication of Strauss's work was tremendous, throwing both the theological and lay world into a panic of fear and horror. The author had not anticipated this and could not really understand the reasons for it. He had set out, as Pfeleiderer maintains, under the impulse of the Hegelian philosophy, to expound the essence of the Christian faith by proving it to consist in the logical consciousness of the man Jesus' metaphysical relation to the Absolute. Of course, Strauss shared the Rationalists' settled dis-

belief in the possibility of miracles. But his manner of getting rid of them seemed to devout believers a direct attack upon both the person and the work of Christ, and this they hotly resented. Strauss had discredited, and seemingly well-nigh destroyed, the primary sources from which the Church derived its knowledge of the Life of Christ. Tholuck, Neander, Ullmann, Ebrard, Lange, and others sprang to the defense of the Gospel history and sought to re portray the historic Christ and prove Him to have been the veritable, supernatural Son of God. It is true that they each and all made concessions to Strauss's strictures upon the recorded miracles, and oftentimes fell back upon "natural explanations" of reputed supernatural events. But Strauss's opponents showed a far deeper insight into the ministry and character of Christ than had the author of the *Leben Jesu*, and yet they were conscious of not having completely repelled his attack. The old security had gone and the new foundations were not yet rendered firm and stable.

But the phase of things changed suddenly. The mythical theory was displaced by a sounder criticism of the Gospels and a new theory of the origin and development of the Christian religion. Strauss's work had been negative and destructive; Baur's was positive and constructive. Once more Hegel's philosophy was adopted as the guiding principle, and made to explain the rise of Christianity and the progress of events in the early centuries. But Baur went deeper than Strauss and attempted to account for the origin and peculiar characteristics of each separate New Testament document. He soon saw that the four great Epistles of Paul are the best authenticated portions of this primitive literature and furnish an indestructible source and witness for the history of the times. Here was a great and permanent advance. Paul's Epistles presuppose the Jesus of the Gospels and bear testimony to His unique character. But Baur's defect was in overworking his philosophical principle and construing the early Christian history as a clash of rival parties out of which ultimately came a compromise. This "tendence theory," when used to explain the origin of the Gospels, charged their authors with more or less of conscious distortion of the facts concerning the Life of Christ, and thereby cast discredit upon the New Testament Scriptures. This was resented by conservative theologians, and the later editions of Neander's,

Lange's, and other "orthodox" Lives of Christ took account of Baur's criticism of the Gospels, and sought to defend them from it. New champions of the old faith also arose, as well as defenders of the Baur hypothesis. Ritschl in the second edition of his *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* (1857) ventured to renounce Baur's fundamental principle of rival parties and to propose a new theory of the origin of Christianity.

Ritschl maintained that in the person of Jesus and the faith of the first Apostles we have the common starting-point of the various subsequent parties. And Paul was also in agreement on fundamental points, though he had a broader outlook upon the gentile world and a fuller appreciation of the universalism in Jesus' teaching. "Catholic Christianity" was a distinct stage of religious thought within the sphere of gentile Christianity. It did not depend wholly upon the authority of Paul, but rested also upon the Old Testament, the teaching of Christ, and the authority of all the Apostles. Ritschl accordingly assumed that the fountain of the Christian faith was essentially pure, which marks his divergence from both Strauss and Baur. But he also assumed that the Old Catholic Church was formed and fashioned under the influence of Hellenism and the environing pagan religions, and was a distinct departure from and perversion of primitive Christianity. And the person of Jesus suffered through this transformation; or, rather, He was improperly credited with preëxistence and exalted to the plane of Deity. Ritschl, of course, discounted, or rather disregarded, the Fourth Gospel and rejected the later Pauline epistles. Jesus was reduced to the stature of a prophet, though He has the "value" of incarnate Deity to the religious soul. Primitive Christianity drew its inspiration from Jesus' teaching concerning the Kingdom of God, rather than from faith in the Son of God, who is one with the Father and partakes of the Divine essence. Once more the Jesus of history is shorn of His supernatural character. But this is accomplished without imputing sinister motives to Him or His first followers. The corruption of the Christian faith came from environing Hellenism and paganism.

Renan published his *Vie de Jésus* in 1863 and produced a sensation almost equal to that created by Strauss a generation earlier. The Frenchman was primarily a poet, with a vivid imagination that could paint Oriental scenery and life in fasci-

nating colors and with startling verisimilitude. The figure of Jesus which Renan portrays is winsome, but lacks moral grandeur and rises little above the plane of the religious enthusiast who is finally disillusioned by the stern course of events. Myth and legend are again at work and our Gospels made to present us with an idealized portrait of a Galilean peasant, whom the fond hopes and devoted love of His countrymen and disciples raised to divine rank and made the founder of a beautiful, though largely romantic, religion. Renan's characters are human beings of flesh and blood, and they walk along real highways, over actual hills, under veritable skies, wearing the garb and speaking the language of Palestine. But his Jesus is too weak and wavering to have changed the whole course of history and "lifted empires off their hinges." Renan's *Life of Jesus* was followed the next year by Strauss's *Life of Jesus* for the German people, in which the author sought to avoid some of the objections which had been raised against his first work. No adequate account, however, is given of the origin of the Gospels or of the Christian faith; nor is the assumption that these are founded on myth and legend at all proven. Schenkel's *Characterbild Jesu* appeared in 1864 and marks an advance, though his treatment of the subject aroused violent opposition in Germany. Schenkel maintained the priority of Mark's Gospel and admitted the general trustworthiness of the Synoptists. The Fourth Gospel was rejected as pseudonymous and unreliable. The character of Jesus was drawn as a composite portrait from the Synoptic Gospels, but He was exhibited as more like a modern idealist and reformer than the Christ of history. Another and greater book was published a few years later by Keim, entitled *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara* (1864-72). This large three-volume work was the most thoroughgoing treatment of the subject that had yet appeared, though it has grave defects. The author assumed the priority of Matthew, and treats Mark's Gospel as an abridgment of the First and Third Gospels and without original character. He also rejected the Fourth Gospel as actual history, though recognizing its religious import. Keim's whole treatment is far saner and more sympathetic than that of his predecessors, and he touched many of the deepest problems connected with the subject. Yet much work needed to be done before his results could be either confirmed or refuted.

Renan and the whole eclectic school provoked a storm of protest in all lands. Conservative theologians wrote Lives of Christ which were at the same time replies to the attacks of the skeptics, rationalists, and eclectics. Such were Luthardt, Beyschlag, and Weiss in Germany, de Pressensé in France, and Ellicott, Seeley, Geikie, Fairbairn, Farrar, Edersheim, Stalker, and others in England. These all sought to defend the Life of Christ and to construct it out of the Gospel sources, assuming the latter to be essentially genuine and trustworthy. But many concessions were made to the critics and a saner exegesis began to prevail. It is manifest that the treatment of the Life of Christ was being conditioned and greatly modified by the general advance made in Biblical and historical studies. De Wette, Bleek, Reuss, Holtzmann, and others had been developing the science of New Testament Introduction; Bleek, Meyer, Godet, Weiss, Alford, Ellicott, and others introduced a sounder exegesis based upon a broader knowledge of the history, language, and literature of the epoch in question; Neander, Ewald, Weitzsäcker, Hausrath, Lechler, de Pressensé, Schürer, Wellhausen, and others concentrated attention upon the New Testament Times and made that study a special branch of historical research. Robinson, Tobler, Guérin, and others made the Bible lands more real and the Life of Christ more conceivable; while Harvey, Wieseler, Caspari, Andrews, and others cleared up many questions in chronology. The science of Biblical Theology was soon added, and "Paulinism" was treated as a particular phase of Apostolic history. Each and all of these new "sciences" or departments of research reacted powerfully upon the treatment of the Life of Christ. The doctrine of evolution had in the meantime come in to pervade and dominate the treatment of all historic themes. The question of the possibility of miracles was raised once again, and the tendency to get rid of those described in the Gospels received a new impulse. Compendious Lives of Christ continued to be written in the eighties and nineties, but marked attention was given to particular questions and problems connected with the subject.

With the turn of the century the whole question entered upon a new phase and course of development. First of all the problem of the sources was now recognized as absolutely primary. How are the first three Gospels interrelated? What was the point of

view and the purpose of the author of the Gospel of Mark? Of Matthew? Of Luke? What is the solution of the Johanne problem and the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Life of Christ? What was the relation of Paul to the historic Christ, and what is the value of the testimony of the "first interpreters"? Then there has arisen the question of languages and the relation of Aramaic and Greek in New Testament Times. Later still the finding of numerous first and second century Greek inscriptions, ostraca, and papyri has thrown the whole linguistic problem into the melting-pot and raised new difficulties for the historian of the epoch. But a greater crisis has come through the discovery of the prevalence of apocalyptic ideas in the Jewish thought of the times, and the fact that these beliefs influenced the New Testament authors and may have given direction to Jesus' teaching and course of life. To what extent was He a child of His times in respect of these things? In connection with this has arisen the question of Jesus' self-consciousness and His personal beliefs and attitudes. Did He claim to be the Messiah, and, if so, what kind of a Messiah? What kind of a Kingdom did He proclaim and how did He relate Himself to that Kingdom? Did He foresee and foretell His own death and resurrection? What was His affirmed relation to God, and was He "without sin"? Did He establish a Church and sanction the rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper? Did He really rise from the tomb and appear to His disciples and send them forth to evangelize the world? Was He begotten of the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary? These and many other similar questions are waiting to be more fully answered, and the reconstruction of the Life of Christ must therefore now proceed slowly.

However, there is no cessation of activity, and the output of "Lives" was never so great as during the past decade. These have mostly been brief in compass, and interpretative in character. On the one hand, we have such works as Réville's *Jésus de Nazareth*, Schmiedel's "Gospels" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Schmidt's *Prophet of Nazareth*, Bousset's *Jesus*, Neumann's *Jesus*, and Weinel's *Jesus*, and many more, where the sources have been trimmed down to the minimum and the life and character of Jesus interpreted in a correspondingly contracted way. The supernatural element is practically eliminated and Jesus reduced to the stature of a man. On the other hand, we have

such "Lives" as Andrews's, Gilbert's, Rhees's, Sanday's (in *Hastings's Dictionary*), Bruce's (in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*), Denny's (in the *Standard Bible Dictionary*), and many others, maintaining the essential trustworthiness of the Gospel sources and portraying Jesus as the unique Son of God. And, finally, there are innumerable works and treatises dealing with some phase or phases of Jesus' life, or seeking to interpret Him to the religious consciousness of the age. Recent works by Johannes Weiss, Wrede, Schweitzer, and Sanday are significant. But many of the writers of these monographs seem to forget that in summing up historical facts two and two oftentimes make more than four. Jesus was greater by far than the sum of all His words and deeds. And He will loom up yet and ere long as the transcendent Son of Man and the radiant Son of God.

HISTORY OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

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THE study of New Testament Times as a distinct discipline falls almost entirely within the period covered by these anniversary papers, and, like so many other branches of Biblical study, owes its origin to the critical and historical revival at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In this paper I am asked to note the main lines of advance in the science during the last seventy-five years. These are mainly four.

I. Determination of the scope and proper limits of the subject. The first separate treatment of the subject is found in the lectures of the Bonn Professor, M. Schneckenberger, on *The History of New Testament Times*, edited posthumously by Th. Löblein, and published in 1862. As outlined in these lectures the subject includes not only the study of conditions among the Jewish people, internal and external, in the age of Jesus, but also general religious conditions in the Roman Empire at the time. On the other hand, in the larger work of Hausrath, bearing the same title, published in 1873-77, the history of New Testament Times is made to include also the history of the early Christian Church, material which is now commonly treated separately as the History of Christianity in Apostolic Times. The first edition of Schürer's great work bore the same title as Schneckenberger's lectures and Hausrath's treatise. This was subsequently rejected, because of its indefiniteness and verbal inaccuracy. As finally outlined by Schürer, the subject is limited to the study of the Jewish people in the age of Christ, including an outline of the history of the period, and a survey of social and religious conditions. This outline is followed by most modern scholars, notably by Buhl and Mathews.

II. During the period under discussion there has been rapid increase in historical data available for the study.

Practically the only sources, outside the classical authors used by the earlier writers, were the Old and New Testaments; some of the Apocryphal Books, especially I and II Maccabees; and the writings of Josephus. These have all been subjected to thorough critical study, with the result that in some instances the value of a given source has been lessened — notably in the case of II Maccabees, and some parts of Josephus. On the other hand, much material in the Old Testament, formerly assigned to an early date, is now available for the study of the Maccabean and Greek periods of Jewish history — notably portions of the Book of Isaiah, some of the Psalms, some of the later Prophets, and the Book of Daniel.

From a variety of new sources increased light has come. New surveys and the location by geographical study of many ancient sites and cities have cleared up many important points in contemporaneous Jewish history, and often thrown direct light upon the New Testament narrative. The two monumental books by George Adam Smith, his *Historical Geography* and his *Jerusalem*, are indispensable aids in understanding Jesus and His times. Of importance also for the history have been the discovery and collection of numerous coins of the period. These have enabled us to fix many dates and have also thrown light upon questions affecting the relation of foreign rulers to the Jews and Jewish life.

Our knowledge of New Testament Times has been enlarged also through extensive archæological investigations carried on during the last half century. Contributions have come, too, from the study of language and of language conditions in Palestine, and from the study of many new inscriptions — notably Jewish tomb inscriptions found at various points in the Roman Empire. Recent finds of papyri in Egypt confirm the existence of important Jewish synagogues in Egypt in the first century B.C., and indicate a close connection with Jewish life in the land. Some of these more recent results are summarized by Schürer in the new (fourth) edition of part of his history (see especially the Preface).

To sum up general results in this field: legendary and interpolated elements have been eliminated from the sources by criticism; important details in the history have been supplied by archæology; the extent of foreign influence upon Jewish

life, and the close relation between Jewish life in the land and outside the land have been indicated by coins and inscriptions. In all these directions there is prospect of new and even more important contributions to our subject.

III. During the last seventy-five years our knowledge of internal social conditions among the Jews has grown much more exact. Here the archæological investigations referred to above have shown some of their most important results. The collecting and study by Mionnet, de Saulcy, and notably by Madden, in his *Coins of the Jews*, of numerous contemporary coins belonging to the land and to adjacent cities; work on inscriptions from the same region by Waddington, Clermont-Ganneau, and others; and more recently, explorations among the cities east of the Jordan by Conder, Schumacher, and others — all have tended to emphasize the strongly Hellenistic character of the civilization which pressed in upon the land from every side. The extent to which these influences penetrated Jewish life and thought has been in part shown by careful study of the Greek elements in the Jewish language in New Testament times by Schürer, Meyer, and others, a careful summary of which has been given by Th. Zahn in the second chapter of his *New Testament Introduction*.

Within the region that remained more or less distinctly Jewish research has established important differences. Galilee has grown more and more distinct from Judæa, which enables us to understand many things in the ministry, and even the character, of Jesus, which otherwise must have remained inexplicable, or at least, obscure. Notable advance has been made also in the last fifty years in the study of the Jewish parties, so frequently mentioned in the New Testament and elsewhere. The origin and growth of Pharisaism has been carefully traced by a number of distinguished scholars, notably by Geiger, Cohen, and Bertholet.

The relation of the Pharisees to the Sadducaic party has likewise been made the subject of careful investigation. Here special mention must be made of the work done in this field by the distinguished scholar and critic, J. Wellhausen. Nowhere has his work been more brilliant than here. His comparatively short monograph on *The Pharisees and Sadducees*, published in 1874, like so many other of his works, has proved epoch-

making. The conclusion there reached and restated without essential modification in the last edition of his *Israelitish and Jewish History*, that the distinction between these parties is to be found in their respective *tendencies*, rather than in their separate *tenets*, is made the point of departure in nearly all subsequent studies. Of late, also, much attention has been devoted to the study of Essenism, because of its possible influence upon Jesus Himself and some of the Gospels. The thoroughly Jewish character of the sect may be regarded as established. At the same time, the influence of foreign ideas upon the sect is generally admitted, although it remains to be finally determined whether this influence was predominatingly Parsee, or Pythagorean, or both.

The general result in investigations in all these fields may be briefly stated in Wellhausen's own words: "The limits of Judaism must not be too narrowly conceived. Notwithstanding the strictness of the Pharisaic spirit, a great number and variety of influences continued to be exerted upon it from without."

IV. The most notable advance is shown in the clearer idea which we have to-day of the development of religious conceptions, presupposed and utilized in the New Testament.

This is a comparatively new field, developed largely under the influence of modern evolutionary conceptions. For the first time, within a generation, as a result of much critical investigation, the mass of religious literature belonging to the period has been put in chronological order, and so made available for the study of religious development. Not only have comparative dates been ascertained, but in many instances the particular source of a given work has been determined, so that it is possible to distinguish the various currents of thought which intermingled in the time of Christ.

A strong reflex light has been thrown upon contemporary religious ideas by the systematic study of the development of Rabbinic thought by Wünsche, Weber, and notably by Dalman in his *Sayings of Jesus*. As a result of these various lines of investigation we have to-day what may properly be called a Theology of Later Judaism, distinct alike from the Theology of the Old and of the New Testament, but intimately connected with both, a knowledge of which is indispensable for the ade-

quate interpretation of the life and thought of Jesus and his immediate followers.

Particularly fruitful for this purpose are recent investigations in the field of Apocalyptic and Messianic literature. Here, also, much of the material is of comparatively recent origin. The Ethiopic *Book of Enoch*, first translated from the Ethiopic in 1821 by Lawrence, — carefully reëdited in 1893 by another English scholar, R. H. Charles, in the light of newly discovered Greek and Latin fragments, — is known to have exerted a powerful influence upon the formation of Jewish religious conceptions prior to and during the time of Christ, and even affected the terminology of the New Testament.

Of scarcely less importance is the *Book of Jubilees*, likewise brought to light and edited during our period. Mention must be made also of the *Assumptio Mosis*, discovered in a Latin fragment in 1861, and of the *Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the older and very important Jewish portions of which have in recent years been critically distinguished from the later interpolated portions.

Largely on the basis of this and of other new material, there has developed a voluminous and constantly increasing literature, dealing with the specific relations of these older writings to the Apocalyptic and Messianic ideas current in the Gospels and other New Testament writings. There is space here to mention only the most important of these works.

The general course of the development of the Apocalyptic idea is suggestively outlined, especially for the early part of the period, by Canon Cheyne, in his lectures on *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, while the consummation of the movement in the Gospel is brilliantly portrayed by Wellhausen in the last chapter of his *History*.

Of recent contributors to the distinctly Messianic side of the question, mention may be made of Baldensperger's suggestive monograph on the *Self-Consciousness of Jesus in the Light of the Messianic Hopes of his Time*; and of the important summary at the beginning of Shailer Mathews' *Messianic Hope in the New Testament*.

Finally, on the distinctly eschatological side, R. H. Charles, who may be considered a pioneer in the field of Apocalyptic and Messianic literature, has discussed the relation of New

Testament eschatology to the eschatology of later Judaism with great learning and remarkable clearness in the *Jowett Lectures* for 1898-99.

Such is a brief outline sketch of growth and extension in the study of New Testament Times up to our own decade. Enough has been said to make it apparent that no branch of Biblical study has before it a larger field or a more hopeful future. In a sense it commands the whole range of Biblical learning. It is able to avail itself at once of all established critical results. It must follow the investigations of archaeologists with the utmost care. New literary finds must be examined with a view to the possible bearing which they may have upon the thought of the age in which Jesus lived.

No task is more delicate, at the same time no work is more important, than the reconstruction, from material gathered out of all these many fields, of the world in which Jesus lived, out of which his Gospel was formed. Nor is the practical value of studies in this field to be ignored, for the accurate and vivid presentation of Jesus in relation to his own times is the first requisite for the proper presentation of his personality and message in the present age.

THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT¹

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WHEN we pass from Old Testament to New Testament Theology, we are compelled to note the differences as well as the similarities that exist between these two closely related parts of the same general science of Biblical Theology. In New Testament Theology it remains true that we are dealing mainly with a historical problem, but it is a problem different in several very important respects from that of the Old Testament religion. In the Old Testament we are concerned with the religion of a people, in the New Testament with a religious movement that originated within this people, within their religion, and rapidly developed into an independent Church, not perfectly united, including various types of theological opinion, and yet having as its distinctive and unifying doctrine the belief in Jesus as the Messiah. The length of this period — from the beginning of Jesus' public ministry to the last book of the New Testament — was probably considerably less than one hundred years. This was a period in which changes took place very rapidly. While in the Old Testament we have to deal with progress from century to century, in the New Testament we are concerned with decades. There is an intensity and an enthusiasm, a rapidity, a polemic, characteristic of the New Testament period, which is largely foreign to the Old Testament. The literary problems which call for solution in the New Testament are even more complex than those in the Old Testament. The thought-environment in the midst of which the New Testament movement took place was peculiarly complex. The theology of Judaism and the common beliefs and hopes of the Jewish people were conditioning factors. In the presence of, in the midst of, and also even in opposition to these, Jesus set forth His Gospel (with its em-

¹ See the earlier article by the same author on Biblical Theology and Old Testament Theology, p. 69.

phasis on Himself) and accomplished His ministry. But the Christian Church soon found itself in a new and different environment — that of the larger Græco-Roman world outside of Palestine — and this brought with it new problems, new influences, and led to new developments.

Briefly speaking, the problem of New Testament Theology is a threefold one: (*a*) what Jesus really taught, inclusive of His emphasis on Himself; (*b*) the actual beliefs or doctrines of the primitive Apostolic Church; and (*c*) the teachings of Paul. For its satisfactory solution the problem demands not only an accurate presentation of each one of these separate factors, but also a correct statement of how they were connected or inter-related in the complex development of the Apostolic Church.

Of these three factors, the one least involved in complicated questions of literary criticism is the third — the teachings of Paul. It is comparatively easy to ascertain what Paul thought, and also comparatively easy to discover to what extent there was a development in his own conceptions of Christianity. But the gain here is more than offset by the difficulty experienced in attempting to ascertain just how Paul's doctrine was related to what Jesus actually taught and to what the primitive Jewish-Christian Church had formulated as the essential points in Christianity.

To answer these questions at once involves New Testament Theology in the complicated problems of the literary criticism of the Gospels and Acts on the one hand; and, on the other, in the larger problem of the history of the Apostolic Age.

For New Testament Theology the results of the literary criticism of the Gospels are of vital importance. These enable us to ascertain what parts of the material in the Gospels represent substantially what Jesus taught. This being given, we are in a position to consider the significance of Jesus' teaching and claims in their relation to current Jewish opinion and to ideas found in the earlier Old Testament and Apocalyptic literature.

In this way we seek to arrive at the real significance of Jesus' teaching (and person) as the foundation of New Testament Theology. A foundation being thus secured, it then becomes necessary to correlate the doctrinal development of the primitive Jewish-Christian Church with the teachings of Jesus as their starting-point, on the one hand, and on the other with

the later parallel (and, in part, conflicting) development of the Pauline or Gentile-Christian type of doctrine. Essentially the same task is involved in dealing with Paul's teaching and work. Finally, it is necessary properly to correlate with these main factors of the New Testament age, those other more subordinate types represented in the post-Pauline material of the New Testament (in the Gospels, what belongs to the evangelists themselves or to their own immediate environment; in Acts, what belongs to Luke himself or to the type of Christianity represented by him; and the type of doctrine exhibited in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the late Catholic Epistles, and in the Apocalypse).

In passing now to consider briefly what has been done during the past seventy-five years in this important field of Biblical study it is necessary to realize that a large share of the work has not been specifically labeled New Testament Theology. Various *Lives of Christ* or of Paul, the numerous works on the Apostolic Age (*Zeitalter*) or on the New Testament Times, works devoted to the exposition of the Jewish theological ideas of the New Testament era, and treatises on specific theological themes, such as the Atonement or Christology, as well as those devoted to some particular phase of New Testament doctrine, have all made valuable contributions to New Testament Theology. This is particularly true of the histories of the Apostolic Age. Here we must be content with a brief mention of those works which have contributed most to an understanding of the real nature of our science and have been most influential in determining its true method.

In 1832, four years before the date of Vatke's *Biblische Theologie* (of which the New Testament part never appeared), A. Neander published his great work, *Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christ. Kirche durch die Apostel* (5th ed., 1862, Eng. trans., 1865). In this work different types of doctrine were recognized as set forth in the New Testament, and the reason assigned for them was the differences between the leading Apostles in respect to their individual points of view, temperaments, abilities, etc. While there was thus a just (and at that time much needed) emphasis on the part played in the development of Apostolic Christianity by forceful individuals, many other important factors in the situation were overlooked.

Still, Neander's work was of immense influence in fixing attention upon the vital character of New Testament teaching, and in checking the tendency to explain everything as due to general historical conditions.

The emphasis was soon shifted, by the writers of the Tübingen school founded by F. C. Baur, from the individuals (Peter James, Paul, John, etc.), who took a leading part in the New Testament movement, to the various progressive stages in its development. According to this school, the doctrinal development which lay behind our New Testament literature followed the correct Hegelian programme. Beginning with the teaching of Jesus (as seen in Matthew), there was next developed a Jewish type of Christianity (that of the primitive Apostles), to which as its antithesis the doctrines of Paul (as seen in Galatians, Romans, I and II Corinthians) and of the Apocalypse were distinctly opposed. Finally, a reconciliation (synthesis) was brought about, at first less thoroughly (as seen in Hebrews, Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, James, I Peter, the Synoptics), and later more thoroughly (as seen in the Pastorals and John (Gospel and Epistles)). Whatever else may be said of the Tübingen view, which was first set forth in completeness by A. Schwegler (*Das nachapostolische Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung*, 1846), and later by Baur himself and others, the discussions to which it gave rise led to a most profound and searching investigation of the New Testament literature. Baur's own lectures on New Testament Theology were not published until 1864, after his death. Independently of Baur, essentially the same scheme of the development of New Testament Theology had been advocated by E. Reuss in his *Histoire de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, 1852. Other able works representing the same point of view were those of A. Hilgenfeld, *Das Urchristenthum*, 1854, and of Carl Holsten, *Das Evangelium des Paulus und Petrus* (1868), which was later followed by his *Das Evangelium des Paulus* (1880). The *Theologie des N. T.* of Immer (1877) was also based on the Tübingen hypothesis.

In 1857 A. Ritschl, hitherto a follower of Baur, in his famous work *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* (2d ed.), pointed out the serious defects of the Tübingen position and became the leader of a new departure in theological study.

Wendt's *Die Lehre Jesu* (1886-90, Eng. trans.) and Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christenthums* (1900, Eng. trans. with title *What is Christianity?*) are noteworthy examples of typical contributions of the Ritschlian school to New Testament Theology.

Independently of adherence to any "school," standard general works on the Theology of the New Testament have been written by B. Weiss, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 6th ed., 1895, Eng. trans., 1898; by W. Beyschlag, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, 2d ed., 1896, Eng. trans., 1899; and by H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, 1897. Weiss marks out five main phases in the development of New Testament doctrine: (1) the teaching of Jesus according to the oldest tradition; (2) the Primitive-Apostolic *Lehrtröpus*, before Paul; (3) Paulinism (subdivided into four successive stages of formulation); (4) the Primitive-Apostolic *Lehrtröpus*, after Paul; (5) the Johannine Theology. Weiss's work is marked by great ability, and by marvelous exegetical skill, but is somewhat faulty in its method of presentation, being too formal and statistical, while the *living* character of the movement is lost sight of.

Beyschlag attempted to do what Weiss failed to accomplish, and has given us a very interesting, readable treatise, full of warm appreciation of the spiritual and ethical teachings of the New Testament. Beyschlag's subdivisions of the subject are essentially those of Weiss.

In Holtzmann's large work we have the ablest and, in so far as method is concerned, by far the most scientific presentation of the whole subject of New Testament Theology yet published. The first main division treats of *Jesus und die Evangelisten*, in which is considered: first, The religious and ethical *Gedankenwelt* of contemporary Judaism; second, The message of Jesus; and third, The theological problem of primitive Christianity. Here the author tries to do justice to this complicated and exceedingly difficult element of the development of Christianity in the Apostolic Age. The second main division treats of *Paulus und die nachapostolische Literatur* under three headings: first, Paulinism; second, Deutero-Paulinism; and third, The Johannine Theology.

Holtzmann's method is more severely critical than is that of Weiss or Beyschlag. His tendency is too strongly toward a

late dating of much of the New Testament literature, and he fails to do full justice to the deeper spiritual elements of his problem. Nevertheless, his work is the most masterly treatment of the subject yet written.

At the present time, the conditions prevailing in the field of New Testament Theology appear to be but one step removed from chaos. To say nothing of the ever new problem of the Fourth Gospel and its reliability as a source of information as to what Jesus taught, the whole Synoptic problem is being opened anew and the historical accuracy of the common tradition contained in the Synoptists is being challenged at every point. The subtle and insidious challenge of Jesus' own authority which is making itself heard in various ways does not immediately concern New Testament Theology itself, although it does concern the value of its conclusions. About the historical value of Acts a fierce debate is waging which is fraught with vital consequences for our science. Until these debates are brought to some sort of a conclusion and some agreement as to the limits and value of our sources prevails, it will be idle to attempt to set forth conclusions as to what Jesus taught and thought of Himself and the Kingdom which may be expected to meet with general acceptance. We are having as many varieties of representations of Jesus and His doctrine as there are writers who undertake to instruct us, from the purely human and very much limited *Prophet of Nazareth* (of N. Schmidt) to the divine Christ (of Denney and Sanday) — all in the name of a strictly scientific use of the New Testament material. What shall be said of the views of Bousset, Wernle, Wrede, Jülicher, about Jesus, or Jesus and Paul? They are scientific theologians all, but they seem to disagree remarkably as to what is scientific truth.

But this struggle is necessary — it is inevitable. And one need not be pessimistic. The closer all this study brings us to the real facts, to what Jesus was — and is — to what Paul actually thought and how he came to think it, and to all the other facts of the first age of the Church, the greater will be the gain and, under God, that which is true will in the end prevail.

IV. CHURCH HISTORY

HISTORY OF THE EARLY CHURCH

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IN no field of Church History has more patient labor been expended, and in none have more substantial advances in knowledge been achieved, during the last three quarters of a century, than in that of the development of Christianity from the Apostolic age to its acceptance by Constantine. The work involved first of all a minute and painstaking examination and sifting of the sources, that a substantial basis for an accurate understanding of this important epoch might be attained. Not a little of this enormous task seemed to have been achieved three quarters of a century ago. The labors of scholars since the revival of learning in the fifteenth century had not been without their abundant fruitage. Most of the important writings of the Fathers, Apologists, and Theologians of the Early Church were then well known to students of the period. But, as compared with the present, their genuineness was relatively untested, the dates of many of them relatively uncertain, and the authorship of a considerable portion of them inaccurately determined or unknown. The period under review has seen the whole of this literature investigated with the minutest care. Though many perplexing questions still remain, the writings of that age are now defined, dated, and made accessible in a fashion that renders a competent knowledge of the Church of those early centuries possible in far greater measure than three quarters of a century ago.

A single illustration may be cited as typical of this advance in knowledge. The epistles of Ignatius of Antioch are among our most important sources of acquaintance with the institutions, the theology, and the type of piety of the opening years

of the second century. Long known, their genuineness had long been a subject of heated controversy. They have been preserved in an extended and a shorter form in Greek, and perplexity was added by the discovery, in 1839 and 1843, of a yet briefer Syriac translation of three of the most important. Were they genuine in any form; and, if genuine at all, in which? The best judges were divided. But, thanks chiefly to the admirable work of Zahn, Lightfoot, and von der Goltz, though a few dissenting voices of relatively slight significance are still to be heard, the scholarly world has substantially accepted seven of these letters as authentic in their shorter Greek form. No treatment of the Early Church can now ignore them, and the value of the light that they shed on the growth of ecclesiastical organization is inestimable. What has thus been done in testing and assuring the foundations of our knowledge in this particular case is but an example of the achievements of the last three quarters of a century in regard to many others of the sources of our acquaintance with the Early Church.

The epoch under consideration has had no little significance, also, in the discovery of fresh sources. The main monuments of the Early Church have long been known, it is true; but the recovery of such a treatise as the so-called *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, in 1883, by Bryennios, has shed light of prime value on a region where all before was darkness, that of the transition from the leadership of the "spirit-filled" men, the traveling apostles, the prophets and teachers so familiar in New Testament writings, to the more local and prosaic elected or appointed officers of the Church. Its evidence as to the mode and subjects of baptism is no less clear and scarcely less important. While the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* still remains by far the most valuable recovery of ancient Christian literature that the last three quarters of a century has witnessed, it has not been alone. Such a reconstruction as that of Tatian's *Diatessaron* by Zahn, is not merely of worth in itself, but is of high significance for the light which it throws on the methods by which documents were edited in that age, and even on the processes by which our Gospels assumed their present form. The letter of *Clement to the Corinthians* has long been known, but its complete text was recovered only so recently as 1875. Our acquaintance with the greater part of the writings of Hippolytus, and hence

any true estimate of his significance and of the extensive information that he gives as to ancient parties and heresies, dates only from 1842; while as recently as 1907 a work of Irenæus was recovered, the *Treatise on the Apostolic Preaching*, which unfortunately, however, adds but little to what was already known of this eminent theologian of the last quarter of the second century. The sands of Egypt have yielded not only fragments of uncanonical gospels which reveal the evangels in circulation in some sections of the Early Church, but seem to place us in the very presence of the persecutions by the recovery of examples of *libelli*, by which those who would avoid them obtained certificates of their immunity from the heathen authorities. The catacombs of Rome have been made to yield their contribution to our knowledge of Christian hope and practice. Archæology and the minute examination of literature have made possible in recent years, as never before, an estimate of the territorial growth of Christianity in the age under review, such as is attempted with success by Harnack in his *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*. The rapidly increasing knowledge of Roman social, political, and religious institutions, in which Mommsen, Marquardt, Friedländer, Ramsay, and Dill, to mention no others, have been fruitful laborers, has immensely enlarged our acquaintance with the world in which the Early Church made itself felt, and by which, in turn, it was influenced. What it assimilated from that world in philosophic interpretation of Christian truth, in modification and elaboration of Christian ritual, in conceptions of sacrifice, in valuations of asceticism, in reverence for the saints and martyrs who took the places in popular regard of the older heroes and the universally revered local divinities, is now understood as never before. The precise way in which Judaism, especially of the dispersion, prepared the path for Christianity, is now far better comprehended. So, too, the activities of the Early Church, its mutual helpfulness, its care for the widows and the fatherless, its intercommunication between congregation and congregation, are far better understood. Thanks to the work of Neander, Baur, Ritschl, Zahn, Lightfoot, Hatch, Renan, Réville, Harnack, Loofs, von Dobschütz, and others of a most honorable company of scholars, the period has been examined with the most painstaking minuteness and with a resultant increase in our acquaintance with its character.

It is now like a country well mapped ; and though much remains to be done, the student feels himself far more surely at home in it than was possible three quarters of a century ago.

Yet, significant as has been the epoch under review in the investigation of the details of the environment, the contests, the institutions, the literature, and the theology of the Early Church, its greatest contribution has been to the broad interpretation of the development and significance of the Church itself, and of the changes which it underwent in that age. Seventy-five years ago the most modern and valuable treatise on Church History available for students in this region was Mosheim's *Institutes*, originally published by that eminent German scholar in Latin dress between 1726 and 1755, and freshly translated with able annotations by Professor James Murdock, by whom the work was issued in 1832. Gieseler and Neander had begun their work when this translation was printed, but though Murdock was acquainted with the studies of the last-named investigator, he expressed the opinion, after "careful examination," that "Mosheim's history . . . is the best adapted to the wants of this country, and the most likely to meet general approbation among the American clergy."

No one who examines Mosheim's work will deny his pre-eminent gifts, his desire to be impartial and accurate, or his right to the title of the "father of modern Church History." But to the student of the present day Mosheim seems not merely frigid, but curiously archaic. In his revolt against the composition of Church History to further polemic ends, which had been the fault of writers up to his time, he treats the theme in a singularly disengaged and remote manner. It seems scarcely vital. Its great personalities appeal little to his historic imagination, and its doctrinal controversies have scarcely more than an antiquarian interest. Though he declares that only he can be a good historian who "can trace events to their causes" and "tell us, not only *what* happened, but likewise *how* and *why*," he has little real conception of development. Events happen largely in an arbitrary way. He does, indeed, see that earlier philosophies, of which so far as they were not Greek but Oriental he has a very obscure notion, had much to do with the rise of heresies, especially with that of Gnosticism; but his general thought is that the whole epoch of the Early Church is one of

rapid corruption, due to the sins and selfishness of men. Speaking of ceremonies, he declares "the Christian bishops multiplied sacred rites for the sake of rendering the Jews and pagans more friendly to them," and this superficiality of judgment, in spite of Mosheim's wealth of learning and keen critical skill, is characteristic. The story of the Early Church in his hands is that of a largely unaccountable, or very inadequately explained, degeneracy from its original comparative purity.

It was a decided advance over Mosheim, when Ludwig Gieseler, greatly improving on the method of Tillemont, published his *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* between 1824 and 1853. His own comments are brief, unimpassioned, and objective in the extreme. He was convinced, however, that an age can be understood only from itself, and that men and parties can be rightly estimated only by their own words, their environment, and the conceptions of the epoch in which they move. The greater part, therefore, of almost every page of his volumes was filled with excerpts from the authors and leaders discussed, and from the writings of their contemporaries, chosen with remarkable skill and impartiality, and presenting to the student, as far as possible within the compass of a relatively brief work, a contemporary picture of the period under consideration.

Opposed to Gieseler's frigid objectivity of comment, but no less effective in giving a new impulse to Church History, was the work of August Neander. A series of monographs of high value, begun in 1812, prepared the way for his great *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche*, issued in successive volumes between 1825 and 1852. To Neander, all Christian history has a religious value. It is the divine life of Christ penetrating and transforming humanity. He has, therefore, a real, if imperfect, theory of development. He emphasized, as his predecessors had not done, the unfolding of the Christian life, saw its manifestation in the biographies of the leaders of the Church, and could even view parties and divisions as in a large measure illustrative of its vital many-sidedness. In our own country, Neander's influence was most usefully propagated by his pupil, Philip Schaff, who was briefly connected with Hartford Theological Seminary. His *History of the Apostolic Church*, in 1853, and his *History of the Christian Church*, in 1857, were but the earlier of works which put American historical scholarship

permanently into Schaff's debt; and he did much by his learning, charity, and religious earnestness to foster a truer comprehension of the Early Church on this side of the Atlantic.

Yet the reader of Neander and of Schaff is impressed with the absence in both of any fundamental conception of the continuity of growth in the Early Church. That growth is asserted; but the Apostolic Age is placed on an ideal height, from which the succeeding period is viewed as a great declension. The transition from one to the other is regarded as abrupt, and the great variety of forms in which Christianity clothed itself, even in the latter half of the first century, is inadequately recognized. As Schaff expressed it: "The hand of God has drawn a bold line of demarcation between the century of miracles and the succeeding ages, to show, by the abrupt transition and the striking contrast, the difference between the work of God and the work of man. . . . There is no other transition in history so radical and sudden, yet so silent and secret."

Before Schaff wrote these words, however, a man with whom Schaff had little sympathy, but whose abilities he fully acknowledged, Ferdinand Christian Baur, was pointing the way toward a more fundamental conception of a continuous and united development in the history of the Early Church, which attempted at least to explain and coördinate in one onflowing stream the growth of its various parties, and to find a principle of unity where even Neander and Schaff had seen such abrupt transition. The views indicated in earlier works were set forth in fullness by Baur in his *Das Christentum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, of 1853. Baur's principle of development was that unfolding of the spirit according to the laws of its progress which he derived primarily from the philosophy of Hegel. In thesis, antithesis, and synthesis he saw the conditions of all growth. His method was an imposition of an arbitrary philosophical theory on the facts of history in far too great a measure. He had little sense of the religious values of the actual process of development, and much too *a priori* a conception of what that development must have been. But he not only investigated many problems in the history of the Early Church with keen critical judgment, he had a real and consistent theory of its growth, which knit it into one orderly process.

From the school of Baur came the scholar who was to pro-

pound the view of the history of the Early Church which has won far wider acceptance than his; which, like his, makes that history an orderly process of development, and yet explains that development in a much more simple, natural, and historically defensible manner. Albrecht Ritschl was primarily a theologian, yet in the second edition of his *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, published in 1857, he presented a conception of the growth of the Early Church that has proved the seed-corn of the most fruitful modern treatment of its history. Breaking with the theories of Baur, to which he had thus far been attached, he denied the simple fundamental antagonism between Judaic and Pauline Christianity in which Baur had seen the thesis and antithesis of Christian beginnings, and recognized instead the many forms in which Christianity went out from its origin. The Jewish types he perceived were incapable of progress, the Pauline type was largely uncomprehended by the age that followed the great apostle. He emphasized, as never before, the existence before the close of the first century of a type which had drawn its converts from heathen sources and which developed into the great Church of the second and third centuries. As further carried forward, notably by scholars like Harnack and Loofs, the story of the Early Church is that of the development of the simple truths of primitive Christianity, and of the life based on them, on the soil of the Roman empire, under the influence of Hellenic culture. Christianity came into no empty world; it entered a realm filled with philosophies, social institutions, governmental conceptions, and ethical ideals. Such of them as were not foreign to its genius it assimilated and made its own, and by them in turn was profoundly modified. The story of this gradual process is the history of the development of the Early Church.

This view has the advantage of interpreting that story as an orderly and natural development — a development similar to that which Christianity must undergo in all ages, and is undergoing at present. It gives a place for all parties and most varying types of life, while emphasizing the underlying unity of the general movement. It makes the growth of the Early Church no isolated phenomenon, but links it inseparably, without minimizing or ignoring its divine elements, with the manifold life of the centuries in which it had its place. As a

result of the studies of the last three quarters of a century we not merely understand the history of the Early Church vastly better in its details, but see, much more clearly than was then perceived, its place in that divine ordering which embraces all human development.

It has doubtless been noted that our sketch has said nothing of a share of Hartford Seminary in this growth of the knowledge of the Early Church in the last seventy-five years. That silence is not because its chair of history has been inadequately manned. No recent graduate of the Seminary can be without grateful remembrance, to mention a single name, of the profound scholarship, the keen insight, and the earnest Christian conviction of Dr. Hartranft. He has awakened a sense of the importance of the history of the Church, and a love for its study, that is bearing fruit in the life of many a former student. But in the development of the knowledge of the Early Church which has come during the last seventy-five years America as a whole has been a learner rather than a leader. May the next three quarters of a century show not merely learning but leadership!

CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY

REV. WILLIAM JOHN CHAPMAN, PH.D.

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THE expression "Christian Archæology" is inseparably connected with the Roman catacombs. The rediscovery of those underground cemeteries goes back to the age of the Renaissance,¹ and yet, perhaps, it is not generally known that some of the most remarkable explorations in that field have been made in comparatively recent times. We refer, more especially, to the researches of P. Giuseppe Marchi,² and to those of his more famous successor, the Chevalier de Rossi. Seventy-five years ago, interest in Christian Archæology had scarcely advanced beyond the stage of learned curiosity. The work of Raoul-Rochette in 1826-27, as also that of Giuseppe Marchi in the early forties, was confined to matters of artistic or lapidary interest. The particular significance of a picture, the sacredness of early Christian relics, or the precise statements contained in an inscription, satisfied all inquiries. As Lanciani has expressed it, "the topographical importance of discoveries was not appreciated."³

With de Rossi a new era begins.⁴ "The method by which he worked," says Frothingham, "was even more important than the actual work he did." His task was rendered doubly difficult by the methodless curiosity of his earlier precursors, for the wholesale removal of inscriptions from the catacombs made the work of systematic investigation exceedingly perplexing. But, in spite of the difficulties that beset him, de Rossi

¹ Till the last century the great work on the Roman catacombs was the *Roma sotterranea* of Antonio Bosio, published posthumously in 1632.

² Padre Marchi wrote a treatise on the monuments of primitive Christian art: *Monumenti delle arte cristiane primitive nella metropoli del cristianesimo*, Rome, 1844.

³ Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, pp. 329-330.

⁴ Giovanni Battista de Rossi, *Inscript. christ. urb. Romæ* (Rome, 1861); *Roma sotterranea* (Rome, 1864-77); biographical sketch by Professor Frothingham, *Am. Jour. Arch.*, Oct.-Dec., 1894, pp. 549-552.

worked out the problem and applied the necessary scientific method with wonderful success. Among the noteworthy discoveries of de Rossi were the finding of the Papal Crypt in 1854, the rediscovery of the Tombs of the Flavians (1865), and the finding of the Crypt of the Acilii Glabrones in 1888. Each of these possesses an interest of its own.

The Papal Crypt, so called because it was the burial-place of the Roman bishops between Zephyrinus (A.D. 218) and Melchiades (A.D. 311-314), carries us back to the momentous epoch of the Decian and Diocletian persecutions. While excavating the catacomb of San Callisto, De Rossi surmised from the multitude of *graffiti* — rough inscriptions carved by pilgrims — that he was on the threshold of a much venerated sanctuary of the Early Church. The vault, when discovered, was in a ruinous state, but upon the partly shattered gravestones the names of Anteros, Lucius, and Eutychianus, bishops, and of Fabianus, bishop and martyr, might still be traced.¹ By those epitaphs we are reminded of the death-agony of the religion of Numa, and of the brief and stormy supremacy of the solar cultus (Mithraism) into which its imperial prerogatives were merged. The final triumph of Christianity came immediately after the severest persecution. "In 296, Bishop Gaius, one of the last victims of Diocletian's persecution, was interred by the side of his predecessors in the crypt; in 313, only seventeen years later, Sylvester took possession of the Lateran Palace, which had been offered to him by Constantine. Such is the history of Rome; such are the events which the study of her ruins recalls to our memory."²

The Crypt of the Flavians, rediscovered in 1865 and more fully explored in 1873, is one of the most remarkable monuments of early Christian antiquity,³ illustrating, as it does, what Professor Orr has called the neglected factors in the progress of Chris-

¹ H. D. M. Spence, *Early Christianity and Paganism* (N. Y. 1901), pp. 302-303.

² Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, pp. 220-221.

³ "No pagan mausolea of the Via Appia or the Via Latina show a greater sense of security or are placed more conspicuously than this early Christian tomb. The frescoes on the ceiling of the vestibule, representing Biblical scenes, such as Daniel in the lions' den, the history of Jonah, etc., were exposed to daylight, and through the open door could be seen by the passer. No precaution was taken to conceal these symbolic scenes from profane or hostile eyes" (Lanciani, pp. 315-316).

tianity, and more especially the influence of the Gospel upon the higher ranks of Roman Society. A passage in Xiphilinus, the epitomizer of Dion Cassius, tells us that Flavius Clemens, together with his wife Domitilla, was accused of "atheism" and "going astray after the customs of the Jews" and that Clement was beheaded and Domitilla banished. Did they suffer for the name of Christ Jesus? The ambiguity of the charge is at least suggestive, and scholars have both affirmed and denied the question. "It has been reserved," says Dr. Orr, "for catacomb exploration to clear up the ambiguity attaching to this case also, and to establish beyond a doubt the Christianity of the illustrious pair. . . . It will not be denied that these facts furnish startling illustration of the extent to which, by the close of the first century, Christianity had pushed its conquests. Next to the Emperor himself, these two personages held the highest rank in the empire; their two sons had even been designated by Domitian as his heirs to the purple. It seemed almost as if, ere the last Apostle had quitted the scene of his labors, Christianity were about to mount the seat of empire."¹

Equally worthy of note was the discovery, in 1888, of the Crypt of the Acilii Glabrones. This tomb is situated in the cemetery of St. Priscilla, immediately adjoining the Basilica of St. Sylvester. Here, too, we are reminded of a Roman noble who was Consul in A.D. 91, and who suffered for the same offense as Flavius Clemens. "The charges against him," writes Canon Brownlow, "were the contradictory ones of atheism and being addicted to Jewish practices. Tillemont contended that he was a pagan, while Gibbon maintained that these charges could only have been made against a Christian. Now that the Christian sepulcher of his family has come to light, little doubt can remain, and we may claim Acilius Glabrio as a Christian martyr."²

What can Archæology tell us of the origins of church architecture? The earliest Christians possessed no places of worship. From this circumstance arose the fact that some one of the wealthier members in each community became at once the

¹ Orr, *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*, Lect. II, "The Extension of Christianity Vertically," etc., pp. 95 ff.

² Brownlow, "Recent Discoveries in the Cemetery of St. Priscilla," *Dublin Review*, July, 1892, p. 101.

host and patron of the infant community.¹ The Christian place of worship did not originate from the basilica or judgment-hall, but by reversion to a more primitive type from which both temple and basilica originally sprang.² The earliest churches in Rome are said to have grown out of the dwellings in which the Christians first met. This venerable tradition was confirmed by the discovery of the remains of the house of Pudens in 1870.³ It underlies the church subsequently known as that of St. Pudentiana. Other factors no doubt contributed, but, as J. B. Stoughton Holborn remarks, "on the whole the largest influence may be assigned to the private house."⁴ The actual course of development, at least in Lanciani's opinion, was as follows: "The prayer-meetings were held in the *tablinum*, or reception-room of the house, which, as shown in the accompanying plan, opened on the *atrium*, or court, and this was surrounded by a portico or peristyle. In the early days of the Gospel the *tablinum* could easily accommodate the small congregation of converts; but as this increased in numbers and the space became inadequate, the faithful were compelled to occupy that section of the portico which was in front of the meeting-hall. When the congregation became still larger, there was no other way of accommodating it, and sheltering it from rain or sun, than by covering the court either with an awning or a roof. There is very little difference between this arrangement and the plan of a Christian basilica. The *tablinum* becomes an apse; the court, roofed over, becomes the nave; the side wings of the peristyle become the aisles."⁵ The oldest parishes in Rome, with their places of worship, bequests to the Church by wealthy patrons, certainly go back to the middle of the third century, and may, in some instances, be much older. They were among the Church property confiscated in 303 and restored in 311 A.D.

The independent type of church-building seems to have originated during the forty years of peace following the toleration edict of Gallienus in A.D. 261. These were ordinarily single-

¹ Those who addicted themselves to the ministration of the saints and who, in consequence, were spoken of as "servants" (*diakonoi*) of the Church, were, in the majority of instances, wealthier brethren who in rendering this service followed the words of our Lord (Mark, 10:44 f.; John, 13:12-17).

² Barrows, *The Isles and Shrines of Greece*, p. 276.

³ Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 114.

⁴ Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. i, p. 697.

⁵ Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, pp. 114-115.

nated, not three-aisled, structures. In the interior of Syria, owing to the desertion of the country after the Moslem conquest, it is possible to trace the development of church architecture from the single-naved chapels at Nuriyeh, Rbé'ah, and B'uda, up to the splendid basilica of Kalb Lauzeh, and the cruciform structure of the four combined basilicas of Qal'at Simân. The scarcity of wood seems to have stimulated the development of the vaulted stone roof, and it seems probable that the fourfold basilica of Qal'at Simân furnished the most remarkable early type of a cruciform ground-plan.¹

The field of epigraphy embraces various lines of interest, some more peculiarly Christian, others relating to the conflict between Christianity and rival faiths. The Chevalier de Rossi's work in this department led up to his systematic development of catacomb exploration. In more recent decades the Christian epitaphs of Phrygia have attracted especial attention.² The discovery of the Avircius inscription, erected between 190 and 200 A.D., probably by one of the leaders of the anti-Montanist party, was one of the surprises of archæology. It is remarkable for its veiled and symbolic language, as other epitaphs from the same region are remarkable for their modification or adaptation of customary pagan formulas. "The implied monotheism," says Headlam, "would always be recognized by a fellow-Christian; but there would not be anything illegal or likely to cause offense. . . . It would therefore exactly fulfill the purpose for which it was introduced; namely, to distinguish Christian graves without offending popular prejudice." The pagan side of the conflict is curiously illustrated by the inscription of Epitynchanus, the high-priest of Acmonia, which shows how paganism, in its strife for the supremacy, was forced to copy the organization, the methods, and to some extent, at least, the ideals, of the Christian Church. In following this policy, Maximinus (305-314) paved the way for the later attempt of Julian the Apostate. While treating of this "borderland" of Christian Archæology, we ought to give their due meed of praise to the

¹ In this field path-breaking work was done by the Comte de Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale* (Paris, 1866-77), and more recently by the American Archæological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900; see H. C. Butler, *Architecture and other Arts*, chapters IV and XIII. *op. cit.*, p. 184.

² A. C. Headlam, in *Authority and Archæology*, edited by Professor D. G. Hogarth, pp. 307-387.

scholars who have labored to reconstruct the history of rival faiths that once seemed formidable. Professor Cumont's treatise on the cult of Mithra is a noteworthy example, of which Deissmann has said, "Without the inscriptions this brilliant work could not have been written."¹ Once having realized the extent to which Mithraism was diffused, and its close dependence upon the legionary population of the military frontiers, one can understand Professor Cumont's remark that in the latter half of the third century "the Cæsarship was almost at the point of transforming itself into a Khalifate."² The whole epoch of the Diocletian persecution comes out in a new and stronger light.

The life and thought of the common people in the ancient Mediterranean world has received a new interpretation from the study of the papyri and ostraca. For many years the papyri received but little attention. The epoch-making discoveries of 1877 in the Fayoum, the Ekhmîm fragment, containing a part of the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, published in 1892, and remarkable finds at Oxyrhynchus, in the winter of 1896-97, have gone far to change the attitude of scholars.³ But the chief significance of the papyri does not depend upon the contents of particular documents. It has to do mainly with the character of the vernacular Greek. Much that was once attributed to Semitic influence, for example, in the New Testament, is now seen to belong to the speech of the common people everywhere in the Hellenistic world. The results accruing from papyri-research may be considered with reference to the philological, the literary, and the religious interpretation of early Christian writings. On the philological side it has been shown that the peculiarities of New Testament Greek are not due exclusively, or even primarily, to Semitic influence. To cite a single instance from the field of syntactical problems, the indeclinable adjective "full" (πλήρης) of John 1: 14 undoubtedly rests upon colloquial usage. Again the papyri illustrate the difference between literary and non-literary form. Considered with reference to this standard the majority of the New Testament writings belong to the non-literary class; they are not, to men-

¹ Deissmann, *New Light on the New Testament*, p. 71.

² Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*, pref. p., iv.

³ Deissmann, *New Light on the New Testament* (passim).

tion a representative group, literary epistles, but real letters; they deal with immediate situations and treat them in the everyday style of the common Greek. The papyri possess a still higher importance with regard to the vocabulary of the New Testament books. Even the peculiarly Christian adjective, the word by which the day of the resurrection, the supper of the Lord, and baptism were designated (*κυριακός, ἡ, ὄν*, Lat. *dominicus, etc.*), belonged to the vernacular speech.¹ The history of the word "Lord" is full of meaning. Thus the study of the papyri meets us at the threshold of the Apostolic Age and carries us far beyond the triumph of Christianity in the fourth century. The Ekhmîm fragment and the Oxyrhynchus Logia,² while not adding to our positive information, have given stimulus to certain lines of New Testament criticism. Coming down to a later period, the discovery of two *libelli* (sacrifice-certificates), particularly that of Aurelius Diogenes Satabus, "a man of eighty-two years of age, with a scar on his right eyebrow," brings us into closest touch with the days of the Decian persecution. "We cannot exactly say that they add to our information; but the actual possession of such a relic of times of persecution enables us to realize the situation in a way which no ordinary history would render possible."³

¹ Deissmann, *New Light on the New Testament*, pp. 82 ff.

² See *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (ed. Grenfell and Hunt), i, pp. 1-3; iv, 1-10.

³ A. C. Headlam, in *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 348.

MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORY

PROFESSOR CURTIS MANNING GEER, PH.D.

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SEVENTY-FIVE years ago there were many people living who could remember the French Revolution. There was a still larger number of those who had been influenced by that movement. The contempt for the Roman Catholic Church which had been so loudly proclaimed by Voltaire and his associates had by no means passed away, and it was taken for granted that a period of history in which Catholicism was supreme was not worth serious study. This feeling has not wholly passed even at the present time, although the last half century has witnessed some change of attitude. It is still true that there are writers on history more anxious to establish their own views than to learn the truth, but on the whole the partisan spirit is giving way before the scientific. There is growing recognition of the fact that we cannot understand the Reformation and the Modern periods without study of the Mediæval period. It is known now, as it was not formerly, that the Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages was something more than the Popes, and that a very one-sided view of its history is obtained by giving exclusive attention to the Papacy. There is a growing disposition on the part of Protestant historians to recognize the good in the Mediæval Church and the fact that even the Popes were not all wicked men. There is to-day a cordial acknowledgment of the debt which Europe in the Middle Ages owed to the monk as civilizer and Christian missionary, while recognizing, as the older historians did, that Monasticism in its decline was one of the evils that made the Reformation necessary.

It may be said in general that the Middle Age has been regarded as less fruitful than the periods before or after it, and therefore has not received the same degree of attention from students of Church History. Much has been accomplished, however, which will be of permanent value. The most im-

portant contributions in the last seventy-five years have come through the critical study and publication of the sources of Mediæval History. Previous efforts had been made along this line, notably Muratori's studies relating to Italian History, and the valuable volumes published by Bouquet and the Congregation of St. Maur dealing with French History. But these were prepared in an uncritical age and so fall short of their highest value. In the early part of the last century Germany and England entered upon the investigation of their early history on a large scale and in a scientific spirit. For the first time careful, critical work was done on the manuscripts, and an attempt was made to separate the genuine writings of an author from those wrongly attributed to him. Scholars have seen the importance of correct editions, and have coöperated for accomplishing this purpose. As a result, many writers whose works are important for our understanding of the Middle Ages are now easily accessible in critical editions. Seventy-five years ago these works existed only in manuscript, and in some cases only a single manuscript of an important history was known. Publication of such writings is in itself an advance of untold value. These works are not always Church Histories or writings relating directly to ecclesiastical matters. Many of them are, however, and the relation between Church and State was so close in the Middle Ages that there are few of these works which do not throw some light on Church affairs.

Probably the most valuable of these collections is the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*. The impulse for this undertaking came from the Prussian general and statesman, Stein. Disappointed with the reactionary conclusions of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, he believed that he might help in uniting the divided Germans by showing them their common noble heritage. He wished to arouse a desire for the study of German history and to lay the foundations for such work. In 1818 he sketched the plan for a "Society for Early German History." This was organized the next year. Stein became president and gave liberally for its support. Next to him the society owes its success to G. H. Pertz, who was the editor of its publications until 1874. The leading German historians have coöperated heartily in this undertaking, so that this series of volumes has made possible the scientific study of the Middle Ages in Ger-

many. It took some years to arouse the Germans to the value of this work and in its early years the society was greatly hampered by the lack of funds. Only two volumes appeared before 1835. In its early history the German Confederation contributed toward the expense of publication. At the present time the empires of Germany and Austria make annual appropriations toward its support. The long series of early German histories, chronicles, letters, poetry, legal documents, etc., etc., is still in process of publication, and it is probable that the original estimate of a hundred years for the completion of the undertaking will be none too long.

The most important work in Mediæval History undertaken by the English-speaking people in the course of the last seventy-five years is the series entitled *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*. This, of course, is not confined to Church History, but contains a great amount of valuable material relating to that subject. The plan of such a series was suggested in the House of Commons in 1822. It was then stated that the works of the ancient historians were imperfectly printed, or that they existed only in manuscript. Sometimes there was only a single copy of a valued authority. A uniform and convenient edition of the whole was needed, published under royal authority. There was recognition of the fact that such a work could be done only through patient labor, and that much expense would be involved in such an undertaking; but that England was behind other nations, notably France and Italy, while she had the best historical collection of any nation in Europe. This worthy effort was without result, and after a long interval the Master of the Rolls in 1857 submitted a proposal of similar import. His plan was to select records with the help of competent editors, preference being given to material that was scarce and at the same time valuable. The best manuscripts were to be carefully collated and the most nearly correct text formed from them. Each editor was to be selected by the Master of the Rolls. As a result of this proposal we have a series of volumes, now over two hundred in number, of the greatest value. The plan has been to select the best men available and give to each some work in which he is specially interested, and with which he is competent to deal. The list of editors includes some of England's foremost

historians of the last half century, such as Hardwick, Brewer, Thorpe, Furnivall, Gairdner, and Stubbs. A few works out of many may be taken to show the great importance of this undertaking for the study of the Church History of the Middle Ages. The *Monumenta Franciscana* illustrates the social and religious work of the friars from their arrival in England, and incidentally gives much information about Church affairs at that time. Our first contemporary account of the Lollards comes from the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*. In the series are also the chronicles of a number of the great abbeys of England. These show us the daily life of the monks, as well as their relation to the outer world. Some of these, like the valuable *Chronicles of Ever-sham*, existed in only a single manuscript. Others, like the historical works of Gervase of Canterbury, throw light on the Mediæval relation between Church and State. Our first piece of good theological disquisition in English is Pocock's *The Re-pressor of over-much Blaming of the Clergy*, which appears in this series.

In considering the collections of this period mention should be made of the labors of Abbé Migne. Aside from his work in other departments, he has been of great service in making accessible the mediæval writers of the Latin Church through his *Patrologia Latina*, in two hundred and twenty-one volumes. This is in many cases merely a reprint of earlier editions and there are numerous typographical errors. It is not to be compared for accuracy with the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, but it makes accessible Latin writers who would otherwise be out of the reach of many students. A valuable feature is the four-volume index, a very careful and complete piece of work greatly adding to the usefulness of the series.

In 1845 the Bollandists took up their interrupted work on the *Acta Sanctorum* and have added nine volumes to the long series published before that time. This is not a critical edition of the *Acts of the Saints*, as Protestants understand criticism, but is a treasury of the legends which have grown up about the lives of the saints. While not of great value as a record of facts, the series is exceedingly interesting as showing the ideals of Christian life which ruled in the different centuries.

Some attempt has been made to publish correct editions of the mediæval ecclesiastical writers. There is great need of

this because of the uncertainty connected with the present editions. It is now a common and unpleasant experience of workers in Mediæval History to be in doubt about the authenticity of the work they are using. A vast amount of critical research needs to be done here. Correct editions of the ecclesiastical writers lag behind similar editions of the historians because there is less interest in the former. There are few people who care particularly whether or not we have a correct text of Albertus Magnus. Perhaps the most notable effort to overcome this difficulty has been a critical edition of the works of Bonaventura. Although one of the greatest and most influential writers of the Middle Ages, his writings had been printed only in incomplete and inexact editions. Proposals were made in 1871 for a new edition, and the study of manuscripts in different libraries was begun. Material was thus collected for a critical edition of his work. From 1882 to 1902 a company of the Friars Minor, with headquarters at Quarracchi, Italy, was engaged in this undertaking. Four hundred libraries were visited, one hundred thousand manuscripts were consulted, and the first volume alone contains over twenty thousand variant readings. More than one hundred writings, previously attributed to Bonaventura, are omitted from this edition as spurious. The cross-references, summaries, tables, and indexes make this ten-volume edition a model of patience and erudition. It is to be hoped that the example of these learned monks may be followed in other places, so that much of the uncertainty and confusion connected with the study of mediæval authors may be removed.

Some notable biographies of the more prominent men of the Middle Ages have been produced. Bernard of Clairvaux in particular is now better known. Neander's early work on this subject has been followed by several others. R. S. Storrs' *Life of Bernard* is inspiring, scholarly, and popular. The more thorough two-volume work of Vacandard comes nearer being definitive, if such a word can be applied to any presentation of the many-sided Bernard. Francis of Assisi also has been the subject of careful study, and has become familiar to us through the volumes of Knox-Little and Sabatier. Of the men popularly known as "Reformers before the Reformation," Wyclif is now clearly apprehended through the publications of the Wyclif Society, while the German Lechler has given us a

biography of the Reformer far superior to any other. Savonarola has had many biographers. Of these Villari has produced a work of permanent value.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to specify the writers who have recently contributed to our knowledge of the Church History of the Middle Ages. Any such list, unless a very long one, leaves out writers as important as those included. It is a field in which American scholars have not been active. It is difficult to get at the material for the best work without frequent visits to European libraries, and it is perhaps natural that Church historians in this country should give their attention to less remote periods. The difficulty which comes from lack of access to the sources is becoming less each year, because of the publication of important documents, and it may be that presently this field will receive its due share of attention on this side of the Atlantic.

Probably our ablest living American historian is Henry Charles Lea. He is also the man who has done the best work in Mediæval Church History. For nearly half a century he has been investigating Roman Catholic institutions, especially those of the mediæval period, and as a result has given us works on the Inquisition, Confessional, and Celibacy which are a credit to American scholarship.

In England probably the most influential work covering our period has been Milman's *Latin Christianity*. Written in a style suggestive of Gibbon, it is sympathetic with the institutions of the Middle Ages, while recognizing their weaknesses and limitations; and shows, what many historians are disposed to ignore, that there were noble men as well as selfish ones in that age, and that the movements were not all failures.

If we turn to the recent German historians who have written usefully on the Middle Ages, one thinks naturally of Bishop Hefele and his *History of the Councils*, extending from the earliest age of the Church to the close of the mediæval period, although mainly taken up with a consideration of the latter period. His work is one of great diligence and learning and will occupy a permanent position. It is not marked so much by originality of thought as by care and diligence.

Perhaps the most learned historian of the Roman Catholic Church of the last century was Döllinger, who was too scholarly

and conscientious to remain in allegiance to the Pope after the Vatican Council. His most valuable book is his *Contributions to the Study of the Sects of the Middle Ages*, in which he throws light upon some of the so-called heresies, especially the Waldensian. He used scientific methods and was independent in his investigations.

The most important work on Church Law from the Roman Catholic standpoint is that of Hinscius. In the same department the Protestant Friedberg should be remembered because of his valuable edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, a monument of careful and exact scholarship.

For a thoroughgoing study of sources, together with lucid and interesting presentation of results, Hauck's *Church History of Germany* is an undertaking leaving little to be desired. The four volumes cover the period from the early history of Christianity in the Frank Empire down to 1250.

The above sketch indicates the general direction of investigation in Mediæval History. It has not been marked by the production of a great number of epoch-making monographs on single men or events. Scholars came early to the conclusion that the work which most needed to be done was that of foundation-laying, the careful collation and critical editing of writings which gave light on the past and which were in danger of perishing. As a result of this work, which must be continued for many years, it is becoming practicable for scholars to study this period scientifically. It should be understood that the past century witnessed only a beginning of the critical study and the publication of mediæval documents. This will continue as governments, learned societies, and above all private individuals come to a realization of the value of this kind of investigation.

THE REFORMATION PERIOD

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THE record of the progress made in the study of Reformation History during the past seventy-five years must be looked for in the character and growth of the literature of that period. In 1834 the work of investigation in this field was almost exclusively confined to Europeans. In the thirties of the last century but few Americans were in attendance upon the German universities. It was not until the second half of the century that the great change in this direction came. Since then Americans too have begun to do a considerable amount of careful study in this, as in all other fields of investigation. With this introduction of western thought, and the influence of an international spirit that demanded thoroughgoing research, there has come a series of changes that may be taken to indicate the progress made in the specified time.

The first change that is everywhere apparent is in the multiplication of Reformation literature. Seventy-five years ago the books relating to that period were comparatively few in number; the older works of Seckendorf, Schröckh, and Marheineke continued to be among the chief sources. Schuler and Schulthess were in the midst of their *Huldrici Zwinglii Opera*; Bretschneider and Bindseil had just begun the colossal *Corpus Reformatorum*, consisting chiefly of the works of Melancthon and Calvin. Hottinger in Switzerland had but recently issued his work on the Swiss Reformation, and Merle d'Aubigné in France was just getting his history of the Reformation ready for the press. Hagenbach's lectures had begun to appear, but very few had written either on the Anabaptist movement or on the Peasants' War, on both of which a mass of literature has appeared since then, most of it since the work of Egli and Keller began. The handbook on Zwingli by Usteri and Vögelin was fifteen years old, and Schlegel had confined his labors entirely to the

North German Reformation. In 1838-40 Bullinger's *Reformationsgeschichte* was issued. These few citations are the most important examples of the work then accomplished or in process of accomplishment.

In the succeeding decade two men of especial eminence began their publications: Döllinger gave us the first edition of *Die Reformation, ihre innere Entwicklung* in 1846; Ranke issued his *Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, giving what is known as the "Protestant presentation view," in 1847. Since 1850 the increase of Reformation literature has gone on with tremendous strides. Notice among the many biographies and publications on Luther those of Enders, Kolde, Köstlin, Kawerau, Hausrath in Germany, and of Jacobs in the United States. Then there are the scores of publications on the contemporaries of Luther. Among Reformation histories Hase, Kurtz, Bezold, Fisher, Walker and Lindsay are examples of the many books issued on the subject. More extensive undertakings include the Weimar edition of Luther begun in 1883, more recently the issue of a new and critical edition of Zwingli in Switzerland, in the United States an English edition of Luther; and now Hartranft has planted the banner of American scholarship on the continent of Europe by beginning the publication of the *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* in Leipzig. Indeed, the multiplication of books on the subject has been so great that between 1850 and 1875 it is two times, and between 1875 and 1908 five times, greater than what it was between 1834 and 1850. While this proportion pertains chiefly to Germany, practically the same ratio is applicable to France, England, and Scotland. The number of periodicals and magazines issued within the last fifty years is legion; if anything, their proportionate increase is even greater than that of the books.

A second feature is the change from dogmatic statement to a spirit of minute research. Around the true story of the great struggle of the sixteenth century there had grown up a mass of legend and tradition which closed the eyes of men to the actual facts. What had been handed down through ten generations as the real account was still asserted to be the infallible truth. This confusion of data was not yet recognized when Seckendorf's apology for Luther continued to be the chief authority, nor had historians broken through this traditional wall without

being considered skeptical when d'Aubigné wrote his history. In certain quarters books and papers on Reformation topics were approved or disapproved by the absence or presence of "neological" errors. In 1834 Hagenbach was attracting attention by his *Vermittlungstheologie*, taking an intermediate position between the old Supernaturalists and the Rationalists. Gradually departing from the position of Schleiermacher, he laid increasing emphasis upon the independent objective reality of Christianity and the confessions of the Church. Like many of his contemporaries, his fame does not consist so much in originality of treatment or new discovery, as in a comprehensive view of accepted truth, amiable spirit, and attractive language. D'Aubigné likewise was much "praised for the vivacity of his style, the fervor of his piety, and the pronounced orthodoxy of his opinions," but he has no standing as an authority. While Ranke also attracted great attention on account of his style and composition, he received greater recognition by reason of the "ingenuity evinced in gathering and sifting the materials." By a gradual process students became more critical in their acceptance of data. This involved the observance of details requisite to substantiate and clarify historical statements. This close scrutiny of the facts, together with an almost insatiable passion for the discovery of additional information and sources, may be regarded as one of the most significant changes during these years. The leaders and movements of the Reformation that were once brushed aside as heretic or fanatic in character are being carefully investigated, either for the purpose of determining their contribution to the thought of the time, or to disprove the general condemnation to which they have been subjected. This new and hopeful spirit is evidenced by the organization of a considerable number of historical societies in Germany that have for their main purpose the close study of neglected and often forgotten points relating to the village as well as town life of Reformation times. Such studies as Bauch in Breslau makes of the Latin written by the Reformers, or as Clemen in Zwickau undertakes in his publication of *Reformations Flugschriften*, indicate a desire to know the so-called minor contributions made to the reform movement.

In the third place, if one will look over the list of books published on Reformation History during the past seventy-five

years, he must at once observe that students have passed from a narrow, exclusive, and in most cases a purely sectarian view, to a broad, inclusive, and more fraternal interpretation and treatment. Until a comparatively recent date in considering Reformation events men could think of only one individual as having done all the work. Luther and the Reformation were synonymous. Every person failing to espouse the Lutheran cause was immediately swept into the realm of sects, and yet no movement has been so sectarian and partial as that which has claimed everything for Luther. While it is true that seventy-five years ago the works of Calvin and of Zwingli were being published in large editions, it was Luther, or Melancthon, or Bugenhagen, or Jonas, or Amsdorf, or Illyricus who enlisted the thought of the biographer and the historian. Had Barge written and published his *Karlstadt* then, he would have fared no better than did Salig one hundred years earlier, when he issued the results of his scientific treatment of the remarkable collection of Schwenckfeld manuscripts in the library at Wolfenbüttel. Hosts of individuals even now think only of Luther when talking of the Reformation. This sort of mental attitude is the echo of a narrow sectarianism which consigned all insubordinate movements to the long line of heretical outcasts. It was difficult for many to think even in charitable, not to say fraternal, terms of Knox or Zwingli, or of the splendid men who were dubbed Pietists or Anabaptists. But thanks to the rise of critical examination and a careful study of documents, the presence of a friendly philosophy is now recognizable in the treatment of the records of the great Reformation. This philosophy of history has taught men to see the true spirit of democracy generally found in the camp of those who were despised and even persecuted. It is now known on the continent of Europe, as well as in England and America, that the Scotch Reformation, in its struggle for religious liberty and separation from an imperious Papacy, was of equal importance with the great Continental uprising; and furthermore that the apostles of piety, who were frequently disgracefully and shamefully belabored for their conscientious stand, made abiding contributions to the spiritual life of to-day. Only in the middle of the nineteenth century such a view began to be accepted by men like Erbkam and Friedrich Schneider. Then also a more fraternal treatment of

facts arose in Catholic circles. Even though one were to admit that this emanated from a purely rational starting-point, it is nevertheless indicative of a desire to know the truth. Within the Catholic, as in the Protestant bodies, liberal and conservative parties exist. Such liberal parties as those dominating the Bishopric of Breslau at the present time are evidence of a growing desire to have the facts of history revealed according to the testimony given by the documents. It is a decided mark of progress that the cold data of history around which the great events cluster have a greater significance to-day than the mere record of controversy, or separation, or persecution; they glow with the warmth of a fraternity which grew out of the conflicts and sufferings of that day.

The fourth point that indicates progress in the study of Reformation History may be called the rise of a new interest in what are commonly known as the minor influences and movements of the Reformation. Between the years 1834 and 1850 writers here and there, Hartmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Württemberg*; Spieker, *Kirchen- und Reformationsgeschichte der Mark Brandenburg*; Voigt, *Briefwechsel der Gelehrten mit Herzog Albrecht von Preussen*; Sugenheim, *Bayerns Kirchen- und Volkszustände im XVI Jahrhundert*, etc., give us glimpses into individual communities; but for the most part these are either partial to Wittenberg or Augsburg, or are general in their consideration of the subject. Since 1850 men like Gindély in his publications on the Bohemian Brethren, and Paul Tschakert in the publication of his *Urkundenbuch zur Reformationsgeschichte des Herzogthums Preussen*, one of the most significant contributions to the less-known elements in the Reformation of Prussia under Herzog Albrecht, have given inspiration to scores of men to investigate specific influences and movements. Numerous articles and histories have appeared on every German province. Noteworthy illustrations of work done on these minor movements, as they have been called, are found in such books as Barge's *Neue Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Wittenberger Unruhen von 1521-2*; Meyer, *Der Wiedertäufer Nikolaus Storch*; Clemen, *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte*, collected from books and manuscripts in the Ratsschulbibliothek of Zwickau; Loetscher, *Schwenckfeld in the Eucharistic Controversy*; and French, *The Correspondence of Caspar Schwenck-*

feld of Ossig and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. All of these and others have not treated their subjects with confessional limitation, but on the basis of the facts revealed in the documents at hand. During the last half century the conviction has grown up that a complete view of the Reformation and its true philosophy can only come when we have before us the entire body of evidence. To secure that is the work of generations.

A fifth point marking progress in this study is found in the collection of information, more or less disconnected but immensely important, concerning the history of culture resulting from the Protestant Reformation. This involves a sociological and economic survey of the period. In this field Bezold in his *Geschichte der deutschen Reformation*, and the volume on the Reformation in the *Cambridge Modern History*, are excellent illustrations; specifically, Ehrenberg gives us the economic side in his several publications on the Fugger family as the financiers in the ecclesiastical conflict of the sixteenth century; Rockwell in his *Doppel-ehe von Landgraf Philip von Hesse* makes an indispensable contribution to the study of social conditions. There are also numerous publications on the care of the poor. All these investigations aid in breaking through the haze that still clouded the horizon in the days of Hagenbach and d'Aubigné. Indeed, the work done along this line is almost exclusively confined to the last twenty or twenty-five years, and during that time the attitude of mind has changed to a remarkable degree.

THE HISTORY OF DOCTRINE

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THE History of Doctrine, like that of many another branch of religious learning, is a child of the Reformation. The main part of its life, however, was developed in the nineteenth century, and more particularly in the last seventy-five years. In the first instance interest in it was measured by the help it afforded the Reformed theologians in their controversy with Roman Catholicism. As the heat of polemics abated, another motive for keeping it alive made itself felt. This was rooted in the broader conception of the sphere and content of Church History at large. The great Mosheim, more than any other single man, stimulated interest in the history of Christian thought by making it a part of his task as an ecclesiastical historian to examine and expound the thought of each successive period in the life of the Church alongside with his review of its outward events. Simultaneously the several fundamental articles of the Christian creed were studied in their history for the sake of the light to be secured in this way on the Christian religion as a whole. Löffler's investigations in the history of the doctrine of the Trinity, for instance, may serve as a single illustration of the nascent interest in our subject from this point of view.

But none of these sources of interest was strong enough to lead to the separation of the History of Doctrine and its organization into a distinct and independent branch of theological study. It was reserved for the closing decade of the eighteenth century to produce such a result. In S. G. Lange's *Ausführliche Geschichte der Dogmen* (I, 1796) the conception found a first, if not quite tentative, at least partially executed, expression. Lange's work remained a fragment, but the idea which gave it birth was not long in maturing in two complete works on the subject by Münscher (*Handbuch d. christ. Dogmengeschichte*, 4 vols.,

1797-1809; and *Lehrbuch*, 1 Aufl., 1811, 3 Aufl. by Cölln, Hupfeld, and Neudecker, 1832-38). In these the author showed the way to an unbiased study of the facts. Naturally his work was characterized by the crudities of a first effort, as well as the influence of the Rationalism which was still in the ascendant in German theology. But the field thus opened soon became favorite ground for new investigations. Yet in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century no further progress was made towards bringing to its cultivation other features of the historical method than the firm determination to ascertain and reproduce the exact facts, a procedure which was sufficiently prominent in the work of Münscher.

Strange to say, the impulse which led to the introduction of a more fully historical method into this historical discipline originated in the realm of philosophy. It was the Hegelian principle of evolution that was used in the tracing of a definite order and progress from initial forms laid down in the earliest days of the Christian religion to others in successive stages. Thus both of the essential branches of the historical method, *i.e.*, (1) the determination to ascertain the facts in their actual settings as attested by accredited witnesses, and (2) their interpretation in harmony with an exact law of inner unfolding (development), came into full operation in the study of the history of dogma.

For a long period, however, following the first use of this idea the *a priori* and purely speculative theory as to what development is, and how it operates or is operated, ruled supreme. Accordingly, the works of the Hegelians (D. F. Strauss, *Die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung*, 1840-41; and from the so-called "Hegelian right," Marheineke, *Christl. Dogmengeschichte*, Ed. Matthies and Vatke, 1849), though making the effort to take full account of the task, are dominated by too abstract an idea of history. More truly is this the case with the leading representative of this school, F. Chr. Baur, who in a characteristically brilliant work (*Lehrbuch d. christl. Dogmengeschichte*, 1847, 3 Aufl., 1867) does nothing more than interpret the gigantic mass of facts which he presumably has examined *de novo* for himself as an expression of the presupposed principles of the favorite philosophy.

The idea of development, however, once introduced as a guide in the reading of the facts, was destined to have other than the

Hegelian applications of it. Without being placed in a too conspicuous position in the system, it is assumed in the work of Schleiermacher's school of theology. The typical representative of this school, A. Neander (*Christl. Dogmengeschichte*, 1857; similarly Hagenbach, *Dogmengeschichte*, 4 Aufl., 1857; Eng. trans. 1861) displays a much keener appreciation of the religious value of doctrinal statements and a truer estimate of Christianity as a religion than the Hegelians, but comes short because he disposes of his material according to the rubrics of Dogmatic Theology. These rubrics are certainly not those furnished by the historic principle. A parallel presentation from nearly the same point of view and with the same defect in method was the work of W. G. T. Shedd (*History of Doctrine*, 2 vols., 1863, 10th ed., 1891). Shedd professes, if possible, a stronger predilection towards the idea of development than the German theologians.

These lines of movement could not fail to stir activity in other quarters, especially in Germany, where loyalty to confessional standards appeared to be openly challenged. The confessional school found its first great champion in Kliefoth (*Einkl. in d. Dogmengeschichte*, 1839). The fundamental characteristic here is the emergence of the idea of dogma as distinguished from doctrine. The latter may be defined as Christian teaching in general; the former is the official teaching of the Church. The object of the search in the history of dogma is not Christian thought in its breadth. That would be a quest for ill-defined, and perhaps not vitally significant, matters. This object is rather the body of well-defined conceptions which the Christian Church has held and taught and expected its membership to accept, or required its leadership to inculcate. Kliefoth aims to point out certain dogmatic cycles coinciding with the great epochs of the Church's life. Each epoch has wrought out its cycle, and left it to succeeding generations more as a deposit to be cherished and preserved than as material to be reshaped into other forms. Thus the difference in theory of development between Baur and Kliefoth is mainly that the latter assumes the survival and incorporation of the work of each epoch in that of the succeeding, whereas the former sees in each successive stage a contradiction and cancellation of the preceding.

While these divergences of point of view were making them-

selves more and more clearly felt within Protestantism, Roman Catholic scholarship was not altogether indifferent to the interest they aroused. Its starting-point, however, was the characteristic conception of dogma as the peremptory opinion of the Church on the fundamentals of the Christian religion. The earlier works from this point of view (Klee, *Lehrbuch d. Dogmengeschichte*, 1837) recognized no possibility of a material alteration either in substance or in form from one generation to another. Whatever appeared to be differences of presentation were such only relatively to the conditions and circumstances within which the Church put forth its definitions from time to time, either as a repudiation of prevalent error, or because of the exigencies that called for the exercise of its teaching function. No enlargement of the teaching of the Church by its decisions or addition of new revelations to Christian truth in course of time are allowed even by Schwane (*Dogmengesch. der vornicänischen Zeit*, 1862; *der patrist. Zeit*, 1869; *der mittler. Zeit*, 1882). Nor is the Church conceded the function of doing more than reiterating what she had received in Holy Scripture or in the oral tradition of the Apostles.

Yet the theory of development ultimately found its way even into the thinking of Roman Catholic leaders. The special form of it utilized here is given in Cardinal Newman's *Essay on Development* (1845). According to this eminent authority the original deposit of revealed truth taught by Christ and the Apostles to the primitive Church is in a large measure implicit and germinal. Only slowly and gradually does it unfold under the stimulus of external conditions. The process of bringing it into true visibility, however, does not go on spontaneously or fortuitously, but is absolutely controlled and directed by the authoritative and infallible Church. Error is thus excluded from the process. The nucleus of this theory will be recognized as scientifically sound. It admits the analogy between the evolution of thought and biological evolution. It is only at the point where it posits an infallible guidance that it is differentiated in the realm of Christian doctrine. It is needless to say that in spite of the invaluable support such a theory was aimed to give to the doctrine of infallibility, it encountered severe critics in the camp of its own friends, and has never been free from suspicion there.

Of the several directions which, within Protestantism, students of doctrinal history took, the one which was destined to lead farthest was the path of the Confessionalists in Germany. Kliefoth's successor and natural heir on this path was Thomasius (*Die christl. Dogmengeschichte als Entwicklungsgesch. des kirchl. Lehrbegriffs*, 2 vols., 1874-76; 2 Aufl., by Bonwetsch and Seeberg, 1887); and the great merit of Thomasius lies in the perception of the fact that development must be regarded as a process complete in itself. Christianity consists in certain central doctrines around which are formed certain others of a peripheral character. The central and primary doctrines contain all others of a derivative nature, and these latter come to their perfection in due course of discussion by a process of self-explication. The Church meantime occupies with reference to the development the place of a witness, recording, but not controlling the process — a conception which, of course, can only be taken in a symbolical, not strictly a historical, sense.

From Thomasius to F. Nitzsch (*Grundriss d. christl. Dogmengeschichte*, 1870) the direction is towards a new disposition of the materials of doctrinal history. Nitzsch was the first to put into strict practical use Meier's idea of obliterating the traditional subdivision of the subject into "general" and "special" sections. Instead of histories of general and special doctrines he adopted a genetic principle of arrangement under the rubrics "The Promulgation of the Old Catholic Church Doctrine" and "The Development of the Old Catholic Church Doctrine." This division of the subject at once raised the question of the determination of the boundary line between "Promulgation" and "Development." The division itself has been generally adopted, but each historian according to his theological pre-suppositions has drawn the circle around the original nucleus. And the terminology used in individual instances indicates the content and method of the promulgation. An illustration is afforded by the late Principal Rainy's *Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine* (The Cunningham Lectures for 1873). Here a strict regard is had to the canonical Scriptures as the only vehicle and storehouse of Christian thought, all subsequent formulation being regarded as development. To be sure, this is common Protestant ground; and yet the line between the Biblical basis and the subsequent construction upon it is much

more sharply drawn than is common among the German theologians.

Nitzsch's work was unfortunately broken off with the end of the Patristic period. His new way of treatment, however, constitutes the bridge to the epoch-making treatise of Adolf Harnack (*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3 vols., 1886-90; cf. also *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, 1889; Eng. trans. 1893). To begin with, however, Harnack draws the line between origin and development at a different place from Nitzsch. Next, he undertakes to distinguish between the essential nucleus of Christian doctrine (the Gospel) and all other aspects, elements, or factors that may either have entered from the outside world into the totality which has later been known under the name, or been unfolded, even by legitimate logical processes, from it as a germ. Further, he seeks to trace the process by which this kernel is worked over into the subsequent full body. The distinction between "Grounding" and "Development" is in this process always kept in view. Again, he aims to exclude the tendency to bring the history of doctrine from time to time to the historian's own period and there to judge it by standards assumed to be ultimate, but in reality amounting to no more than the momentary opinions of the day. This tendency very markedly rules in such works as those of W. G. T. Shedd and of H. C. Sheldon (*History of Christian Doctrine*, 1886).

Basing himself on these principles, Harnack has produced a portraiture in which the Gospel and the Hellenic elements are kept separately in view and followed from the earliest days to their blending together to constitute the Christian teaching of the Ancient and Mediæval Church and finally to become consolidated, through the extreme development of the idea of authority, in the Roman Catholic Church, in Tridentine dogma. The great temptation in the use of this method, and it is one which Harnack has not always resisted, is to deal with thought as though it were a mechanical or chemical mixture whose directions and results could be always as easily mapped out as those of purely material and blind forces. Harnack himself has in a later work (*Das Wesen des Christentums*, 1900) pointed out that it is neither possible nor legitimate to draw the line at the pure words of Jesus, or the Apostolic teaching, as exclusively furnishing the essence of Christianity.

Harnack's platform is quite faithfully adhered to, though in a free spirit and with considerable original investigation, by Loofs (*Leitfaden zur Stud. d. Dogmengeschichte*, 1889). Among American writers, A. V. G. Allen (*Continuity of Christian Thought*, 1883) follows a somewhat similar method of treatment, but independently of Harnack and without the sharp lines drawn around the Gospel and the alien elements which characterize the view of the German historian.

As a result of the labors of the three quarters of a century since 1834, the study of doctrinal history is at the point of separating into three distinct branches, each with a distinct task, *viz.*, the History of Dogma, the History of Doctrine, and the History of Theology. The first of these would be essentially an expression of the various steps which have led from time to time to the definition by the Church in its authoritative standards of what the Christian should believe.

The second type of doctrinal history is that in which the Church is viewed not as the imponent of peremptory opinion, but the teacher of commonly recognized Christian truth. The formation and successive transformations by development, or otherwise, of this body of truth would in this type be freely treated with reference to standards furnished by the Bible and the Christian consciousness. A typical work of this class with a tendency to emphasize ecclesiastical forms is Seeberg's *Lehrb. d. Dogmengeschichte* (1895).

The third type — the History of Theology — without abandoning the idea of a teaching Church altogether, would construe the whole leadership of the Christian body, whether collectively in official bodies — Councils — speaking through official documents — the Creeds — or individually in great theologians, as exponents of Christian thought, and would aim to trace the course of the whole intellectual activity of the Church in this large sense as a unified movement. An instance of this type in the form of a manual is the volume in the International Theological Library by George P. Fisher (*History of Christian Doctrine*, 1896).

V. SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY

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A SEVEN-PAGE history of Philosophy and Psychology since 1834 must be an epigram. Whether measured by the number of devotees, by the quantity of their opinions, by the diversity of the latter, or by changes in method, attitude, and accepted fact, the past seventy-five years of philosophical research constitute the most important epoch of like span since Athenian days. Even those who pray facing Koenigsberg may comfortably admit this. In the index of Ueberweg's volume on Nineteenth Century Philosophy considerably more than 2500 post-Kantians are named as worthy of the philosopher's obscure immortality. The hosts of less famed but equally earnest thinkers, as well as the number of books and pamphlets delving into the human mind, can only be imagined. Report says that 30,000 works have been written to prove or to reprove something that Kant asserted. This somber attest to modern philosophical zeal, however, does not convict the epoch of intellectual monotony; for, through all the huzzas and eureka's of idealists, the last two generations have been hearing, strong and clear, theories of every type known to the historian. In 1834 Herbart had already finished his great system of Realism; Schopenhauer, then forty-six, was polishing off his audacious and absorbing Voluntarism; Fechner, still a physicist at Leipzig, was on the eve of revolutionizing psychological methods and working out a half-mystical but sober Panpsychism. In France Comte, at his prime, was evolving Positivism, whose intensely social character won many converts and almost made a religion; while Cousin was vainly struggling to found Philosophy upon Analytical Psychology. In Great Britain the center of the stage was rapidly filling with

the warring champions of Intuitionism and Associationalism, Hamilton and Mill towering above the rest in the first skirmishes. Italy was seeing Galluppi's Sensationalism confront a worthy foe in Rosmini's Objective Idealism. After 1834 this rich variety of tendencies grows still richer, until, with the ramification of later psychology and logical researches in scientific method, it has come to assume, at least to outside observers, the helter-skelter strenuosity of an ant-hill. System-writing has ceased; but now, in place of twenty great controversies about half a dozen world-views, we find hundreds raging over as many special problems, the ethics of legal responsibility, the logical postulates of arithmetic, and what not. Hence the historian must here turn aphorist, forgetting much and exaggerating not a little for clarity's sharp sake.

In the nebula of new knowledge several drifts are unmistakably visible. If the aphorist be allowed his proper freedom, all these movements may be described as making for democracy. In 1834, Hegel having been dead only three years, philosophy and philosophers were still autocratic. Among intellectuals, real and would-be, the metaphysician ranked as high priest, as the famous victory of the absolute idealists over the Prussian universities showed. Toward other investigators the philosopher comported himself tyrannically, asserting his divine right to guide both the sciences and the arts. Within the State of Pure Reason a sort of feudalism prevailed: a few system-builders, each ruling over a small following, lived in intermittent warfare with one another; while the unattached, particularly those outside of academic circles, were luckless vagabonds. Thus, in 1837, an obscure ecclesiastic, named Bernhard Bolzano, published at his own expense a huge work on logic and scientific method which, only within the past decade, has been recognized by the German world as a priceless contribution. While nearly the entire edition of this *Wissenschaftslehre* was being sold to a junk-dealer at pound rates, ten thousand students were pretending to find sense in Hegel's *Logik* and scoffing at Herbart's earth-born analyses. The methods of the system-builders also may, by the grace of language, be called undemocratic; the solitary search for basic principles, the tabulations of categories by intuition, and the ordering of all facts according to home-made schemes, are all procedures typical of the artistic

genius, intensely individualistic and dogmatic. It is not to be wondered at that some psychologists have lately pronounced the philosopher a brother to the poet; many a classical metaphysic has been written more nearly after the fashion of a sonnet than in the vein of a scientific treatise. But, since the days of Lotze, roughly speaking, a sharp reaction against all these varieties of undemocratic thinking has set in. The revulsion has been brought about partly by the pitiful absurdities of more audacious theorists. The juggleries of "thesis, antithesis, and synthesis" were not alone in driving toward this happy turn; Feuerbach's clever catch-phrase, "Der Mensch ist, was er isst"; Max Stirner's apotheosis of himself in a volume of lyrical nihilism which begat Nietzsche and his ilk; von Hartmann's clever but unconvincing disquisitions anent the habits of the Unconscious, and many other artistic speculations must each have had some influence. But they were not the most important factors. Three mighty forces, themselves closely interconnected as causes and effects, have been at work for more than half a century discouraging the old-school metaphysician; they are popular education, social enthusiasm, and science. Each has also stimulated new and better interests, pursuit of which marks characteristically the movements of latter-day philosophy.

As the number of colleges and students increased during the nineteenth century in Europe and America, and as higher learning became ever more accessible to the children of the middle and laboring classes, the number of hearers in philosophers' lecture-rooms grew apace. The newcomers were not all prospective metaphysicians or theological students. Many cherished no traditions of culture but had all the hard common sense of peasant and carpenter. Most significant, though, was the typically democratic distrust of authority, with which went the passion for free discussion, so dear to youth from time immemorial. Many a minute problem leading to momentous conclusions has doubtless been taken up during the past seventy-five years simply because some student clamored, more or less reasonably, for an answer. And the unconsciously practical trend of seminar questions and criticisms has surely turned investigators in the direction of the various philosophies or psychologies of this and that. To be sure, these special researches were sometimes

undertaken for the sake of filling out a system; more often, though, the motive was simply the wish to understand human nature and human institutions. This desire was at once the seed and the fruit of the nineteenth century's remarkable social enthusiasm, which we have counted as the second great transforming force. In the Positivism of August Comte, whose huge *Cours de philosophie positive* was being published volume-wise at the very moment when Hartford Seminary was throwing open its doors, appear in their most sharply accentuated form both the revolt against traditional philosophy and the cry for a new humanism. A quickened moral sense doubtless molded the thoughts of this splendidly fanatical thinker even more vigorously than did his metaphysical agnosticism; and, if this was the case, Comte bore witness to the influence exerted upon philosophy by the "spirit of the age." The subtleties of metaphysical absolutism were losing their charm largely because the evils of political, economic, social, and religious absolutism were coming clearly into view and crying for a remedy. The generation which knew Napoleon was sick of wars and intrigues. The world was enthusiastically planning a new international law to settle differences amicably. Free trade was in the ascendency almost everywhere. Monopolies and the exploitation of weaker races and classes were being fiercely assailed. In 1833 slavery was abolished within the British Empire, and the Americans were beginning to work for a like result in their own land. There were revolutions on the Continent in 1830 and 1848; and the English parliamentary reforms of 1832 were, at bottom, still deeper stirrings of a new humanitarianism. The war against liquor was breaking out in earnest. Almost at the hour of Hartford's birth *Claude Gueux* was published, the first masterly shot in the campaign for prison-reform and poor-house legislation which was soon to engross men all over the Western world. Now, this was neither epistemology nor logic; but because it was vital, urgent, and "in the air," it caught the attention of philosophers and, having done so, forced them to view human nature and its problems more intimately than ever before.

The greatest single manifestation of this humanizing of philosophers is Socialism, a term which we here use as a rough symbol, not only for Marxism and its variants, but also for the

whole welter of political philosophies, sociologies, new ethics, yea, and even psychological theories which are touched, whether deliberately or not, by either the materialism, the positivism, or the altruism appearing in the campaign literature of Socialistic parties here and abroad. We must forego criticism of this jumble; for an epigram on Philosophy it is enough to note only that in this vague, world-wide movement speculation and practice, the metaphysician and the day-laborer, meet as they have never met before. Here is a theory regarding the ultimate nature of things used as a plank in a political platform. Here are men like Jaurès turning from epistemology to the drafting of labor-laws. Here too are workmen demanding that thinkers set the world in order first of all. Partly a result of that same practicality which had long before been stirring in scientific circles, this "union of brain and brawn" in a new social enthusiasm has also been the cause of the zeal for practical research which has become perhaps the truest characteristic of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In so far as the "coalition of university and slum" has been this, it has affected Philosophy profoundly, though in a roundabout way.

That way is modern Science, one of three great transmuting forces. Not only through its discoveries, but through its method, Science has worked a veritable revolution in Philosophy. That method is empirical, impersonal, and statistical. Because empirical, it has brought to naught, by comparison, all conceptual analysis, inspiration, and dogmatic postulates. Because impersonal, it has likewise humiliated those who would set their homespun theories against the world. Because statistical, it has compelled all who would question its results to practice its exactitude. So far as the present affords basis for judgment, Philosophy has been influenced far more positively by these peculiarities of scientific method than by scientific discoveries and hypotheses. Isolated facts interest the philosophical theorist but remotely, and the sure achievements of Science to-day consist almost wholly of such. Wider generalizations are still uncertain, if not impossible. In Physics, for instance, the ether is a bundle of contradictions, while the relation of matter to energy is a theme for wild conjecture. Biology still confesses all its fundamental phenomena inscrutable paradoxes. Psychology is even less fortunate in

that it is not quite sure what some of its chief problems are; the controversy over interaction and parallelism has brought into high light the utmost confusion about the specific connections between mind and matter. There are some who feel that they have caught at least part of the secret; but they are singularly incompetent to convince others.

This does not mean that, in the darkness about ultimate things, either Philosophy or Psychology has stood still and empty-pocketed. Facts have been gathered at an amazing rate, some great, some mean; but probably all worth the lifting. The psychologist has searched every walk of life for the conditions and manners of experience. We have a psychology of religion, a psychology of mice, a psychology of money, and a psychology of alcoholism; and the things therein revealed are not wholly unsuggestive. For all their incompleteness and mystery, they point, even more clearly, to the functional nature of mind. How much or how little this means, it is not easy to say in a paragraph — nor yet in a book of this date; but the most conspicuous, if not the most noteworthy contemporary “school,” Pragmatism, speaks for the greater part of the philosophical and psychological world when it declares experience to be the expression of a function of the human organism, just as respiration is, and the concrete elaborations of experience to be determined by the specific needs of that organism under definite environmental conditions. The ease with which this view may be turned, now to subjectivism, now to materialism, and again to voluntarism, enlivens its development with more sharp tilts and misunderstandings than are common. In the midst of these the philosopher is called upon to exercise his ancient prerogative, the criticism of hypotheses and procedure. As Physics, Biology, Physiology, and all the rest have become more and more deeply entangled in the central issues of Psychology — which is almost synonymous with Philosophy in most quarters to-day — the necessity has arisen of scrutinizing the assumptions and the methods of observation and argument employed by scientists who would force their conclusions upon the philosopher. Hence the attention given, especially in recent years, to “New Logic.” This “New Logic” has been growing in two apparently unrelated directions; on the one hand, it has sought to liberate us from that extreme psychological tend-

ency which reduces all thinking to a mere "brain spark" and describes all theories as equally true, differing only in convenience; on the other hand, its endeavor has been to depict and purify scientific methods. At bottom these two aims are closely related, each being a way of sharpening our instruments of knowledge.

This scissors-grinding, more than anything else, has made a democrat of Teufelsdröckh. It has brought him down from his watch-tower into street, shop, and laboratory. It has made him a critic-of-all-trades. It has taught him to consult with facts instead of with Boötes, and to trust the world's many workmen more than his own private visions. These seventy-five years have not driven the lesson home as it must be driven, but they have done enough to strengthen Philosophy's position greatly. The philosopher is on better terms with everybody than ever before; more students flock to him; and, though he may never again be king, he is at least sure of a long and honorable career as chairman of the auditing committee in the Republic of Letters.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION

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THE changes in the mental attitude of religious leaders during the last seventy-five years has no more significant illustration than is afforded by the recent beginnings of a Psychology of Religion. Psychological science in general is a measure of the development of self-consciousness in human society, and the advent of a Psychology of Religion indicates that man is beginning to take account of himself as a religious being.

Psychology of Religion may be defined as the science of the religious life. As such its aim is to investigate human experience under the aspect of those feelings, ideas, and activities that go out towards the supernatural. Its material is (1) the mental states involved in religion, (2) the objects that induce them, and (3) the environment of mind that affects its reactions to such objects. Its method is that of the other inductive sciences. A Psychology of Religion, thus understood, did not exist seventy-five years ago. Men had indeed begun to analyze their own adult states of religious consciousness. Kant had postulated the idea of God as the starting-point of the religious life, thus making religion primarily to depend upon the intellect. Schleiermacher had based religion upon the feelings of dependence and mystery. But neither Kant, the intellectualist, nor Schleiermacher, the emotionalist, had made any attempt to verify their conclusions by an objective study of religious phenomena. Herder and Hegel had gone beyond them in this respect, in their efforts to discover a universal content in religion, as revealed in racial history, thus anticipating later genetic studies of religion. The influence, however, of none of these European philosophers had yet been felt, to any great extent, in the United States. The New England theology, which was then the dominant type of religious thought, was based essen-

tially upon Jonathan Edwards's philosophy; and this had been derived from the theological premises of Calvinism, with a certain admixture of the philosophy of Locke.

The Psychology of Religion, in the scientific sense of that term, has therefore only the most general relationship to European philosophy of seventy-five years ago; while to the philosophy of Edwards it has none at all. It is no more a lineal descendant of the type of thought that produced Edwards's treatise on the Will, than are Geology and Biology of the type of thought that produced St. Basil's work on Creation. Its genesis is rather to be traced to the modern inductive sciences. It has grown up along with Biology, Anthropology, and the more recent branches of psychological science. From these great scientific activities of the nineteenth century has the Psychology of Religion derived its viewpoint, its method, and much of its material. Just as medical science is dependent at every point upon the more fundamental biological sciences, such as Bacteriology and Physiology, so is the science of the religious life dependent upon the more fundamental human sciences. With them it is permanently allied in its general aims, methods, and results. It is in the light of these sciences, therefore, that we may best understand the nature, present status, and future significance of the Psychology of Religion.

In the words of a recent writer,¹ "The nineteenth century will be for all time memorable for the great extension of the knowledge of organic nature. It was then that the results of the earlier efforts of mankind to interpret the mysteries of nature began to be fruitful; observers of organic nature began to see more deeply into the province of life, and, above all, began to see how to direct their future studies. It was in that century that the use of the microscope made known the similarity in the cellular construction of all organized being; that the substance, protoplasm, began to be recognized as the physical basis of life and the seat of all vital activities; then most contagious diseases were traced to microscopic organisms, and as a consequence, medicine and surgery were reformed; then the belief in the spontaneous origin of life was given up; and it was in that century that the doctrine of organic evolution gained general acceptance."

¹ Locy, *Biology and its Makers*, p. 3.

The significance of this biological movement of the nineteenth century for students of the religious life cannot be over-estimated. All departments of knowledge and all forms of individual and social activity are being modified in harmony with its conclusions. The human mind is becoming *biocentric* in its outlook upon every type of experience. There is no other explanation of the changes that are rapidly taking place in literature, art, education, religion, and social institutions. Biology has discovered a new way of looking at things. Since Darwin published his *Origin of Species* in 1859, human experience in every department of life, and not least in that of religion, has taken on absolutely new meanings and values. General Biology has had its culmination in Cellular Biology. This science is bringing man's mind into such intimate acquaintance with the elemental forces of life that new conceptions of the relation between physical and psychical processes are beginning to take form. Under its influence, men are learning to look at life from the inside, and to discern modes of energy hitherto unknown. The processes of cell-conjugation and cell-division, for example, reveal phenomena for which there is no explanation by any generally accepted standard of knowledge. Religious Psychology may here find suggestions as to an entirely new conception of the human soul, and God's relation to it. It is not improbable that Cellular Biology, which has thus far occupied itself with physiological fact and theory, may sometime lead the way to a radical reconstruction of religious philosophy. If the doctrine of divine immanence is ever to become anything more than a philosophical speculation, and be a really vital principle in men's conscious coöperation with God in creating men, it will be through the revelations of Cellular Biology.

Another modern science in which the Psychology of Religion is deeply rooted is Anthropology. This science investigates man's development racially, as Biology investigates his development as a living being. On the psychical side, it discovers the origin of beliefs, customs, works, and institutions of the various races and levels of civilization. Its investigation of the religious life of the race has created the science of Comparative Religion; and this science supplies the Psychology of Religion with facts and principles that enable it to derive universal laws of religious development. Thus there have been brought to light the unity

of religious consciousness in all mankind; the essential elements of that consciousness; the objects that evoke its activities under the varying conditions of racial environment; the forms these activities take, in ceremonials, sacrifices, worship, and institutions; and the religious sanction of conduct throughout racial evolution. Anthropological science thus helps the student of Religious Psychology to discriminate between the universal and essential content of religion and the relative and unessential content; to discover an apologetic for religious faith on the part of the individual, in the universal religious faith of the race; to apply racial standards as correctives for the religious vagaries and perversions in individuals and communities; and, in short, to establish criteria for estimating the religious development of the individual life.

A third science to which the Psychology of Religion is closely related is Genetic Psychology. This science investigates the origin and growth of mind. It employs freely the premises and methods of Biology and of Anthropology. It comprises the psychology of the lower animals, of primitive peoples, of children, and of defective and undeveloped types generally. Genetic Psychology is doing for the psychic life what Biology is doing for the organic life. It reduces mind to its simplest terms; it views it embryologically; and discovers in its beginnings the elements and the processes that explain the complex states and activities of the adult mind. Just as Embryology and Cytology have given men a knowledge of the human organism that bids fair to emancipate them from their thralldom to disease, weakness, and premature decay of the body, so is Genetic Psychology giving them a knowledge of the primary factors of the psychic life, and the laws of its growth and decay, that will sometime enable them to control the spiritual forces of the world as they are now so rapidly learning to control its physical forces.

Tributary to Genetic Psychology, in that they investigate organic conditions and mental states in their relation to the growth or decay of mind, are Physiological and Experimental Psychology. The former has to do with the interrelations of physical and psychical processes. More especially it seeks to discover the interdependence between the structures and functions of the nervous system and the phenomena of mental development, arrest, and disease. From its results, the Psychology

of Religion derives data concerning the religious and moral implications of organic states — the significance of changing physiological conditions for moral and religious growth; the normal regimen of the physical life as affecting the instinct-feelings, ideas, and activities that enter into religious experience; and the elements of truth, or error, in the various systems of mental therapeutics employed by religious cults. In short, it aids the student of the religious life in understanding the immediate physical environment that affects religious experience, and in controlling it. Experimental Psychology investigates mental states, aptitudes, and activities by means of exact apparatus. It cross-sections, as it were, the psychic life, and subjects it to microscopic study, attempting to achieve, so far as possible, a complete objective study of the mind at a given moment, and under a given set of conditions. Supplemented by Physiological Psychology, it gives to the Psychology of Religion data for determining the general and individual mental traits that enter into the religious life. It discovers the different degrees and modes of suggestibility, the characteristic types of mental imagery, the varieties of feeling-reaction, and other qualities that predispose to the various forms of religious expression.

From these fundamental human sciences, therefore, has the Psychology of Religion had its origin. Upon them it was obliged to wait in making its beginnings; for in its aim and scope it is the most complex and derivative of all the human sciences, and so could not have originated until the more fundamental human sciences had developed their methods and accumulated their data. Upon them, too, must it continue to wait in clarifying its aim, and determining the scope of its work; since, being a science of human life, it must ever consider the facts and technique of those other sciences of human life which have to do with the primary factors of its problems. As a separate science, indeed, it is thus far only correlating and interpreting the data of the older human sciences, formulating its plans, and seeking to find its own more specific methods. Its literature reflects these initial stages of its work. Strictly speaking, this literature is not yet twenty years old. It began with two articles published in 1891, in the first volume of the *Pedagogical Seminary* — one by Professor William H. Burnham on "The Study of Adolescence," and the other by President

G. Stanley Hall on "The Moral and Religious Training of Children and Adolescents." Both of these articles analyze the content of the growing mind, and sketch, in broad outline, its moral and religious regimen and training. President Hall's article, in particular, enunciates principles of the religious life of children and youth which all subsequent literature on that subject has done little more than elaborate and apply. The essence of Religious Psychology and Pedagogy as applied to the formative periods of life is contained in these words of President Hall: "It is said to be a psychological impossibility to teach anything as purely authoritative. If religion can be taught or revealed, it must already be preformed in us by nature, though it may be but dimly. The teacher, then, must ever regard and inculcate religion as in a sense a growth or development, and in such a way that this natural predisposition be neither neglected, repressed, nor distorted." These articles have since been followed by numerous studies of the religious life, in the light of Psychology and Anthropology, made by President Hall's students and others, and published in the *Pedagogical Seminary*, *American Journal of Psychology*, *Association Outlook*, *Monist*, and other magazines. In 1905, there was founded by President Hall *The American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, which marks the most distinctive culmination of this movement in periodical literature.¹

The first book on the Psychology of Religion representing that subject as here defined, was Professor Edward D. Starbuck's *The Psychology of Religion*, published in 1899. This book is an elaboration of studies previously published in the *American Journal of Psychology*. Its point of view is that of Genetic Psychology applied to the study of adolescence, but its material is drawn not only from Psychology but also from the biological sciences. This book was followed in 1900 by Professor George A. Coe's *The Spiritual Life*, which, while illustrating somewhat

¹ Representative studies in the Psychology of Religion that have appeared in magazine literature, are the following: Daniels, "The New Life," *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. vi, 1893; Leuba, "A Study in the Psychology of Religious Phenomena," *ibid.*, vol. vii, 1896; Gulick, "Age, Sex, and Conversion," *Association Outlook*, 1897-98; Starbuck, "A Study of Conversion," *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. viii, 1897; and "Some Aspects of Religious Growth," *ibid.*, vol. ix, 1898; Lancaster, "The Psychology and Pedagogy of Adolescence," *Pedagogical Seminary*, vol. v, 1897; Street, "A Genetic Study of Immortality," *ibid.*, vol. vi, 1898; and Barnes, "Children's Attitude towards Theology," *Studies in Education*, vol. ii, 1902.

the same point of view and material, included a larger element of experimental data, more particularly regarding the different religious types of mind and experience. With the appearance of these two volumes, the literature of the Psychology of Religion, as represented by books, had its substantial beginnings. Since this time the growth of such literature has been constant, and of increasing scope and significance. Illustrative are the following works: Professor William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902); Professor George A. Coe's *Religion of a Mature Mind* (1903); President G. Stanley Hall's *Adolescence* (1904); Professor Frederick M. Davenport's *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals* (1905); Dr. Josiah Moses's *Pathological Aspects of Religions* (1906); Professor James B. Pratt's *Psychology of Religious Belief* (1907); and Dr. George B. Cutten's *The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity* (1908).

The beginnings of a Psychology of Religion, however, are not to be seen in its literature only. They are also evident in the curricula of an increasing number of educational institutions. In 1897, the Bible Normal College, of Springfield, Mass., established a chair of Psychology, whose work was designed to apply the data and methods of the human sciences to religious problems. After the removal of this institution to Hartford, Conn., in 1902, and its incorporation as the Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy, it became affiliated with the Hartford Theological Seminary, and its courses were opened to students of that institution. Hartford Seminary was thus the first theological institution to provide for work in the Psychology of Religion. According to an investigation conducted by Mr. Carl F. Henry in 1906, to determine "The Training for a Teaching Pastorate in the Theological Seminaries of America,"¹ the following additional institutions had at that time made some provision for work in the Psychology of Religion: Andover Theological Seminary, Boston University, Crozer Seminary, and Gammon Theological Seminary. While this is but a small proportion of the one hundred and thirty-two institutions that reported to Mr. Henry, it nevertheless shows a real beginning in such work.

The results of the Psychology of Religion up to the present time have already been implied. They are as follows: (1) the

¹ A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy, for the degree of Bachelor of Religious Pedagogy.

fact of its own existence, a science gradually differentiating itself from the other human sciences; (2) the beginnings of an interpretation of the facts of Biology, Anthropology, and Psychology in terms of religion, and of a reinterpretation of the facts of religious experience in terms of science; (3) the beginnings of independent investigation in the sphere of religion, and of a new body of data bearing upon the latter; (4) the beginnings of a specific literature which serves both as a record of progress and as a stimulus and guide to further efforts; and (5) the beginnings of educational application, in the class room and in practical religious work. These results are all very general and tentative, and should be so regarded. There is nothing in them to warrant any finality of judgment as to the nature of religion, or an unqualified application of Religious Psychology to religious nurture and training. Such finality of judgment and such unqualified application can lead only to one-sided views of the religious life and to irrational methods of controlling it.

In the judgment of the writer, there are three current tendencies among students of religious phenomena that illustrate the need of caution in the foregoing respects: (1) the undue stress laid upon adolescence in studying the religious life; (2) the disposition to see in religion an irradiation of the sexual functions; and (3) the tendency to pervert Psychology in general, and Religious Psychology in particular, into mystical and thaumaturgic channels. In the first instance, scientists have merely followed the very unscientific tendency of popular religion to lay undue stress upon conversion and other striking regeneration-phenomena associated with adolescence, and the equally unscientific tendency among primitive races to celebrate puberty with certain rites and ceremonies. In the second instance, they have fixed their attention too exclusively upon adolescence, and, believing that the central fact of adolescent life is the awakening of sexual consciousness, they have drawn the conclusion that sex and religion are causally related. In the third instance, they have either sought in science for material to satisfy a natural craving for the mysterious and occult, or they have yielded to the ever pressing popular demand for practical and imposing results.

All of these tendencies argue a faulty scientific perspective

that should not be found in a thoroughgoing Psychology of Religion. As to the first two mentioned, nothing is more certain than the extreme complexity of the religious life, and the comprehensive synthesis involved in its conscious phenomena. The sciences that have to do with man's nature all yield concurrent testimony that religion strikes its roots not in any one division of his life, or in any one set of functions, but in all; and that its growth, flower, and fruitage are products of all experiences from birth to death. Biology makes clear that the organs and functions having to do with self-conservation are more fundamental and enduring than those having to do with reproduction. Anthropology makes clear that man's fears and hopes, his combats and loves, his cravings for the reason of things, his instincts of cosmic relationships in extent and duration of existence, and his conscience, have been constant and powerful factors in the racial evolution of religion. And Genetic Psychology makes clear that throughout childhood, no less than in adolescence, the instincts of self-preservation, as well as those going out towards the welfare of others, impel the unfolding consciousness to religious beliefs. As to the third tendency, a broad survey of the nature and regimen of human life makes doubtful the wisdom of singling out a force like *suggestibility*, whose modes of action and results are so little understood, and making it prominent in the cure of disease. One cannot resist the feeling that the age-long popular belief in thaumaturgy and the Church's own too exclusive reliance upon a mystical salvation are here being revived under a new name.

The Psychology of Religion, properly interpreted, is certainly not responsible for either of these tendencies. Its origin and its legitimate aim commit it to a broader view of religion, and to a more comprehensive program of organic and psychical regeneration than are here proposed. Students of religious phenomena should incorporate into their work the spirit of the great fundamental human sciences from which the Psychology of Religion has sprung. They should cultivate a scientific perspective that reveals all the facts and laws of man's life in their true relationship. Only thus can they avoid the same narrow and prejudiced views of religion that the *a priori* methods of the past have inculcated. Only thus can they hope to bring the spiritual life of mankind within the domain of law and orderly control.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

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THE two great permanent problems of Christian Theology are: (1) to ascertain just what Christianity is—what it is as to the facts and truths included in it, and the source and authority of these; (2) having ascertained what Christianity is, to place it in its proper relation to the life of man—to relate it thus to past history, and to individual and social conduct at the present time. In other words, what it tries to do is to set forth accurately the content and meaning of Christianity.

It is one of the most notable differences between theological thinking now and seventy-five years ago, that in our day all efforts to solve either of these problems are so mightily influenced by the results of the study of Comparative Religion. Not only are these results potent in shaping fundamental philosophical conceptions, in directing the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, and in guiding the analysis of the Christian consciousness; but their influence is also strongly felt in the whole realm of Evangelistics, both in Christian countries and on mission fields. A new line of contrasts has been set up. For the old antithesis of religion and irreligion, natural religion and revealed religion, is substituted the comparison between religion high and low, adequate and inadequate, perfect and imperfect, absolute and relative.

This outcome, whatever of good or bad it may contain—with its impulse toward a broader sympathy on the one hand, and on the other, its liability to a weakened sense of moral responsibility in things religious—is due in very large measure to the birth of a science which seventy-five years ago did not exist.

The mention of a few names and dates makes clear how short its life has been. In the year 1834 James Freeman Clarke was twenty-four years old, Max Müller and Ernest Renan were lads

of eleven, Abraham Kuenen was a baby of two, and Cornelius P. Tiele, later his colleague in the University of Leyden, was only two years his senior, while Albert Réville was a child of eight. Twelve years were to pass before E. Goblet d'Alviella and Robertson Smith were born. The issue of the *Sacred Books of the East* did not begin till 1879, and Tylor's *Primitive Culture* appeared in 1871. One searches in vain for the names of men who before these had any clear apprehension of the scope of the science.

In England the mental attitudes in the eighteenth century were perpetuated well into the nineteenth. In 1757 Hume closed his *Natural History of Religion* by declaring "the whole is a riddle, an enigma, an inexplicable mystery"; and he sought to make his "escape into the calm, though obscure regions of philosophy." Warburton felt that in this book Hume was "establishing atheism," and declared that "a wickeder mind, and more obstinately bent on public mischief" he never knew. The fact was, that in this work, as in others, Hume exposed a false method by working out logically a *reductio ad absurdum*; and Warburton, more zealous than acute, was horrified at the outcome. In Germany, Herder with his vision of the unity of the life of man, and Hegel with his profound interpretation of history in accord with the principles of an evolutionary philosophy, together with the work of the early Biblical critics, did much to establish that truer method of reading history which, when applied to the facts of religion, developed about the middle of the nineteenth century the science of Comparative Religion.

The late appearance of a science so significant for the whole religious life is accounted for, when we examine a little more closely what are its scope and method. "Comparative Religion" means of course the study of religion by the use of the comparative method. The express employment of the defining word "comparative" in connection with the study of religion would seem at first sight to indicate that to this field was applied a different method from that employed in the investigation of other realms of scientific research. Such, however, is not the case. This term really unifies the method of studying religion with that used in other sciences, but serves to separate it from the dogmatic treatment of religion. Its use simply means that men came to recognize that religion was an object to which scien-

tific methods could properly be applied. The characteristic of the scientific method in every field is, first, the collection of facts; second, their analysis and comparison, resulting in a classification; third, the discovery of the unifying laws and principles that obtain in them. The application of this method to the sphere of religion involved thus, first, the History of Religion — the collection of the facts of the religious life as they have appeared in successive periods and in different places; second, the comparison and classification of these facts — or Comparative Religion in its narrower sense; third, the correct interpretation of the meaning of these classified facts — or the Philosophy of Religion. The term employed by Tiele, "The Science of Religion" is the most satisfactory one in common use to designate the whole field.

Accurate knowledge of the facts in the history of many religions was thus the necessary prerequisite for the application of this method to religion, and such knowledge was not possessed until after the first third of the nineteenth century.

In the collecting of facts great difficulties presented themselves because of the enormous stretches of time covered, the great diversity of language in which religious ideas have been clothed, the varying stages of culture where the religious life has manifested itself, and the marked individuality of specific races. These considerations, especially the last two, together with the embedded religious convictions and prejudices of the age of the student himself, made it exceedingly difficult to hit upon the common elements that would best serve as rubrics to direct in a satisfactory classification of the facts of religion. Furthermore, the remarkable diversity of view during the last fifty years as to fundamental psychological, epistemological, metaphysical, and ethical principles, together with the tremendous influence such views must have in interpreting a group of facts belonging to the realm of man's psychic life, enhanced the difficulties in the way of securing scientific results of solid objective value. Even up to the present time these difficulties have not been entirely overcome; but enough has for a long time been accomplished in the way of well-established results to make the skeptical complacency of Hume and the pious horror of Warburton appear equally remote and antiquated.

When, nevertheless, the effort is made to trace through its

successive stages the progress of Comparative Religion, or the Science of Religion, to its assured results, one is immediately impressed by the deviousness of the path and the diversity of the outcome. It would appear, for example, impossible to reach settled conclusions by the comparative method until some well-established and generally acceptable scheme of the classification of religions had been attained. Yet when one takes up such a book as Jastrow's excellent little manual and turns to the chapter on Classification, he finds that nine different theories of classification are discussed and rejected (and several others might be added) and that the author proposes a tenth in which it would not be difficult to find flaws. Still all these methods of classification have their excellences, and their employment has proved of service in bringing into clarity the common and divergent elements in the historic manifestations of the religious consciousness, and in accentuating the great fact of its fundamental unity from the earliest to the latest times.

The ultimate goal of a Science of Religion is to find a satisfactory definition of religion — to state what is its content and what its meaning. In moving toward this end various methods have been employed, and it is in the examination of these that the development of the science is most clearly revealed. To the Science of Religion various other sciences are necessarily auxiliary, notably Archæology, Anthropology, Philology, Ethnology, Mythology, Sociology, Psychology, and the conclusions of students of Comparative Religion are inevitably influenced by their predilections for, or familiarity with, one or another of these auxiliary disciplines. It was natural, for example, to find a student of languages, like Max Müller, interpreting the nature of religion and its origin in terms of the results of his philological studies. Valuable as his researches and those of his co-workers in this field have been, it has proved necessary to check their conclusions by the results of workers in other fields.

A survey of the progress of the Science of Religion shows many scholars working at the same time in diverse fields, with different rubrics of classification, and all contributing results valuable to the general development of the science as a whole. The coincidence and diversity of these efforts makes precise chronological treatment impracticable within a limited space. A clearer view of the general movement is secured by an examina-

tion of the main tendencies which have appeared in the history of the science.

The lines of development are most clearly brought to light by a brief examination of the different ways in which has been answered the question, How did Religion come to be? Logically this is not the first question to be put, but it is the first both historically and psychologically, and the answer to it has very largely conditioned the interpretation of the phenomena of the religious life, both internal and external. This is the form in which the eighteenth century handed on the question as the result of its long controversy over Rationalism *vs.* Supernaturalism, over Natural Religion *vs.* Revealed Religion. It is, moreover, the form in which the Christian thinker, habituated to the interpretation of a religious consciousness believed to be constituted through a regenerating act of God's grace, and resting back on an objective revelation of God in Jesus Christ, naturally put the question. Moreover, this question, how religion came to be, inevitably raised queries as to the nature of primitive man — the subject of religion; as to the nature of the God of primitive man — the object of religion; as to the nature of the primitive man's consciousness of his relation to God — the inner side of religion; and as to the forms in which this consciousness expressed itself — the outer side of religion, or cultus.

Two distinctly contrasted types of answers to this question appear, the development of which show the characteristic lines of the historic progress of the science. They come most clearly to view by putting them in their extreme forms. On the one hand is the view of Radical Supernaturalism; on the other, that of a Radical Naturalism. A table of contrasted theories with respect to religion may be put thus: —

<u>Radical Supernaturalism</u>	<u>Radical Naturalism</u>
Religion static	Religion evolving
Religion a divine impartation	Religion a human construct
Religion an absolute truth	Religion a cultural coefficient

The former looks back to a primitive man a little lower than the angels, as a being of high endowment, or at least of large ethical and religious receptivity, to whom was imparted by objective revelation from God, a pure, ethical monotheism. Then followed a degeneration of man, accompanied, of course, by an

obscuring and perversion of his religion, succeeded by a restoration in Christ and a readjustment of the revelation from God to the necessities of his debased nature. Religion thus contained the changeless truth of God's essential and constant relation to man. The main arguments for this general view have been: The logical necessity of it in view of the nature of God and of man as manifested through what is known of both from the Christian revelation and the Christian religious experience; The historic evidence from the Bible; The evidence of a primitive monotheism in the lowest forms of religion; The historic evidence of religious degeneration in the life of many peoples. The history of this view shows a diminishing number of defenders and a diminishing acceptance. It may be figured as a wedge with its thick end in the past and diminishing toward the present.

The view of Radical Naturalism may be represented as a wedge placed in the reverse chronological position, growing in acceptance and in the number of its advocates from earlier to later times. It looks upon primitive man as possessed of a most limited spiritual capacity, not a little lower than the angels, but a little higher than the beasts. Under the stimulus of natural and social environment he gradually developed a belief in the existence of an order of being different from himself and the world of his daily contacts. From a crude naturalistic polytheism, through the passing ages he slowly advanced to a more or less purely conceived monotheism with a growing ethical content. The significance of this process does not lie in its grasp upon an eternal objective reality, but in the value these beliefs may have in contributing to the general progress of culture, quite without relation to any constant reality they may embody. The arguments in favor of such a view have been: — Its consonance with the general concept of evolution from the lower to the higher, which has proved so serviceable in the interpretation of the physical and biological sciences; The evidence from archæology indicating the cruder and cruder nature of religious observances the farther back historic remains are traced; The anthropological investigations pointing toward the undeveloped structure and the limited capacity of original man; The argument from philology indicating the identification of the names of deities with the names of natural objects; The ethnological and mythological investigations pointing to similar cycles of

belief in spite of race-peculiarities; The sociological facts indicating their molding influence on religious concepts and suggesting that religion is never an individual but always a social matter; The psychological analysis which would show from the normal operations of the human mind what religious notions it will form in reacting on its environment.

Among those who have held to this general way of thinking there has been manifest no very clear agreement as to just what was the primitive form of religion, or what were the original impulses leading to its development. As to the latter, some have laid stress on superstition, and have conceived that the process of evolution would therefore at last eliminate religion altogether from the race and deliver man into the clear pure light of science. Others have accented the function of rational thought in the construction of the object of religion, and have believed that it will finally become merged in a rational philosophy or a utilitarian ethics. Still others have traced religion to an emotional reaction of man on his environment, and ascribe to it a certain permanent æsthetic value in the development of his nature.

As to the earliest form of religion, various views have been held which can also be placed in no chronological order because they have been contemporaneous. Fetishism, Spiritism, Animism, Naturism, Totemism, have been by various authors argued for as representing the original form in which religion realized itself.

A further distinction can be made with respect to the different ways in which, during the short history of the science, the primitive impulse, or motive, leading to religion has been conceived. Some have found it in a special faculty of man, others in fear, or in love, or in a sense of need, or in scientific curiosity, or in the desire to gain peculiar control over others, or in æsthetic delight, or in the impulse to philosophical speculation.

In the foregoing the effort has been made to trace the main lines of the development of the two contrasted schools of the Radical Supernaturalists and the Radical Naturalists in the historic progress of the Science of Religion. For some years now there has been manifest a strong tendency on the part of writers in this field to seek a position which shall somehow combine whatever of truth lies in the contentions of these two warring radical schools of thought. This effort is made by writers

differing widely among themselves in many respects, but all intent on some sort of a synthesis which shall be truer to the facts of the history of religion than either of the others. It has been felt that the rigidity of the radical revelational school did scant justice to the facts of human history, while the radical evolutionary school has failed to account adequately for the outcome of the process. Especially has it been thought that the latter has not made sufficient room in its theories for the appearance and power of great historic religious personalities, or for the distinctive and peculiar unity of the religious consciousness and its objective manifestations. The effort is accordingly made to account for these results by recognizing in the constitution of man some sort of an inherent adjustment to environment, which brings about in him psychic reactions which on their inner side constitute religion; and by discerning some sort of an objective reality, expressed briefly by the word "God," which, through something which may be more or less precisely called "revelation," has conditioned and shaped the evolutionary processes of religion to an increasingly perfect apprehension of a veritable divine reality. Different writers express this general view very differently in accordance with the range of their investigations and their own personal religious faith; but toward some such general method the present tendency is most marked.¹

¹ For excellent manuals giving a general survey of the field see Lewis H. Jordan, *Comparative Religion, its Genesis and Growth* (1905) and Morris Jastrow, *The Study of Religion* (1901). The former is especially good for its classified literature, its indexes, and its history of the science.

THE CONCEPTION OF MAN'S PLACE IN NATURE

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THE purpose of this paper is to register within a brief compass the general changes that have taken place during the past three quarters of a century in the teachings of Theology concerning man's place in the scale of being. This result has been wrought out in the collision between the traditional doctrines of Theology and the findings of Natural Science. It is impossible to examine the shifting movements of this conflict. We can consider only the outstanding facts and give attention to the critical moments.

Christian Theology has always had a doctrine of the natural order and of the relation of the Creator to it, both in the initial act by which the natural world was called into being, and in its government and present control by the Lord of all things. In this general doctrine, account was given of the creation of the physical world including man, and his place in the creation was assigned with positive confidence. The sacred books contained a report of the creation of all things in the beginning by God. These records were not criticised;¹ they were interpreted with as much skill and insight as the teachers of the successive Christian generations could command. Whether in the Middle Ages or in the Reformation period, the interpretation of the creation narratives in the Book of Genesis was strictly and literally followed out. The great dogmatists put it into their "Sentences" and "Systems"; Michelangelo and Raphael painted it on the ceiling of loggia and chapel. The existence of noxious animals was accounted for on the ground of human sin. As to the different species in the animal kingdom, it was finally taught that each was created in its identity by God, that all were named by

¹ Augustine laid down the principle in his comment on Gen. 2: 5, "Nothing is to be accepted save on the authority of Scripture, since greater is that authority than all the powers of the human mind."

Adam, preserved in the Ark, distributed anew at the subsidence of the Deluge, and that each species has maintained the separateness which it received from the Creator's hand. Man was the crown of the creation, woman was taken from his side while he slept, and the human species was ennobled by becoming the recipient of the supreme love and grace of God in the plan of salvation. There was but slight variation in the uniformity with which these positions were maintained. So Theology had its own sacred science of creation and its definite assignment of man's place in the order of being. It did not refer to appropriate sciences either the right or authority to teach the truth concerning value, but believed its own records to be adequate and trustworthy, and sought only ingeniously to interpret them so that the unicorn, the cockatrice, and the basilisk should be clearly described, and man be set in his unique place as crown of the natural order.

We cannot now trace the obscure beginnings and gradual growth of those causes which finally resulted in the outburst of new knowledge and theory which took place about the middle of the last century. Science had been the handmaid of Theology to illustrate the benevolent design and perfect wisdom of the Creator as shown in the natural order, and the *Bridgewater Treatises* were the final witness to the earnestness and effectiveness of that service. Theological Natural Science began to wane in influence by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Concerning the specific doctrine which has been at the center of the debate for over half a century, Mr. Huxley calls it "the Miltonic hypothesis,"¹ because in the seventeenth century Milton declared the immediate creation of distinct species by God. This was the general position of the scientific world so long as Science served the needs of Theology. Linnæus adopted this; Cuvier held that man should be classified under a unique category. On the other hand, Lamarck attempted to prove that new species could arise from old ones through gradual change.

The atmospheric stress growing gradually during the first half of the century broke in a storm, when, after a period of patient and exhaustive research covering a period of twenty years, Charles Darwin not only defended the fact of the origin of higher out of lower species, but proposed a definite theory to

¹ See J. M. Tyler, *Man in the Light of Evolution*, 1908, p. 4.

account for it. On July 1, 1858, papers by Darwin and Wallace were read before the Linnæan Society of London proposing the hypothesis which furnished the title for the book of the former, *The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection*, published Nov. 24, 1859. Mr. Darwin's book was one of the most significant ever published during the history of human thinking. It found a ready and waiting world, and it awakened both the ardent championship of those who were prepared to defend it and the violent hostility of those who saw in its great hypothesis the subtle and deadly foe of what they held to be final truth.

The attack from Theology was not confined to any country or creed. In Europe and America and Australia a storm of counter-argument and of denunciation came from both Roman Catholic and Protestant sources. The periodical literature, as well as that of a more permanent character from the years following 1860, records the intense and often very bitter contest. The Bishop of Oxford in 1860 declared that "the principle of natural selection is absolutely incompatible with the word of God."¹ Ridicule was poured upon the theory as well as denunciation. For a time it seemed as if Theology had but one voice and one reply. The current conception of man, created in the integrity of his being as a unique species from the hand of God, was unable to live with the notion of physical man descending or ascending from lower orders of life.

Under the attack of Theology and the inspiration of the theory of Mr. Darwin, eager scientists set themselves at work, and the immutability of species was contradicted from every side.

In 1863 Mr. Huxley published his book bearing the specific title of this paper, *Man's Place in Nature*. Its value is now chiefly historical. It cut squarely across the theological-scientific teaching, that man is a species by himself and immediately created in his integrity by the hand of God. It classified man in a common order zoölogically with the apes, and defended the position that man had been evolved from the lower orders of life, although Mr. Huxley did not accept absolutely Mr. Darwin's hypothesis. Mr. Huxley recognized the vast difference between civilized man and the brutes, and said plainly that man, "whether *from* them or not, is assuredly not *of* them."²

If we take our standpoint midway in the half-century since

¹ *Quarterly Review*, July, 1860. ² *Man's Place in Nature*, 1900, p. 152.

1859, we obtain a view of the general issue which is very clear in the words of John Fiske, who wrote as follows: "Zoölogically speaking, man can no longer be regarded as a creature apart by himself. We cannot erect an order on purpose to contain him, as Cuvier tried to do; we cannot even make a separate family for him. Man is not only a vertebrate, a mammal, and a primate, but he belongs as a genus to the catarrhine family of apes." "Such is the conclusion to which the scientific world has come within a quarter of a century from the publication of Mr. Darwin's *Origin of Species*; and there is no more reason for supposing that this conclusion will ever be gainsaid than for supposing that the Copernican astronomy will sometime be overthrown and the concentric spheres of Dante's heaven reinstated in the minds of men."¹ Thus at the point midway between our time and the date of Mr. Darwin's hypothesis, we find an observer of such wide range as Mr. Fiske declaring without question the universal acceptance of the fact that man is derived zoölogically from the lower orders of life.

Theology attempted at first to deny the fact of the derivation of the physical body of man from lower orders of life, and attacked both the theory accounting for it and the fact itself. At the outset it ranged itself squarely in battle-line against the new position taken by Science. As time went on, however, there gathered to the support of the natural scientists not only a great body of trained investigators who had no regard for the teachings of traditional theology, but also men who by birth and training were generally reckoned among the sympathizers with the theologians. There was a general softening of the temper of the controversy, and from both sides came a somewhat more tolerant and less bitter expression of view.

After the first surprise and shock were over, the question arose: What if, after all, the doctrine of the derivation of species is true? Can the old faith live with the new knowledge? Theologians began to take into their reckoning the fact that in denying the conclusions of Science on this point it was possible that their opponents might be right after all. An illustration of this position we find in the book of George Matheson, *Can the Old Faith Live with the New? or, the Problem of Evolution and Revelation*. The evidence of Matheson's book is peculiarly significant,

¹ John Fiske, *The Destiny of Man*, 1887, pp. 19-20.

since it comes from a period almost midway between 1859 and the present. It was published in the spring of 1885. In one sense it was not the first significant attempt to find common ground for Natural Science and Christian Theology. Henry Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* had been published in 1883 and was widely known. The two books are, however, entirely different. Matheson did not commit himself to the theory of evolution, nor did he attempt to build up a theology upon it. His method was analytical. The upshot of the comparison instituted was the affirmation that the results of scientific investigation do not invalidate the essential doctrines of the Christian religion. On the contrary Theology receives new light and real reënforcement from the new Science. Up to this time probably no single contribution had been more significant for the growing reconciliation between the hostile camps. Theology began to take the position that its idea of God is large and flexible enough to find hospitable welcome for truth from whatever source it may be received.

It is quite impossible within the compass of this paper to trace with any semblance of comprehensiveness the changing attitude of Theology toward Science during the last twenty-five years in the particular respect of man's place in nature. There have been also changes in the scientific theory, for Darwin's hypothesis has not gone unchallenged. The general movement, however, has been from Theology toward Science and not *vice versa*.

In 1893, shortly after the death of the author, appeared a volume from the pen of Professor Lewis F. Stearns entitled *Present-Day Theology*. It represents his thought at about the year 1889. He takes up the doctrine of evolution represented by the teachings of Darwin and finds that as an explanation of the origin of the nature of man it is inconsistent with the teachings of the Bible. He believes that evolution is applicable to extensive tracts of nature and holds his criticism of it with great reserve, not being willing to stake the truth of Christianity upon the decision of such a question. Positively he sums up his view as follows: "Man's lower nature is the result of evolution by descent from the animals, but his higher spiritual principle is due to a creative act of God, supplementing the evolution by second causes."¹

¹ Stearns, *Present-Day Theology*, 1893, p. 297.

Against such a view as this there is nothing to be found in the Bible. Indeed, the very account of the creation of man in Genesis seems to warrant something of this sort, for it distinctly says that the man was made from the dust of the ground and that into his nostrils God breathed the breath of life. It makes little difference whether or not we are descended from the lower animals on the physical side of our nature. The essential thing is the spiritual part of our being which is ours by the creative act of God. With this statement it is interesting to compare the position of John Fiske, who said in 1887: "The Platonic view of the soul, as a spiritual substance, an effluence from Godhead, which under certain conditions becomes incarnated in perishable forms of matter, is doubtless the view most consonant with the present state of our knowledge."¹

Roman Catholic Theology must remain practically untouched by modern Science so long as the scholastic masters of the Middle Ages are the authorities in the seminaries. Confessional Theology also could not be expected to show any response to the spirit or the findings of Science. We are not surprised, therefore, to see the advance registered in the schools of academic freedom.

In 1898 Professor William Newton Clarke issued a second edition of his *Outline of Christian Theology*, the influence of which has been widespread. Treating the matter of the origin of the human race, Professor Clarke shows that it is sufficient for Theology to know that the real origin of man is in God. Formerly Theology thought it necessary to offer an explanation of the origin of the world and of mankind. This it found in its sacred books. There has come about a new conception of the unity of all knowledge and truth is recognized in nature as well as in revelation. So the time has come when Theology gives over to Anthropology and its kindred sciences the matter of the origin of mankind. Theology accepts the results of these sciences in their appropriate fields, as follows: "If Theology remands the question of the origin of the human race to Anthropology and its kindred sciences, it will receive from them an evolutionary answer. Man, it will be told, is a part of the one great system in which the eternal creative power and purpose have been progressively manifested. Man is the crown of the

¹ Fiske, *The Destiny of Man*, 1887, p. 42.

system. 'Nature has always been in travail,' perpetually bringing forth something higher than she had produced before, and the end of this long course of production is man, a spirit capable of communing with his holy and gracious Creator. In the entire process the crowning conception, man, has been always in view, and toward him the great movement has steadily advanced. Man himself is not yet complete, however, for his powers are still unfolding and increasing, through the long course of experience. . . . Man, the crown of the process, is no mere animal, but a spiritual being of vast powers, high destinies, and incomparable needs, whose life in God is religion."¹

Professor Clarke takes up the thought that, although the theory of evolution may thus account for the origin of the human body, it is necessary to posit an act of special creation to account for the human soul. So long as the freedom and the power of God are maintained, special creation is not to be ruled out; but as the sweep of the progressive method of evolution is extended, it becomes more probable that acts of special creation are not necessary. This does not exclude God from the world, but rather makes his presence and power more evident, as we see his activity revealed in the universal process. This changed view of origins does not alter Theology essentially, for God and religion remain the same. This one thing is certain, that man is both a religious and a sinful being, and that the God and Father of Jesus is the God that he needs to know and love. This fundamental fact is not changed by the findings of modern Science.

Thus Professor Clarke opens the way for the long step from the position occupied by Professor Stearns, which is taken without hesitation by Professor Beckwith in the following paragraph: "As to the use that is to be made of evolution: it is to be frankly and heartily accepted as furnishing an interpretative principle to all those events with which Theology is concerned. The bearing of this law is evident in two directions. First, in respect to the world itself. All that is, is to be viewed as a becoming. So far as creation and the order of the world have significance for the theologian, evolution is the key by which the meaning of these realities is to be conceived of. From the scope of this law it will not do to except man in his constitu-

¹ Clarke, *An Outline of Christian Theology*, 1898, p. 224.

tion or origin. We cannot declare that man's body has come about by evolution, but not his mental, moral, and religious capacity." ¹

In December, 1906, Professor William Adams Brown published *Christian Theology in Outline*, in which he takes the position that "any view of the origin of man which is consistent with his divine sonship and immortal destiny satisfies the requirements of Christian faith." He distinguishes between the scientific, the philosophical, and the theological interest in man's origin. Science is concerned with the way in which he came into being and his relation to the beings that preceded and followed him. Philosophy comes in with its conception of the universe, by which it seeks to explain the facts reported by Science as a harmonious whole. Theology uses the results of both Science and Philosophy, but its interest in them is only indirect. It is not essentially dependent upon the findings of either. Nothing yet brought to light by Natural Science has invalidated the fundamental Christian doctrines of the spiritual capacity and the divine destiny of man. As a creature of God he is a part of nature and shares its finite and dependent existence; as a child of God man is exalted above nature by virtue of the reason and freedom which he shares with God. ²

It would be far from an accurate report were we to leave out of account the opposition to the doctrines of Natural Science regarding the origin of man which still persists in some degree. Nor has the line of advance which we have been able to trace been steady. In general, however, Theology, so far as it has been open to the influence of modern Science, first opposed its Scriptures, interpreted literally, to the new theories. Its attitude was bitterly polemical. Gradually it became conciliatory and more friendly, appropriating within narrow limits the findings of Science. It seems now to have wrought out a tenable doctrine regarding its sacred books and the report that they render concerning the origin of man.

¹ Beckwith, *Realities of Christian Theology*, 1906, p. 11.

² *Christian Theology in Outline*, 1906, pp. 237-241.

APOLOGETICS

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THE first writer to give to Apologetics a distinct place in the family of the theological sciences was G. J. Planck in his *Einleitung in die theologischen Wissenschaften* (1794), but his somewhat bizarre classification of the discipline under Exegesis would lead the science to look more naturally to Schleiermacher as its godfather, who in his *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums* (2te Ausg. 1830) classified it with Philosophical Theology. It thus appears that, while from the earliest Christian times there is much apologetic material, the recognition of a specific science came at about the time Hartford Seminary was founded. For fifteen or twenty years, led by Sack, there was vigorous discussion in Germany as to the precise scope and encyclopedic classification of Christian Apologetics, and even at the present time there is no unanimity of opinion in respect to these matters, though it is generally conceded that its place is somewhere under the general head of Systematics, and that its scope is the scientific justification of the truth of Christianity.

Apart from these rather technical and academic considerations, the last seventy-five years have been notable ones in the history of Apologetics. The difference between the political, social, and intellectual conditions in England and on the European continent during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, make it best in this review to trace separately the history of England and Germany down to about 1870, letting England stand as representative of Great Britain and America, and Germany serve to represent the European continent. Later than about 1880 the interchange of ideas between the scholars of different nationalities makes such distinction less noteworthy.

In spite of the differences referred to, the chief incentive to apologetic work in both England and Europe during the first part of the nineteenth century was the same. On both sides of the North Sea the eighteenth century had come to challenge sharply

the supernatural authority of the Christian revelation and to resent the demand that it be accepted on that basis. This challenge voiced itself through the Skepticism of the Encyclopedists in France, culminating in the Atheism of the French Revolution; through the Wolfian Rationalism of the German Aufklärung, eventuating in the Critical Philosophy of Kant; through the denial of the necessity or possibility of supernatural revelation by the Deists of England, leading to the "academic skepticism" of Hume on the one hand, and the constructive apologetic of Paley on the other.

As a key to the whole historic development it is well to fix our eyes for a moment on the great peculiarity of Christianity which has determined both the criticism and defense of the Christian religion. As Eucken (*Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion*, 1901) has strikingly brought out, Christianity combines within itself in a peculiar way speculative and historic elements. It believes that it possesses an absolute and eternal truth as to the nature of God and his relation to man and the world, and it believes also that the complete expression of this timeless truth is revealed in the historic Christ, appearing in time. In the possession of this double faith lies both the peculiar strength of the religion and its peculiar liability to attack. Apologetics, accordingly, always finds itself concerned with upholding both the ideal and the historic content of Christianity.

Returning to the development of apologetic thought in England, we find that these two elements appear respectively in Paley's *Christian Evidences* and his *Natural Theology*. While the former was published in 1794 and the latter in 1802 they were for some time after 1834 considered to be of well-nigh authoritative excellence. Paley's purpose in the first work was to show the trustworthiness and uniqueness of the New Testament miracles, and to draw from this fact the conclusion that their supernatural character indicated the divine nature and the divine authority of Him who wrought them. The second work strove to prove from the evidence of design in nature, after the analogy of a watch, the intelligence and character of God. His work was a brilliant summary of the replies to the Deists, and, on the basis of the commonly accepted premises, may fairly be said to be conclusive. He aimed thus to reestablish the divine authority of revealed truth on the basis of the demonstrable nature of God and

his relation to the world and to man, and on the basis of the supernatural attestation of miracle to the revelation through Jesus Christ.

With respect to the first of these positions, quite generally accepted in England since Locke's time and elaborated in the *Bridgewater Treatises* (1833-1840), Sir William Hamilton, under Kant's influence, published in 1829 his article on *The Philosophy of the Unconscious* which, as later elaborated in publications and lectures, asserted the undemonstrability of God because of the relativity of human knowledge; doing this in the interests of upholding the assurance respecting Him based on the judgments of the moral nature. This position was elaborated by Mansel in his *Limits of Religious Thought* (1855), esteemed as an apologetic masterpiece. In this work he would establish the authority of Revelation by excluding from both rational demonstration and rational criticism the fundamental Christian doctrines, unintentionally paving the way, thus, for the Agnosticism of Herbert Spencer in his *First Principles* (1862). Paley's conclusions were thus sharply criticised on their epistemological side by friends and foes. There arose a still further criticism of his work, in respect to the validity of his analogies, by those who had come to feel the force of the argument of Darwin in his *Origin of Species* (1859) — for example, Romanes and John Fiske. Not mechanism but life is the key to the universe, not design but adaptation. It was apparent that the argument must be abandoned, or developed along different lines. This latter has been done carefully with many variations as respects both epistemology and analogy, in the elaborated literature on Theism, from Flint's *Theism* (1877) to Bowne's *Personalism* (1908).

With respect to the argument of Paley's *Christian Evidences* the outcome was threefold — since his time, as Oman remarks, nobody has seriously accused the Apostles of lack of good faith; second, the essentially supernatural character of miracles, and especially their value as authoritative proofs of the truth of the content of the Christian religion, have come to have a diminishing cogency, because of doubt as to their historic uniqueness, because the necessary connection between the supernaturalness of an event and the truth of what it accompanies has seemed less obvious than formerly, because an evolutionary science has so widened the concept of natural law that their essentially supernatural

character has appeared less easy of demonstration; third, the modern tendency on the part of those in sympathy with Paley's purpose is to center thought in the personality of Christ as supernatural and to conceive of miracles as the normal efflux of his nature. The development of thought is suggested by the names of Bushnell (*Nature and the Supernatural*, 1858), Mozley (*Bampton Lectures*, 1865), Forrest (*Christ of History and Experience*, 1897, and *The Authority of Christ*, 1906).

When we turn now from England to Germany, we find an altogether different method of development. Carl Schwarz, in his *Geschichte der neuesten Theologie* (1856), fixes the year 1835 as the beginning of a new epoch in theology. He selects this date because in that year appeared Strauss's *Life of Jesus* which, he holds, crystallized out the thought of the age and brought it to self-consciousness. The death of Hegel in 1831, followed by the publication of his writings, the death of Schleiermacher in 1834, and the publication in 1835 of Baur's *Christliche Religionsphilosophie*, still further mark this as an epochal period in German theological thought. The fifty years preceding had been a period of extraordinary intellectual activity. Kant's estimate of his own work as shifting the center of the universe of thought in a way comparable to the altering of the center of the solar system by Copernicus had in large measure justified itself. There had followed a period made notable in the whole history of philosophical thinking by the variety and brilliancy of the many efforts to adjust thought to the new center and to reinterpret the nature of God. The rapid development of Historical Criticism, directed partly by the speculative and partly by the scientific impulse, had produced a similar indefiniteness and uncertainty in respect to the historic element in Christianity.

While in England the battle with Deism had been fought out by means of a frontal attack on the old lines, in Germany the old Rationalism was outflanked by a speculative and historical reinterpretation of Christianity. While in England men tried to reestablish the truth of the Christian religion on the basis of a supernatural authority to which the human mind must bow, in Germany the effort was made to exhibit the winsomeness of Christian truth by a new analysis of the nature of Christianity and by exhibiting the attractiveness of both its philosophical and historical elements.

To do this was the aim of both Hegel and Schleiermacher, and their respective schools, in the field of Apologetics. Their differences are of course noteworthy; but their similarities are still more remarkable. Both strove to break down the old hard and fast distinction between Supernaturalism and Rationalism, whether of the orthodox or unorthodox type. Both sought a new evaluation of religion, and would found on this a new estimate of Christianity. Both made the central point of religion the inner life of the man. Schleiermacher analyzes the human consciousness and finds it incomplete without God, Hegel analyzes the idea of God and finds the human consciousness necessary for its completion. Both agree that the religious consciousness reveals an eternal relation of God and man. Both are comparatively indifferent to the accuracy of the historical narratives respecting Christ, and yet both agree as to His supreme religious significance. Hegel looks on Him as the presentation in forms of the understanding of the absolute truth of the reason, that God and man are essentially one; Schleiermacher, as one through whom the Christian consciousness attains to the sense of oneness with God. Neither will draw a sharp line between the natural and the supernatural. Hegel's attitude must be declared to be pantheistic, and Schleiermacher says he will raise no objection if his view is called pantheism.

The apologetic development in Germany since 1834 has been along lines suggested by the work of these two great thinkers. It has, throughout, the following five common elements, as respects both method and goal: (1) the effort to ascertain the essential nature of religion, using as a starting-point the examination of the religious consciousness, both by psychological analysis and historical investigation; and to uphold the validity of the objective reference of these subjective states; (2) the interpretation of the peculiarly Christian consciousness in the light of the analysis of the religious consciousness in general, and the demonstration therefrom that Christianity attains the goal of religion; (3) the definition of God, the object of religion in general and of Christianity in particular, in the light of this analysis; (4) the avoidance of any sharp contrast between the natural and the supernatural; (5) the maintaining of such a view as to the historic Christ as will leave freedom for the critical examination of both the Old and the New Testament. Schultz, for example, in his

Apologetics (tr. 1905) gives it as the task of Apologetics "(1) to understand the nature and claims of religion, (2) to comprehend the historical phenomena of religion, (3) to exhibit the nature and perfection of Christianity." These five elements represent the different moments in what would generally be recognized as the "modern Apologetic," not only in Germany, but in other countries as well.

Let us then turn to examine briefly a few of the many phases through which each of these points has passed in its evolutionary process.

With respect to the first element mentioned above, that as to the nature of religion, there have developed three distinctive lines of interpretation corresponding to the three "faculties" of the human mind — intellect, feeling, and will. The school of Hegel finds the essence of religion primarily in the intellect, that of Schleiermacher in the feeling, and that of Ritschl in the moral nature. There are others who seek for the nature of religion rather in some synthesis of its historic manifestations than in the analysis of its specific character. As representatives of these four schools may be mentioned Edward Caird, Alexander Schweizer, Wilhelm Hermann, Otto Pfleiderer.

With respect to the second element mentioned above, the nature of the Christian religion and its ultimate truthfulness, it is evident that the content and the validity of these factors will be determined, in obvious ways, by the view held as to the nature of religion in general. But the most striking and characteristic feature of the whole development is the steady increase of the tendency to fix as the central point the experience of the individual Christian, and to insist that in this experience will come to the Christian, as is the case with all experience, the self-evidencing of the truth of the Christian religion. Considerable variety of opinion has been manifest as to just what is the nature of the peculiarly Christian experience, as to the range of truth to which it can legitimately bear testimony, and as to its logical efficacy with one who is not a Christian. Frank (*System der christlichen Gewissheit*, 1870-84) conceives the central experience to be that of conversion and regeneration, and believes that from it may properly be deduced the truth of the principal Christian doctrines. He denies to this evidence apologetic significance, because it cannot be transmitted to any one who has not himself

had the experience. Ihmels (*Wahrheitsgewissheit*, 1901), in general sympathy with Frank, draws the distinction between *Heilsgewissheit* and *Wahrheitsgewissheit*, and believes that while both rest on the fundamental and peculiar Christian experience, the latter is transmissible. Wendt (*Erfahrungsbeweis*, 1897) finds the peculiarity of the Christian experience to consist in the consciousness of a new moral power; and, since it is on the plane of the universal moral nature, ascribes to it at least a limited cogency even with one who has not had it. These writers representing different phases of general theological thought simply illustrate what is a characteristic feature of the whole movement.

With respect to the third point it is sufficient to observe that the followers of Hegel have tended to interpret God metaphysically, the followers of Schleiermacher more or less mystically, and those of Ritschl to protest against both metaphysics and mysticism, and to base knowledge of God on judgments of value.

The question as to the relation of the natural and supernatural has found its crux in the view held as to the nature and reality of revelation. In general the movement has been increasingly to consider religion and revelation as necessary correlatives and Christianity true, as by Kaftan (*Truth of Christianity*, tr. 1894), because it is revelation — the medium of revelation being differently conceived as intellectual judgment, spiritual illumination, ethical demands, or historic process. The conclusions held as to the two preceding points have been conditioned in large measure by philosophical presuppositions, or, as James would say, by individual temperament.

There remains then to mention the question as to Christ, the individual's relation to Him, and His relation to the Jesus of the Gospels. The preceding have been questions of Philosophical Apologetics, this is in the sphere of Historic Apologetics. Modern Apologetics, in distinction from the old Apologetics of the first part of the nineteenth century, has been disposed to treat as outside its scope the historical investigations of the New Testament critics, and has sought a position that would allow freedom both as to the miraculous elements of the Gospel story and the precision of the historical details of Jesus' life. There has been general agreement with Schleiermacher's position that, if it were possible for a man to feel himself in fellowship with God in any other way, he could not be called a Christian unless this consciousness of

fellowship were somehow mediated by Jesus Christ. This puts the center of Christic Apologetics in the consciously experienced relation of the believer to Christ. But this point of view suggests three questions; How shall Christ be conceived? How shall the relationship be conceived? What is the assurance of a reality corresponding to this experienced relationship?

Dorner (*System of Christian Doctrine*, tr. 1880), in the face of these questions, sets Apologetics to the task of proving the necessity of the appearing in the world of Jesus Christ the God-man. Though Christ is the redeemer from sin, it would be impossible to prove the necessity of Christ's coming to redeem from sin, unless it be supposed that sin is necessary, which would impugn the character of God. Dorner would accordingly prove from an analysis of the nature of God and man that the incarnation is necessary for the full realization of both. This being proved, freedom is gained in the interpretation of the Gospel narratives. Frank, followed by Stearns (*Evidence of Christian Experience*, 1890), who seeks to combine Frank with Dorner, finds that the experience of conversion and regeneration have scientific validity as real experiences, and that they properly lead to the conviction of a divine Christ, the redeemer from sin, the reality of whose relationship to man rests on an irrefragable experimental foundation which carries its certainty over to the records on the knowledge of which this experience is based. Herrmann, in his *Communion with God* (tr. 1895), finds the test of how Christ shall be conceived, and what His relationships to us are and our assurance of their reality, in the experienced moral power that comes through the vision of the Christ as He has been made real to the Church in consecutive ages of its history. The truthfulness of this impression does not depend on the accuracy of the narratives, but on the fact that, in the Apostles and in all believers since, Christ has been productive of the same moral experience. These instances serve simply to illustrate in part the diverse ways by which the modern Apologetic has come into being.

In Historic Apologetics the crucial question at the present time is this, whether the Christ of the twentieth century is the legitimate interpretation of facts in the life of Jesus, or is simply an ideal, verifiable by philosophical speculation or by subjective experience.

THE DOCTRINE OF GOD

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THE great factor in, and explanation of, the religious history of the past seventy-five years, and the whole underlying religious experience which has produced that history, is the idea and doctrine of God in this period. On the other hand, it is equally true, and especially pertinent to our present inquiry, that the experience and history of this time have determined the character of this idea and marked out the lines of the development of the doctrine. It is ever thus, by continual action and reaction between the soul that is moved to seek, learn, and experience, and its own experiences and their resultant products in life, institutions, and history, that God by His Spirit continues His progressive revelation of Himself, now, as in all the days of the past.

Greek thought, philosophic and idealistic, interpreting and formulating Christian experience, emphasized and developed the doctrine of the divine immanence; then Roman thought, imperial and legalistic, acting upon the same experience, reversed the emphasis, and in turn developed the doctrine of a transcendent God.

During the period under consideration scientific thought, or, if one prefers, the scientific spirit, has been the dominant influence in modifying and developing the idea of God which we have received from the past and are vitalizing in the present of experience.

In the scholastic Deism of the eighteenth century, with its idea of God as the Great Architect or First Cause, who, inhabiting a remote heaven, had created and installed the vast machine of the universe to run of itself by virtue of an initial impulse, except when regulated by some special providence or miracle, the doctrine of transcendence reached its limit. The Methodist and Evangelical movements disturbed its reign and modified its

influence, and even the seemingly radical assaults upon faith by the contemporary German and English philosophers were as well an evidence of a growing hunger for the reality of a living God as a necessary preparation for its satisfaction. What the Revival of Letters did for the fifteenth century, the new birth of Science accomplished for ours, and surely the nineteenth century witnessed a greater advance in scientific knowledge than all the preceding.

During our period scientific thought has moved through concentric lines of investigation and development. As in ancient philosophy we see a progression, from Physics to Dialectics, and thence to Ethics, so here, also, we note a corresponding movement. Stimulated by the epoch-making discoveries of Darwin, the physical sciences, dealing with those phenomena which lie upon the extreme circumference of reality, first received and absorbed attention. The new philosophy, with its doctrine of evolution and its new emphasis and application of universal law, grew rapidly in the soil mellowed and prepared by Spinoza, Hegel, Coleridge, and others. Ever toward the more central and spiritual realities has moved this thought, and History, Sociology, and Psychology are even now occupying its attention — the significant fact being this, that spiritual phenomena and experiences are recognized and accorded a place in the world of reality by Science itself.

In general, with regard to the doctrine of God, as with all other doctrines, we are turning from a mechanical exegesis and philosophic reasoning to emphasize, as perhaps never before, the reality of Christian experience, and to interpret the facts of observation and history in its light.

We have come to recognize the being of God as a primal fact of human consciousness. As through the physical senses we are conscious of the material universe, require no proofs of its existence, and can frame none without its assumption; so through our spiritual faculties we have experience of God, and live and act in the consciousness of His being, of which we need no proof, and our logic can invent none that does not in some way assume this ultimate fact. Not that the old "arguments," so called, in vogue at the beginning of our period — ontological, cosmological, teleological, moral, and historical — are without value and significance. While the logic of human thought, the law of causation

in physical processes, the course and arrangement of nature and of human life, may not of themselves alone demonstrate the being of God, they certainly manifest and illustrate in their respective spheres the knowledge of God which comes through the direct experience of the individual and of man in his various social relationships. Moreover, the argument from the constitution of society emphasizes the element of freedom in self-determination, the fundamental element of personality. Personality being the central principle of the world and in his development the highest attainment of man, the personality of God, unlimited unless self-limited, surely not limited by finite conditions as is man's personality in its realization, appears as the foundation of the personality of man, and is demonstrated thereby.

The doctrine of the Trinity, received as a historic doctrine of the Church, formerly asserted and defended by proof-texts and logical and philosophical considerations, is coming to be further elucidated in the perception of His image and the manifestation of His rich life in the individual and social experiences of the race, as their vital meaning is recognized. The distinctions of the Trinity are not mere arbitrary philosophical distinctions, but the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are realities with whom we have to do, and necessary expressions of a God, who in His nature and being is eternally, absolutely, and comprehensively social in the richness of His all-pervading life.

The doctrine of the fatherhood of God has been emphasized during the past seventy-five years as never before. A reaction from the consideration of the more severe aspects of the divine nature has doubtless inclined this age to dwell upon its paternal side. But the appreciation has been real and vital, not merely formal and sentimental, as is evidenced by the development of Sociology and the multitude of humanitarian and philanthropic institutions, so characteristic of our period. There can be no better or surer indication of a vital perception of the meaning of the fatherhood of God than practical efforts to realize the brotherhood of man, for the latter logically and experimentally depends upon the former.

The doctrine of God has ever been developed between the two poles of immanence and transcendence, and they are both necessary for full-orbed thought. Like the centrifugal and centripetal forces, the influence of each must be duly felt, else disaster to faith

and experience. Between Pantheism and Absenteeism there is not much to choose. That the transcendence of God had been unduly emphasized at the expense of His immanence, and that the tide had already begun to turn at the beginning of our period, is doubtless true. It was then asserted, as in the *Saybrook Confession*, that God was both immanent and transcendent, and it is so still maintained among us to-day, but the emphasis has shifted from transcendence to immanence, so that it is characteristic of our present thought to view God as immanent in all created things, the soul, life, and power of the whole universe, and yet transcendent in the sense that He is personal and not to be confused or identified with His own creations. There can be no doubt but that the progress and discoveries of science have done much, directly and indirectly, to stimulate and strengthen this movement of thought. With new light upon the phenomena of nature, their relations, and the operation of its forces, men were forced to think of God as closely related to the world and operating upon it in a most direct way, or else to believe that nature operates itself. The doctrine of evolution, ridiculed, feared, denounced, and then generally accepted, at least as a working theory, seemed to require the doctrine of the immanence of God, or at least to harmonize with it, in explaining the phenomena and accounting for the course of the whole process of development. This age, too, came to believe as none other has in the universality of the reign of law. It turned to laws, universal and all-powerful, for the explanation of all phenomena relating to matter and mind and the general development of the cosmic universe, and looked to them as indicating the lines of progress for the future. But laws are but "modes of action of omnipotence," explaining much, but they themselves in turn requiring an adequate explanation, such as the immanence of the Divine Being, the expression of whose will they are. This fundamental postulate of all scientific thought has powerfully reinforced the doctrine of the immanence of God by giving scientific expression to the doctrines of His omnipresence, immutability, and constant, unswerving purpose.

The Bampton Lecturers who dealt with the doctrine of creation, from Faber in the first year of the nineteenth century, to Nolan in 1833, at the beginning of our period, were unanimous in strenuously maintaining the truth of the Mosaic record that the world was made in six literal days, making Astronomy and

Geology confirm their interpretation, and asserting that to make the days of creation poetry and not literal history was to "abandon the ark of God to the enemy," "to reject Christianity," and "give up Revelation." These theologians doubtless represented the prevailing spirit and opinion at the beginning of our period. We have journeyed far since then. In our thought of God as the Creator, we have been taken out of planetary limitation into the boundless spaces of the stellar universe; our measure of time has been extended from earthly days to great cosmic periods, geologic æons; from the instant and complete operation of divine fiat we have reached the conception of the long and constant operation of divine energy, resourceful, all-embracing, all-powerful, and unswerving in the realization of His purposes. At the same time we have been shown the infinite minuteness, as well as the immeasurable sweep, of the operation of creative power. Superficially, at least, our ideas of creation have been completely changed, and the necessary readjustment of thought has been accomplished not without difficulty and apprehension as to its effects upon Christian doctrine. We are now no longer afraid to view the Creator in the light of the larger thought, and have to come to realize with Lotze, "Whichever way of creation God may have chosen, in none can the dependence of the universe on Him become slacker, in none be drawn closer." Indeed, we feel positively, that in this particular, Christian thought has made a great and permanent advance, and that the new doctrine of creation is not only immeasurably superior to the old in breadth, dignity, and reasonableness, but that at the same time it brings God nearer to us, and leads us to recognize His presence and activity more readily and constantly in the phenomena and course of nature and life. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth" not only still stands as an ultimate and veracious statement of truth, but awakens in our minds a deeper wonder and admiration, and moves our hearts to a more profound trust as we trace the footsteps of the great Creator in the rocks, see the glory of His gleaming handiwork in the sky, and in history and experience watch the unfolding and upspringing of life.

In like manner the doctrine of the divine government of the world through providence has been led out into a larger horizon of realization and expectancy, and clothed with greater dignity and reasonableness. At the beginning of our period it formally in-

cluded in the realm of its direction all phenomena, persons, and events. During the last three-quarters of a century, however, the process of the discovery, exploration, and occupation of unknown and undeveloped regions of this kingdom has gone steadily forward with a constant, ever-growing increase in its breadth and richness. While we use the same terms in defining the extent and scope of the providence of God, they have been and still are constantly gaining in every dimension of meaning. The distinction of the former times between a general providence, relating to the ordinary course of nature and the world, and special providences, having to do with the special care of the Church or the deliverances and experiences of individuals and nations, especially those that were of particular moral and spiritual significance, now possesses little vitality in the thought of this age. That God governs and controls the whole universe through and by His particular disposition of each individual portion of it in relation to the whole, is still our thought, but we believe in one all-inclusive Divine Providence, working in and through all phenomena of matter, mind, and spirit, for the accomplishment of His purposes. This change in thought has doubtless been largely induced by the different appreciation of the divine method of operation which has come to this age through the influence of scientific thought.

A God working from without the universe, a great First Cause setting in operation its course and machinery, ordaining second causes and utilizing them for the accomplishment of His will, and free at all times to stop the world-machine, or suspend the action of secondary causes with direct interference and action in the world of nature and the affairs of men, this was the old philosophy, baldly and perhaps extremely stated, which made the special providence natural if not inevitable. The belief in God as present in all life, and manifest in universal laws expressive of His constant, unchanging purpose and activity, fills the whole course and determination of phenomena and life with the direct presence and determinative activity of God, instead of only connecting Him vitally with that which is special, partial, and infrequent.

Thus through this age, as through all others, God has continued His self-manifestation to the children of men. We are, we believe, only at the beginning of the process, and the greatness of the beauty and the glory of the revelation is still before us.

THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST

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I. *The Person of Christ.* — The supreme significance of Jesus of Nazareth for the life of the world is recognized and confirmed by the philosophies and controversies of the nineteenth century. In philosophy Hegel the Idealist, Comte the Positivist, and Huxley the Evolutionist, must reckon with Him and measure the proportions which He assumes in their universe. In the great, sweeping social movement the leaders of thought, Bentham and Mill, Karl Marx and Tolstoy, must take account of His teaching and His spirit. It need not be said that in the religious thought of this period the Person of Christ has been the central theme of controversy. In no part of Christian history since the early centuries has the struggle been more intense or more virulent around that center and citadel of faith.

Partly this is due to the fact that freedom has become the atmosphere of our life. Without freedom, indeed, investigation can never be thorough, and conclusions fail to be completely personal and moral in the proportion in which they are forced. But it is also true that even freedom does not preclude the same defects. It gives occasion for the full play of individual vagaries and all the devastations of self-will. Conclusions which are arbitrary, which reflect the desire for fame rather than truth, or the mere love of ingenuity, or the bitterness of personal antipathy, are no less immoral than those which flow from subservience of spirit or the dread of ecclesiastical penalties. Hence the nineteenth century is characterized by a very tumult of warring and clamorous opinions about that Central Figure of the Christian faith, in which all manner of motives and of spiritual attitudes are revealed. The true lover of freedom is undismayed by this vast and portentous spectacle. Even as he measures its proportions, as he recalls what it means to mankind to hold or to lose the faith that the Son of God was found in

fashion as a man and redeemed us by His cross, he realizes at last that faith can never win its final triumph by physical compulsion, but only by persuasion of the mind and conquest of the heart. And for such persuasion, for such conquest, the air of utmost liberty alone can afford the true conditions.

After various warnings, the storm upon the citadel broke in its full force in Germany when Strauss published the first edition of his *Life of Christ* in 1835. At that time New England had begun to rest from her own severe and harrowing conflict. The Unitarian denomination had organized itself publicly on its own doctrinal basis, henceforth to try conclusions with the world on the one hand and with the Orthodox Church on the other, from no uncertain standpoint. The Orthodox churches felt more secure of their own ground, as they gathered strength for the new stage of history which lay before them. On the merits of the controversy which had raged so long, Dr. F. H. Foster, the ablest historian of New England Theology, says that "about 1833" the battle was drawn. The Unitarians had attacked the theological doctrine of the Person of Christ in a manner which the Orthodox failed adequately to meet. The latter could not show how the one Person of the Son of God could unite in Himself two natures, human and divine, in such a fashion as to make a real human life possible. But in the scholarly interpretation of the New Testament the Orthodox were victorious: "the divinity of Christ was established afresh as a Biblical doctrine, and its practical effect upon life and worship were well secured" (*History of New England Theology*, p. 314).

From that time onward for many years no important work was done by any American theologian in this particular field. More or less direct echoes of the European warfare were heard. An increasing number of theologians read German, and several important translations were made, including that of Strauss's work by Marian Evans (George Eliot) in 1846. The most famous Seminary teachers of Theology, Charles A. Hodge of Princeton, Edwards A. Park of Andover, W. G. T. Shedd of Union, gave learned and orthodox lectures on the subject, but they made no fresh contribution. They do not seem to have felt the extreme pressure either of the critical controversy in Germany, or of the nascent scientific view of nature and of human history, which were both destined to present the Christological

problem under entirely new conditions to the modern mind. They also sought no help from the great philosophical movement known as Idealism.

The one outstanding and original thinker of this period in America was undoubtedly Horace Bushnell. I find no signs in his writings that he had done direct and serious work either upon the philosophy of Kant and its issues or upon the critical study of the New Testament. Yet, being possessed of a highly original mind and an independent spirit, he treated Scripture with a reverent freedom, and worked out a philosophical position bearing some resemblance to that which at a later time Ritschl derived from Kant. He founded his philosophical method upon the new science of language, and especially upon the fact that words, above all those which are used in the region of thought and spirit, are at best imperfect symbols of the truth. Revelation "represents the invisible to us under conditions of form and symbol," and its words must not be taken "as terms of absolute notation" (*Christ in Theology*, p. 23). They partake more of poetry than of literal description of definite or limited fact. On the other hand, Bushnell insists that "there is a *perceptive power* in spiritual life" by which we find ourselves in contact with spiritual reality (*God in Christ*, p. 93). Such doctrines as the Incarnation and the Trinity "offer God, not so much to the reason, or the logical understanding, as to the imaginative and the perceptive, or æsthetic, apprehension of faith" (*Ibid.* p. 102).

There is here then a teaching, which, like the Ritschlian, insists that our understanding is concerned with facts in space and time, while the eternal and spiritual are open only to those spiritual processes which Bushnell calls "the perceptive or æsthetic apprehensions of faith," and which the German theologian calls "judgments of value." Nevertheless, in his formal exposition of the Person of Christ and of the Trinity he, like Ritschl, surpasses the limitations of his own theory. For him God unrevealed would be only "the Absolute Being — the infinite — the I am that I am, giving no sign that He is, other than that He is" (*God in Christ*, p. 139). But in God there has been proved to be a power of self-expression, for we know Him; that power in Him is the Logos, "God mirrored before His own understanding, and to be mirrored, as in fragments of the mir-

ror, before us" (*Ibid.* p. 146). This, in human form, is Christ, whose words and works betray His divine origin and make God known to us. The presence of the divine in the human, of the very Logos, the Word of God, in Jesus Christ, Bushnell ever passionately asserts. But there he stops. As to the mode of this divine indwelling he will make no inquiry. He sees that growth is attributed to Him, but so are reasoning, and memory, and emotions, and movement in space. All of these are "repugnant to his proper Deity"; but they are the conditions under which the Absolute God has expressed Himself to us, that we might know His "feeling and character." The two-nature theory of traditional theology, therefore, is repudiated by Bushnell no less heartily than the theory of a *kenosis* or self-emptying, "a half-tint thrown over his deity." Of the metaphysical or speculative difficulties involved he says simply and finally, "I dismiss them all." Almost might we be listening to Herrmann, that most faithful disciple of Ritschl, when Bushnell says, "Regarding Christ in this exterior, and, as it were, æsthetic, way he is that Holy Thing in which my God is brought to me, brought even down to a fellow-relation with me."

With the same energy and vivacity Bushnell treats the doctrine of the Trinity. He accepts heartily and completely the doctrine of the New Testament that God is revealed and is to be worshiped as the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He will, in face of Scripture and of the necessities of language, even call these "persons"; but he will not ascribe "to these divine persons an interior, metaphysical nature." He goes the length, in order to be a consistent agnostic, of refusing to say that he means "simply to assert a modal trinity" — lest that should imply that he believes them to be "modal *only*" (*God in Christ*, p. 175). In that region he will utter neither Yea nor Nay.

The historical significance of Bushnell for our subject does not lie in the fact that he offers a new solution of the problem of the Person of Christ, nor that he calls it a mystery and lets it go, as mysteries are apt to go, into the limbo of things whose interest is dead. He was, so far as I am aware, the first man in America to hold with deep conviction to the Incarnation of the Word — the Deity of Christ, the Trinity of divine Persons — and yet base his refusal to investigate these facts on their metaphysical side *upon an attempted theory of knowledge*. He saw that to be

content with ignorance is the way to kill faith; but he believed that to draw the boundaries of knowledge, to fix the limits beyond which our understanding cannot use its limbs of logic, is to deepen a spirit of reverential humility, and at the same time to intensify our interest and our confidence within that sphere where human reason has her fields of labor and wins her harvests of garnered truth.

The writings of Horace Bushnell contain here and there echoes of a struggle still more vigorous and stern which was going on in Germany. His knowledge of it seems to have been obtained mainly at second hand and only in broken parts. In the first place, this struggle arose from the effort to reconstruct the history of Christianity by a complete criticism of its own documents. This criticism was conducted very largely by men who avowedly adopted certain presuppositions that were essentially hostile to the idea that the New Testament tells us the truth. Baur worked under the sway of the Hegelian philosophy and sought to prove that its theory of development could be applied to the rise of Christianity; while Strauss, who later abandoned that philosophy for scientific agnosticism, in the first issue of his *Life of Jesus*, took refuge in it for preservation of those religious values "in idea" which he had discovered to be absent from the actual history of Jesus. These and other scholars approached the New Testament with the frank assumption that, as Matthew Arnold said, "Miracles do not happen." Their work led to seventy-five years of searching into the writings of the New Testament which is unparalleled in all literature for its severity of minute labor and for its tumultuous variety of utterly diverse conclusions. Slowly in recent years something like a general consensus of opinion seems to be emerging as to the purely literary questions which are involved. With that story I am not closely concerned here.

The most remarkable change, wrought in the method of studying the Person of Christ in the nineteenth century, was due to Schleiermacher; and in him it was due to the effort to expound Christianity, even as the absolute religion, in terms of the human consciousness. Religion is the feeling of dependence on God. The Christian Religion is due to the fact that in Christ this relation to God was ideally conceived and historically fulfilled. In Him we have no need to discern a preëxistent Being

who has become incarnate; rather do we find One in whom, by a mysterious and inscrutable creative act, God has brought forth the ideal man in ideal relations with Himself. As to the reality of that creative act of God, which cannot in the nature of things be directly proved, we must go to the life, the words, the consciousness of Jesus Himself. What is there revealed may be, and for the Christian consciousness is, the truth itself. What lies beyond is inapprehensible, indescribable, and unprovable. There was in Schleiermacher a mystic element, a profound reverence for and dependence upon the Person of Christ, to which his own Christology does not do justice. But it was his method which in the midst of those years of critical inquiry awoke new and important movements.

The chief of these was undoubtedly that known as the Kenotic Theory. This arose from an effort to face the facts implied alike in the Gospel narratives and in the faith that God and human nature were united in the person of Christ. First, the accounts given of the human experience of Jesus must be acknowledged fairly and fully. He did grow in knowledge. He did endure sorrow. He did pass through temptation, and exercise faith in God. He also died and was buried. These are data of His experience, and they are the data of a human consciousness, events in a human life. On the other hand, the Scriptures teach that He was the Son of God, the eternal Logos, that in Him there was present not merely an impersonal element of a superhuman order, but a Personal Being who is possessed of attributes and powers which are no less than those of the eternal God Himself. How are we to conceive of the process by which this union took place? In one famous passage Paul seems to give us the clew. He says that "Being (or existing) in the form of God He emptied Himself" (*ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*). From the use of that clew arose the Kenotic Theory.

The names associated with this view are Thomasius, whose work, *Christi Person und Werk*, appeared in 1856, and Gess, who published a short treatise in 1851 and another in two volumes, *Christi Person und Werk*, in 1870-78. Thomasius taught that in becoming incarnate the Son of God, by an act of His omnipotent will, deprived Himself of the attributes of His divine nature which were inconsistent with the limitations of time and space—namely, omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence—

retaining the moral and spiritual, the essential attributes of power, truth, holiness, and love. Thus His very Self was introduced into the conditions of humanity. The Son of God, the eternal Logos, being Himself of the human type, though divine, His resulting life in the Person of Christ must be truly human, and yet possess the perfection and the significance of the Divine Self from which it flowed. Gess went further than this. He held that the act of Incarnation implied even the quenching of the self-consciousness of the Son of God for a time in the infancy and childhood of Jesus. Only gradually did the Logos in the man Jesus resume, and that by naturally conditioned stages, the possession of His eternal Self-consciousness. The full resumption of its exercise was the consequence, of course, of the Resurrection and the Ascension.

There is no time to do more than thus name this interesting type of Christology. We cannot now trace its modification in other writers, either in Germany or in England. At the very time when it was being discussed in Germany the attention of theologians became rapidly and powerfully directed upon other fields. It was in the sixties and the seventies of the last century that the Grafian theory of Old Testament literature took hold of the scholarly world and drew to itself the attention of the most brilliant younger men. This was accompanied, of course, by increasingly earnest critical study of the New Testament documents. Men felt that no one could now speak with any authority, because no one could reason with any certainty upon the basis even of the New Testament so long as there was doubt regarding the literary history, the historical value, the religious authority of its component documents. But what is to become of Christian faith, not to speak of Christian Theology, if we must wait, before we believe a truth, until our warring scholars have fixed the dates of these Biblical writings and have agreed upon the value of their varied doctrinal positions?

The answer to this question comes historically in the great movement, to which I have already referred, known as the Ritschlian movement. For all those who accepted the method and position of Albrecht Ritschl it comes to this, that Christian faith must learn to do without metaphysics, and is independent even of the details of historical criticism. Kant has taught us the relativity of human knowledge. The terms with which we

clothe God, the Infinite, Eternal, and Absolute, state the boundary of the human mind. They give us no definite knowledge, they reveal to us no object with which our logical understanding can deal. On the other hand, history does present us with the figure of Christ. In that transcendent, but not transcendental human personality we have the revelation of man's victory, and its secret. Man finds himself in this world hemmed in by nature and by evil. He is engaged in a warfare of which there seems to be no end. So long as he is without moral peace, without faith in the future, without assurance that death shall not swallow up all his hopes in endless night, he is a defeated being. Now, in the historical figure of Jesus we find one whose victory was indubitable and complete. Over Him evil had no power. He manifested divine qualities in the very perfection with which He lived the sinless, the truthful, the obedient, the loving life. He lived in open and unsullied communion with God. His moral consciousness is itself, therefore, the historic revelation of the living God. In the qualities of His person we see the qualities of Him who is the source and the governor of all history. We may not speak of Him as mere man, for He is conscious of standing in a religious relation, of having a divine mission, to all humanity. The existence of the Christian community, its actual experience of reconciliation with God, on which indeed it was founded, its function as organ of the Spirit of God in the world, are all solid, historical facts compelling witness to the truth of His consciousness. He is, therefore, the true Redeemer of the race, not because He expiated our sin, but because He revealed the will of the Father to forgive sin, and because He was willing in the fulfillment of His mission as the revealer of God's holy will of love even to endure the death which that mission entailed. Through Him and His Church God has actually taken hold of mankind. Of His Person, in its inner and metaphysical nature, we are by the very constitution of our reason unable to think or to say anything. The question of His pre-existence need not trouble us. If He was conscious of it, it remains *ein Mysterium*, His own secret, to us inscrutable, and for our faith in His divine significance, for our experience of His reconciling power, unnecessary.

The Ritschlian movement has undoubtedly served a most valuable end. It has led to the development of an apologetic

method which, during the last forty years, has enabled many men to maintain their standing as Christian believers. But its constructive usefulness, always limited, is drawing to an end. Its indefiniteness has led to the formation of various parties of Ritschlians. On the one hand, some have sprung from his loins who have tended to minimize the religious functions of Jesus. What did He do to reveal God? How is our relation to God dependent on Him? Or is it so dependent? Do we need to believe in His uniqueness as a divinely constituted human being? If so, what, if any exists, is His relation to us to-day? If His figure stands simply in the dim past, a glorious point in time on which the eternal light flashed for once, does not that light grow dim as generations pass? As we move away from the modes of thought and the particular problems of His race and age, does not our darkness deepen again to pre-Christian gloom? Those who say "Yes" to these last questions are passing in belief and doctrine out of the range of those truths and characteristic positions which we call Christian.

On the other hand, if He was a being with whom we still stand in definite, living, and personal relations, if the Risen Lord is the ruler of human history, as all the New Testament Apostles and writers believed and taught, then the old questions as to His mysterious and superhuman personality recur with all their old insistent power. One or more groups of Ritschlians, with Kaffan at their head, while owing a great debt to their master, have confessed that his delimitation of the territory of human thought was too narrow. They are learning, as Wobbermin of Berlin has shown, to draw a distinction between metaphysics and metaphysical realities. We may still be unable, as even these maintain, to make our faith depend upon the conclusions of a formal metaphysic. And yet the question remains whether we have not in the very facts of God, of the Risen Christ, of our present communion with Him, of the gift of the Holy Spirit, of the survival and immortality of the soul, yea, in the fact of our spiritual natures, to do with strictly and truly metaphysical natures and realities. If these facts and relations are within the range of our experience, then, whether we use the method of metaphysical inquiry or not, our theology must take account of metaphysical existences; and in its own way, with its own weapons and methods, it must seek alike to justify our belief in them

and to describe that view of the universe which they help and compel us to hold before our minds.

That, in general terms, is how the matter, so far as theology of the Person of Christ is concerned, stands in Germany to-day. In Great Britain the situation has been very different. The British inheritance in philosophy, science, and scholarship has not been that from which German theologians arose. The universe has not been constructed dogmatically in terms of an absolute Idealism, except by a small group like the Cairds, F. H. Bradley, and McTaggart. Scholarship, even since it learned German methods and thoroughness, has not given rise to the same luxuriant crop of extreme and short-lived theories. Higher Criticism has been and is largely in the hands of men who retain allegiance to the ancient faith of the Church. On the other hand, the Church in Great Britain has long been accustomed to do battle for the faith against avowed enemies of the faith. The warfare has been more open than in Germany, because their common sense would not allow men who rejected Christianity to profess that their positions were developments of it. Hence the characteristic British theologians have done their work with a continuous regard not merely for the approval of scholars *qua* scholars, but also for that of the general Christian consciousness.

Even the epoch-making book known as *Ecce Homo* (1866), with all its dignity, its partial attempt to use a critical method upon the Gospels, its avoidance of dogma, is yet pervaded with a deep religious feeling. If it does not discuss the Person of Christ, it reveals His consciousness at work upon the minds and hearts of His disciples, creating that new community whose moral and social characteristics and relations were so new and so powerful, in their ideal and tendency so like a kingdom of God.

In 1867 appeared Canon Liddon's famous Bampton Lectures on *The Divinity of our Lord*, a strenuous and powerful defense of the orthodox faith. Liddon was not only a splendid preacher, but a widely read and sound scholar. Before him lay the most important German works, from the hands of Strauss, Hase, Ewald, Schenkel, and others; and although he did not use what is called the critical method himself, and his apologetic interest biased his handling of materials, yet he was by no means insensitive to the new movements. He had begun to see, for instance,

that all future investigation must reckon with the "consciousness" of Jesus. But he was not aware how radical students of the Gospels would strive to escape both horns of the great dilemma which he thrust with such passion and power before his readers; namely, that Christ was *aut Deus aut homo non bonus*.

In 1891 appeared the equally famous Bampton Lectures by Dr. Charles Gore on the same great subject. In them we are almost in another world of thought. While Liddon had opened his work with an insistence on the fact that the argument for the Deity of Christ is a theological and *therefore* a religious problem, Dr. Gore opened his with the statement that "Christianity is faith in a certain person, Jesus Christ." This difference of approach leads to a great difference in the kind of argument by which the same great faith in the Person of Christ is established. Moreover, the later work reveals a mind that is facing the accepted results of a critical process to which Liddon was sternly hostile, and is reckoning with those very kenotic theories of the Incarnation which Liddon practically ignored.¹

After Bishop Gore's work we find ourselves in a changed atmosphere among the theologians of Great Britain and America. The practical and concrete spirit of the English-speaking world, alive now to the true significance of the German methods of critical inquiry and yet equally alive to the permanent demands of the Christian consciousness, the potent forces in the life of the Church of God, has been opening out a characteristic, but thoroughly scientific, method of dealing with this deepest of all problems. It appears in such works as Fairbairn's *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology* (1893), Gordon's *The Christ of To-day* (1895), Forrest's *The Christ of History and of Experience* (1897), Walker's *The Spirit and the Incarnation* (1899), and Denney's *Jesus and the Gospel* (1909).

For such writers the starting-point of inquiry, the fact to be investigated, is not an uncertain figure, Jesus of Nazareth, vaguely described in such shreds of the Synoptic Gospels as the judgment of any one critic or group of critics is able to give us. Neither is it a mere series of ideas from the lips of Jesus or the pen of Paul challenging us to decide who thought of this one or that one first. The great fact of history to be explained is the

¹ This change had in part been wrought by A. B. Bruce's invaluable historical work, *The Humiliation of Christ* (2d. ed., 1881).

Christian religion, the Church of Christ alike in A.D. 50 and A.D. 1900, the typical consciousness of fellowship with the living God, which arose through faith in Jesus as the Christ, the Redeemer, the Revealer of God to the unexpectant and startled souls of men. The highest ranges of human experience must have adequate causes.

All the writers named above, but most fully and clearly Fairbairn and Denney, put the matter substantially in this way: Here we have a community of human beings which is organized upon the basis of a conscious personal relationship with the Holy and Eternal God — an entirely new fact in history; their earliest representatives, in the New Testament, bear witness that this change in their experience was wrought by the influence of Jesus Christ upon their minds, and by the faith which He awoke in their hearts towards Himself; they say that while on earth He intended to produce this result, that He felt Himself capable of the stupendous task of creating new relations between God and the human race, that He regarded even His death as a means to that end, that He expected to rise again, and promised to establish permanent and universal relations with all men; Christianity arose because those people believed that God was now and henceforth related to human history through that one person, Jesus Christ, and because they believed that He in His earthly ministry had expected and intended to occupy that position of immeasurable glory. Thus are set before us two fundamental questions, the two essential foci of all future inquiry into the origin and truth of the Christian religion. First, was the experience of these people, which was indubitably most real and most powerful, also clear enough, sane enough, intelligent enough, to make their witness to its nature and origin credible? Second, does their witness prove that before His death Jesus actually conducted His relations towards men with that consciousness as the source of all His words and acts, with that awful purpose, the occupancy of the throne of God, as the goal of His active will?

It is evident that in the pursuit of this, the real scientific method of inquiry, the student must exercise the utmost critical freedom upon the documents from which our information comes, through which the faith of the Apostles has been made effective over ever-wider reaches of the human race down to our own day. It is not at all likely that the English-speaking churches need to

walk in all the steps of the German brethren. Their ways are before us, and we know which have been found to lead nowhere. They have suffered and triumphed that we may receive the fruit of their long, costly, and splendid labor. Their losses and their gains are common property. But here in the field of Christology we stand to-day, after seventy-five years of warfare. The answer seems to be growing clearer. The constant and irrepressible repetition of the unparalleled question, "Whom say ye that I am?" is, almost of itself, forcing men to see that no one who says, "A man sent from God" has answered truly. The only answer which seems to explain the problems of these New Testament documents and these expanding conquests of the Christian faith is the original answer of the apostolic leader, "Thou art the Christ," and its exposition by Paul, "God sent His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and as an offering for sin." The Christian Church arose and is spreading through the world by virtue of its conviction that Jesus, in asking that question, expected then, and demands now, the same answer from all human hearts.

2. *The Work of Christ.* — The work of Christ for mankind began to be studied in a systematic manner at the time of the Reformation. Ritschl has pointed out that a very great contribution to the subject was made when it was conceived under three departments, or "offices," described by the titles, Prophet, Priest, and King. A Prophet is, of course, a teacher who has been evidently fitted to reveal the character and will of God. A Priest is one who makes it possible for a sinful conscience to enter the terrible presence of the holiness of God, and live. A King is one who establishes and administers the laws of life and controls the fortunes of men. Since Jesus Christ stands in divine relations to the human race, the Reformers felt that these three words might well be used to describe His work in the great aspects of Revelation, Redemption, and Lordship.

There was immediately much discussion as to whether His execution of these offices is to be assigned to His earthly life, or to His relations and powers as the Risen Lord. The early tendency was to consider His work as Prophet, or revealer of God, and as King, or Head of the Church, less fully and clearly in the light of His ministry among men (*status exinanitionis*) than in the light of His heavenly reign (*status exaltationis*).

But the modern mind has reversed this method. The historical interest has concentrated attention on the story of the Gospels and the glories of His human nature. Hence the "teaching of Jesus" has become one of the great topics of theological discussion, and the "Prophet of Nazareth" is one of the titles by which He is most familiarly designated. During the last half of the nineteenth century the literature on this aspect of the work of Christ has become immense, and there is no sign yet of any abatement in its volume.

In some quarters it has seemed enough to set forth the actual contents of His authentic sayings, not without some tribute of admiration for His religious fervor and His moral elevation, but with the conviction that His real service is to be found in those words of His that give forth most light about the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Here may be named Strauss and Renan in the last century, and such authors as Dr. G. B. Foster (*The Finality of the Christian Religion*) and Dr. N. Schmidt (*The Prophet of Nazareth*) in this century.

But the vast majority of scholars affirm more of Him than this. They recognize that in revealing the Father, Jesus used something far greater than oral teaching, even when supported, as in other prophets, by a sincere and earnest life. There was that in the very quality of His Person, in the spirit of wisdom and of power which He possessed, which made Him more than a mere "teacher" in the ordinary sense. Writers like Wendt and Harnack among the Germans, Sabatier among the French, the author of *Ecce Homo*, Martineau and Stopford Brooke among the English, Professor Francis G. Peabody and Dr. George H. Gilbert in this country, are not content to leave Jesus merely "as one of the prophets." His prophethood is of a distinct kind, and resides, mysteriously, no doubt, but most really and powerfully, in His own soul. "So the unexhausted Gospel of Jesus touches each new problem and new need with its illuminating power, while there yet remain myriads of other ways of radiation toward other souls and other ages, for that Life which is the light of men" (Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*).

Those who emphasize more clearly the doctrine of the Incarnation have been profoundly influenced by the movement which thus concentrates its force upon the human nature and

practical teaching of our Lord. They have not paid less attention to the details of His teaching and its bearing upon the great problems of human society (e.g., A. B. Bruce, *The Kingdom of God, The Training of the Twelve*; Shailer Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*), but they have seen in these teachings only a part of the full effect of Christ's person upon the relations of God and man. As Dr. Fairbairn has said, "The Teacher made the truth He taught"; and if this be so, it must be of supreme moment to ascertain all we can about Himself. This can only be done from Himself, of course, by studying not only His words, but His character, His works, all the expressions of His self-consciousness. Hence has arisen a vast literature around the question of the consciousness of Jesus. There is no space here to describe the theological significance of this fascinating and indeed cardinal discussion in the work of the last twenty-five years. Suffice it to say that the matter is still being investigated with the utmost rigor. Such works as those of Grau and Baldensperger (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*), of Dr. Forrest (*The Christ of History and of Experience*), and Dr. Denney (*Jesus and the Gospels*) indicate the direction in which the minds of believing men are moving, and the manner in which this phase of the prophetic work of Christ is likely to enrich as well as confirm the faith of the Church.

The kingly office of Christ has received little direct discussion in our period. This is at least curious, for in no period of history has his actual lordship over not only the conscience, but the active life of man, been more widely recognized. The favorite name by which many speak of Him is "the Master," and they use it as a rule in sincerity, and not as a mere conventional compromise between conservative faith and radical opinion. The entire missionary movement of the nineteenth century is an overwhelming evidence of His actual lordship over countless human lives. One must not forget, of course, that in *Ecce Homo* Jesus was viewed almost exclusively as the King, the founder of a society whose laws He ordained and whose members He ruled. It is of even more significance that Ritschl made the lordship of Jesus the supreme category in his analysis of the Saviour's work. The other offices were regarded indeed by that powerful theologian as in a manner subordinate to this. Christ was viewed by him as the *royal* prophet and the *royal* priest. This arose from

his main position that salvation means our deliverance from the threatening and hostile might of the world of evil. Jesus Christ conquered in the great fight, and He conquered on our behalf. Before His faith, His love, His unsullied and unbeaten will, all the forces of evil in man and in nature fell as vanquished hosts. This is the triumph of a King; it has set Him on the throne of the Church's trust and love and adoration. All that He was as Prophet or as Priest can then derive its significance only from this place which He and He alone must ever occupy in the story of man's relations with God.

From these brief statements it becomes evident that the age has not been propitious for a thorough and confident discussion of these two offices of Christ. They cannot be completely viewed in the light of His earthly ministry. They stand there — if only considered there — too near the level of other prophets and royal spirits among men, to deserve or to allow of that kind of discussion which alone befits the Christian consciousness. But there are signs that the circular storm, in which for these seventy-five years the New Testament writings have been involved, is breaking. As men become increasingly sure that the Gospel records, with all the light of the most penetrating criticism upon them, do verily preserve the image of a superhuman consciousness and a superhuman triumph over sin and death, the relations of the Risen Christ to the Apostolic band begin to receive a new and deeper consideration. When men believe the Gospels, they will believe the Epistles; the wholesale rejecters of the latter only select from the former what the wayward spirit of rejection will endure. But to accept the truth, the reality, the authority of the Apostolic experience, will reveal Christ afresh as still the Prophet of God and the Lord of humanity through His Spirit.

When we turn to the consideration of that aspect of the work of Christ in which He is said to have acted as our Priest, we are confronted with the inexhaustible discussions of the Atonement. The nineteenth century was peculiarly prolific of these, and we can do no more than indicate certain lines of movement in the wide field of controversy.

In America, in the year 1834, two views of the death of Christ held sway among orthodox theologians. Among Congregationalists that one prevailed which is known as the Governmental theory, and which traces its lineage back to Grotius, the great

Dutch lawyer and theologian of the seventeenth century. Worked out, with readaptations to this climate, by the Edwardses, father and son, it obtained such influence as to become the main distinctive feature of the so-called New England theology. It allied itself easily with the Calvinistic conception of God as sovereign ruler of the world, but tried to avoid its emphasis on penal satisfaction. In His government of man God has ordained the laws of righteousness, and He must make those laws effective. This is done by a system of rewards and punishments. But since man has sinned, and God in His grace would save him from the righteous results of sin and restore the lost order of His realm, a way must be found for maintaining that order while man escapes his doom. Forgiveness without some indubitable proof of God's inflexible hatred of sin would amount to condonation of the evil thing, and would therefore be impossible. In the death of Christ that proof has been given. "God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful man and as an offering for sin condemned sin in the flesh." The direct object and effect of the sufferings of Christ, then, was neither to appease divine wrath, since it was prompted by divine love, nor to offer to God an equivalent in penalty for the penalties His love could remit and His justice would inflict. The object was to prove to man that God in the act of pardon maintained His righteous law inviolable. Thus, to use the words of Professor Foster, in describing the last great exponent of the Governmental theory, Edwards A. Park's position, God "sets forth His Son as the sacrifice of sin, saying explicitly that his sufferings are substituted for the punishment of all who will accept of His salvation by believing on Him" (*History of New England Theology*, p. 519). As all punishment of an offender has the double office of vindicating the majesty of the law, and so of the lawgiver, and of deterring other free beings from offending, so Christ's death, in which He endured the penalty of sin and in which He acted for the express purpose of saving men, operates in that twofold manner. Men see in His cross the will of God concerning sin, and thus His offer of pardon is made consistent with man's abiding sense of His righteousness.

In the Governmental theory an earnest attempt is made to escape the great moral difficulties which seem to be involved in the older Penal Satisfaction theory in its various phases. In

America this latter theory was maintained chiefly in Presbyterian circles, and had for its most strenuous champions the two Hodges of Princeton and W. G. T. Shedd of Union Theological Seminary. According to Charles A. Hodge the atonement consisted in this, that the death of Christ was a satisfaction offered to the justice and the law of God. Justice in God demands that every sin shall be punished, and the immutable law of God demands a flawless fulfillment of its demands. Each demand must be met. If, then, God would have men escape the punishment which justice demands, some one must satisfy "justice"; and if God would have men delivered from the necessity of a personal and sinless obedience to law, some one must satisfy the "law." This double satisfaction has been offered in the death of One who was both God and man. The "intrinsic dignity" of His Person made His voluntary sacrifice on our behalf the equivalent at once of that obedience to the law which we have not rendered, and of that punishment of our sin which is to be remitted. Hodge was anxious to avoid, on the one hand, the Governmental theory, which, he said, made the cross "but a symbol" (*Systematic Theology*, II, 575). On the other hand, he felt compelled to insist that in God's attitude towards sin and in His vindication of justice there was nothing of vindictiveness, and that in Christ's penal sufferings we are not to find a mere *quid pro quo*. "He did not suffer either in kind or degree what sinners would have suffered." But "His sufferings and death were adequate to accomplish all the ends designed by the punishment of the sins of men" (*Ibid.*, p. 471).

The famous work of R. W. Dale entitled *The Atonement* partakes in some measure of both the theories described above. But it has a definite view of the problem which these theories both avoided. That problem is bluntly stated in the question, "How can it be justice that the righteous should suffer for the unrighteous? How can God be held responsible for the substitution of the innocent for the guilty?" The answer came through a fresh consideration of what is meant by the eternal righteousness of God. Dale sought to overcome the dangerous separation, which haunts the pages of Hodge, between justice and God Himself, as if God were Himself subject to a law above Himself. Dale insisted that "His relation to the law is not a relation of subjection but of identity. . . . In God the law is alive; it reigns

on His throne, sways His scepter, is crowned with His glory." Hence punishment is "an act in which the identity of the Will of God and the eternal Law of Righteousness is asserted and expressed." Christ as the Son of God and Son of Man is the Head of the Human Race. In Him God is personally and directly involved in man's moral situation. When Christ suffers on the cross for man, enduring the penalties of sin, it is not as an irresponsible outsider, a mere, innocent stranger arrested and substituted for some one else. He is at once the representative of the eternal law which man broke and of the race which broke it.

Before Dale's argument was published there had already set in a powerful reaction against all so-called objective theories of the Atonement. The earlier theories were felt to represent God too often as if He were, to use the late D. W. Simon's phrase, in "official" instead of "personal" relations with the children of men. Much emphasis was therefore laid upon His love as the source and meaning of the whole sacrifice of Christ. There were varying degrees in which the Moral Influence theory, as it was called, was developed. Some maintained that Jesus Christ died simply to show the love of God. The Divine righteousness was proved by the whole life of Christ, by His obedient spirit, His unbroken faith; but in His whole attitude towards men, praying even for His murderers, the complete and heart-winning love of God was revealed.

The leading and deeper representatives of this reaction, like Horace Bushnell and F. D. Maurice, were unable to get away altogether from the fact that the death of Christ has made an objective difference in the relations of God and man. Bushnell, as Stevens (*The Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, p. 236) has shown, did insist that the imperial authority of the righteous law was established and not weakened in that death. Maurice and others introduced what may be called a mystical element through their insistence upon Christ's eternal headship of the race, as in the following words of Maurice: "In it [the cross] all the wisdom and truth and glory of God were manifested to the creature, and in it man *is presented* as a holy and acceptable sacrifice to God."

Another and most influential line in the development of this doctrine appeared in the famous work of McLeod Campbell, *The Nature of the Atonement*. The effort was here made to get

beneath the merely legal terminology to a spiritual principle in the work of Christ upon the cross. Campbell's emphasis was placed upon the fact that there are two ways of ending sin — one is punishment, the other is repentance. In the latter, when it is ideal and perfect, sin is repudiated and done to death. True repentance means the recognition and confession of the eternal righteousness of the law of God and the devotion of self to its fulfillment. Christ as the Son of Man did on behalf of man make this most perfect confession of the inherent evil of man's sin and the absolute claims of God's holy law. Having done this, He had done for man all that God demands as a precondition to the offer of pardon. This view has been influential upon all subsequent thinkers, but has nowhere been so fully adopted and worked out as in R. C. Moberley's brilliant and impressive volume, *Atonement and Personality*. The analyses which that work contains of "righteousness," "punishment," and "penitence," the emphasis upon the idea that the Death on the Cross must not be considered as a complete transaction within itself, but as a part or an element, essential and vital and objective, in a process whose culmination is reached in the work of the Holy Spirit in the human heart, are most impressive contributions to the subject before us.

In Germany the drift of interest and the pressure of other problems has prevented the production of so many distinct monographs on the Atonement as in the English-speaking world. We must seek the movement of opinion in the dogmatic works of men like Gess, Dorner, Philippi, Kaftan, F. A. B. Nitzsch, and others. The later writers are profoundly influenced by Ritschl. Stevens (*op. cit.*) places Ritschl among the holders of a subjective theory, but it is probably less than justice to Ritschl to do this. He is really not very far from the position of Maurice and others. He holds, it is true, that Christ's death came to Him in the way of His vocation, that the Cross is the historical close of His work of revealing God's love, and that His faith and love displayed unto the end do produce in us a new confidence, assurance of God's love toward us, and of His will to forgive and deliver us. But Ritschl recognizes another element in the situation. For in Christ we must recognize the presence of the very Word of God. In His conscious fulfillment of His mission He cherishes as His own end and purpose that very end which God cherishes towards

humanity. In a unique manner God thus sees in Christ His own end fulfilled, and that fact realized there objectively on the Cross becomes the basis on which the universal revelation of God's will of love is made known to mankind.

These references to the development of the doctrine of Atonement must suffice here. Innumerable are the recent works to which reference might be made, such as W. L. Walker's *The Cross and the Kingdom*, J. Scott Lidgett's *The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*, among the more scholastic; J. M. Campbell's *The Heart of the Gospel*, and H. C. Mabie's *The Meaning and Message of the Cross*, among the more popular interpretations, all of which show the perpetual fascination of the great subject. They indicate indeed that we have broken away from the more crude forms of statement in which objective theories were given, when personal satisfaction and governmental exigency were alone considered. And yet they show with marvelous unanimity (even the queer theory of F. A. B. Nitzsch in his *Evangelische Dogmatik*) that the Christian consciousness cannot be content without seeing in the Cross of Christ the work of one who as our Priest offering a sacrifice, or as our King winning a supreme victory over evil and death, has done something which made the Gospel of the divine mercy possible. There God and man still meet as at a trysting-place of the spiritual universe, God to offer His pardon and man in penitence to accept it. Other such spot history knows not, nor has the soul of man dreamed of it. In that broken heart of the Son of God and Son of Man Creator and creature stand so related that the holy love of God has its way and the spirit of man finds its rest.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE LAST THINGS

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SEVENTY-FIVE years ago the Protestant creeds of this country expressed generally the view that the future condition of men is determined by their present life, and that those who die impenitent are forever lost. More particularly, it was held that salvation depends on faith in Christ, so that all who have for whatever reason failed to exercise that faith before death are eternally punished.

Against this doctrine there have always been protests; within the last three quarters of a century they have been especially numerous and earnest. These protests have been provoked by certain questionable features of the old Protestant type of belief. These features are especially:—

(a) The emphasis placed upon retributive justice as the dominating attribute of God. The effect of this, when combined with the assumption that there is no possibility of salvation for any one dying impenitent, was to make it probable that the saved are but a trifling fraction of the human race. Pastor Ludwig Harms, of Herrmannsburg in Hannover, a man of wonderful power and of most earnest piety, is said to have estimated that only about one tenth of the Roman Catholics, one tenth of the Lutherans, and one hundredth of the Reformed Protestants, are saved, and that all others go to eternal perdition. So pessimistic a view as this was doubtless an extreme one; but it was difficult, holding the general premises which were accepted, for one to come to a much more cheerful conclusion. But such an estimate of the success of the work of redemption was not only disheartening, it involved a serious reflection on the wisdom and love of God. And when men began to emphasize love as the regnant divine attribute, it became impossible to rest contented with such a doleful soteriology.

(b) The emphasis placed on physical death as determining men's future condition. The reaction from the Papal doctrine of purgatory, with its accompanying practice of selling indulgences, led men to reject all notions of an intermediate state, and to conceive the future life as one in which the condition of all men is at once irrevocably fixed, either in consummate bliss or in consummate misery. An almost necessary corollary was the assumption that death works magically, suddenly transforming even very imperfect sanctification into perfect holiness, and the most amiable state of unregeneracy into a desperate rebelliousness against God. Such a conception, at war as it is with all known psychological phenomena, has naturally provoked opposition; and even when the opposition does not go so far as to reject the doctrine that this life is the only time of probation, the tendency has been to hold to a gradual process of moral growth or deterioration as characteristic of the future life. But opposition to the notion of a magical effect of death on the religious character naturally tends to the rejection of the notion that death is the end of probation.

(c) The emphasis placed on future happiness and future suffering as being positive awards, rather than the natural result of moral character. Retribution was largely conceived to be physical torment inflicted on the guilty, as a human judge pronounces a sentence of imprisonment on an offender. The modern tendency to conceive all things as under a reign of law leads men, rather, to think of sin as working out its own retribution. This tendency goes so far as to make many even affirm that forgiveness is an absolute impossibility.

Closely connected with this evolutionary conception of things is a disposition to regard the Biblical accounts of the second coming of Christ, the general resurrection, and the general judgment, not as showing that these events take place at one time and once for all, but rather as rhetorical modes of picturing a process that is going on continually.

The proposed modifications of the older eschatology are principally the following:—

1. The doctrine of Implicit Faith. By this is meant that, though there is no sufficient reason to assume the continuance of probation after death, yet salvation does not necessarily depend on faith in a known Messiah, but on the possession of

such a state of heart as would result in such faith if he were made known. Consequently it is held that, while all men are judged according to the "deeds done in the body," yet they are judged impartially, and it is not necessary to relegate any one to final condemnation simply because he dwells in a heathen land, or has been deprived of religious instruction. In favor of this view is adduced the fact that the Bible evidently reckons among the saved not only ancient pious Jews, who knew nothing of Jesus the Nazarene, but men of every nation who fear God and work righteousness.

2. The doctrine of Conditional Immortality. This doctrine, which has obtained a large vogue in England — larger than in the United States — denies the essential immortality of man, and affirms that immortality is a gift conferred only on those who believe in Christ. Accordingly, those who die in unbelief are exterminated, and the doctrine of future torment falls away. This view is enforced by the assumption that, when the Scriptures speak of "death," "destruction," etc., as visited upon sinners, such language means annihilation. This assumption, however, if consistently carried out, requires one to hold that the first death involves the end of spiritual, as well as of bodily, existence. But such a notion seems to be inconsistent with the general teaching of the Bible (which is mainly relied on in support of the theory of conditional immortality) so that others of this school, though arguing that "death" means extermination, yet admit that the souls of all men survive the death of the body, but hold that the wicked dead, after receiving the resurrection body, are finally exterminated.

A modification of this doctrine is, that sin, being essentially destructive in its nature, tends to impair the soul, and will gradually, in the indefinite future, bring conscious existence to an end.

3. The doctrine of Future Probation. This consists in the belief that the time of probation does not end with this life, but extends into the future life, where those who have had no opportunity, or no fair opportunity, to learn of Christ and the way of salvation, have it granted to them. This theory leaves undetermined the question, how many finally comply with the terms of salvation. It only insists that it is not reasonable to suppose that the possibility of saving faith is always and everywhere terminated by death — an arrangement which seems to

impose upon men conditions of salvation with which many, or the most, of them are unable to comply in this life. This view has a large following in Germany and the United States.

4. The doctrine of Universal Salvation. This differs from the foregoing in that it assumes that all men will not only have an opportunity to accept the terms of salvation, but that all will sooner or later embrace it. One form of this doctrine maintains that all men, even the most wicked, are at death immediately translated into a state of heavenly sinlessness and blessedness. This form of Universalism was favored by Hosea Ballou, and largely by Universalists in the early part of the last century. But it was not possible for such a belief to persist long; and Universalists now generally hold to Restorationism, *i.e.*, the final salvation of all after an intermediate state in the future world, in which temporary, but remedial, punishment is suffered by those who die in a state of impenitence.

None of these doctrines is new in the sense of having originated in the last century. They have been held by many from the earliest times. But they have been for the most part under the ban, and have not until of late been extensively advocated within the Churches.

These departures from the traditional eschatology differ, however, so much from one another that they do not seem likely to issue in any one new doctrinal statement which can serve as a substitute for the older view. They cannot all be blended together. Belief in future probation, for example, is incompatible with belief in the annihilation of the impenitent. But they have a common origin — revulsion from the severity which characterized the so-called orthodox doctrine. How far the older tenet is still held in its integrity, it is difficult to judge; but it is certain that there has been a very large defection from it.

In general, it must be said that the recent discussions and revisions of eschatological doctrines, while they have not resulted in general adoption of any particular restatement of the doctrines, may be described as tending in the following directions: —

(1) They tend to a much more hopeful view concerning the ultimate destiny of the human race; more hopefulness as to the opportunities and probabilities of spiritual renovation and sanctification; more disposition to reject the tenet of a vengeful or endless infliction of torment on the guilty; more faith in the

patient love and large resourcefulness of God in his dealings with men.

(2) They tend to a toning down of the dogmatic positiveness which used to characterize the treatment of these topics. It is recognized that the old-fashioned method of defending doctrines by the adducing of isolated proof-texts — always a double-edged or many-edged sword — is unsatisfactory; and that, especially with reference to matters which belong to a mode of existence quite beyond our cognition, a certain agnosticism is justifiable. The very diverseness of the efforts to reach the truth admonishes to modesty in the promulgation of one's views.

This diverseness results in part from the different emphasis placed on the antithetic doctrines of human freedom and divine sovereignty. If one considers predominantly the grace and power of God, he will be inclined to hold that somehow, sooner or later, evil will be overcome, and all rational beings will be made holy beings. But if one considers chiefly the moral freedom of man and the cumulative, enslaving power of sin, he will be disposed to ask what assurance there is that what God has not been able to accomplish here he will be able to accomplish hereafter.

As to the nature and source of the evidences adduced for the different eschatological views, it might seem as if here peculiarly the teaching of the New Testament would be decisive, since, where human experience is wholly wanting, divine revelation is especially needed. But, as in regard to all other doctrines, so here also, the passages adduced, and the weight attached to them, are very largely determined by the prepossessions of the different investigators. Rational considerations, and differences of emotional temperament, play their part in the selection of passages to be used as proof-texts and in the exegesis of them. Thus it may be noticed that the advocates of the "larger hope" respecting the fate of the dead are apt to go to the Pauline writings for Biblical support rather than to the Gospels, even when they in general rank Jesus high above Paul as a religious teacher.

But there are eschatological questions which are not only not settled, but are scarcely alluded to in the New Testament, but which none the less are ardently debated by theologians.

Such, for example, is the question concerning the future state of those who die in infancy. In the earlier centuries, under the influence especially of the doctrine of original sin, the general tendency was to hold that infants carry with them into the other life a sinful and guilty nature, and are exposed therefor to punishment, baptism administered before death being the only safeguard against their eternal damnation, though their punishment was regarded as milder than that of those who had added willful, to their innate, sin. In the modern Protestant Churches, on the contrary, there is an almost universal repudiation of the doctrine of infant damnation in every form. But in their opposition to this many men run into a conception of the magical influence of death which, with reference to adults, they are more and more inclined to reject. Though they lay less stress on the depravity of young children than was formerly done, yet, in affirming the universal salvation of children who die in infancy, they are unable to fix the age at which irresponsible infancy ends, make a sharp distinction between infants and adults as regards God's terms of salvation, and seem to conceive of even the youngest infants as all alike suddenly changed into intelligent, holy, and singing cherubs as soon as death transfers them to the other world.

This is not the place for a critical discussion of this topic or any other. It is enough to allude to it as one evidence that eschatological questions are not of easy solution, and that the dogmatic settlement of them seems still to be far off. There are many questions respecting the future life, very fascinating to our natural curiosity, which are not answered definitely either by Scripture or by religious insight.

THE BIBLICAL SYNTHETIC DISCIPLINES

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WITHIN the last two decades of our Seminary life one significant evolution has been the division of labor. This change has set in the department of Systematics three chairs, where before was one. One of these new chairs came to be called Biblical Dogmatics and Ethics. Its proper form and stature were but dimly seen. Its title was a compromise, fully acceptable to none.

The chair had to locate itself encyclopædically. Some things soon became clear. Its place among other disciplines, in theory at least, could be defined. This was settled by the two essential features of the new enterprise: its material was to be purely Biblical; its method was to be, in its culmination, rigidly synthetic. That is, the work was to aim, ideally, at a philosophic consensus of Messianic Truth — a task for an age indeed; but a task, it was believed, worthy of an age.

The pursuit of this work has made clear the value of all the other Biblical sciences, laying, as they do, its foundations and providing its supplies. The pursuit of the work has also disclosed a prolific cluster of kindred disciplines, all synthetic in form, all Biblical in material, all developed by an identical method, all standing where Biblical studies culminate, and all bearing a regulative mien. The treatment of any one of these would serve equally well to illustrate their common method and rationale. For this statement Biblical Ethics is selected as the sample Biblical Synthetic Discipline.

The pursuit of this sort of study, at once Biblical and synthetic, will reveal in Messianic literature one outstanding characteristic. It concentrates in Christ. Diversities that seem discordant merge in His voice into consonance. There is in Him transcendent capacity to interpret and illuminate. Throughout Scripture the meaning of His presence within

Scripture is seen to be regulative. This is a primary verity for any seeker after any major Biblical synthesis.

This brings to the front in such a study the records of the Christ in our Christian Gospels. Here again the search for synthesis is confronted by certain inwrought Scripture traits that persist in claiming respect. Indeed, they prescribe the method of study. Just here it ought to be seen that this problem of method now emerging is not being approached arbitrarily. Method of study depends upon material studied. Scanning, with this in mind, these Gospel records, one sees that they are astir with life; that all this human interplay is manifold, composite, not to say complex and even contradictory; and also that in all these lively, complicated scenes the simple presence of Christ singly rules and grandly unifies.

These three traits of these Gospel records ordain how any study looking towards a synthesis of their Messianic truth must obediently proceed. Facing continually towards living men, its formulæ must not fail of human vitality. Looking continually into scenes and materials that are complex, any study that is discriminate will be compelled to practice close analysis. And, standing daily before the Christ as in thought and deed He conducts into unison all confusion, one will struggle towards His command of the art of synthesis. This stern and pure ideal is the method of Biblical Ethics. It is an endeavor to imitate the life, the insight, and the symmetry of Christ.

But, as this method of study proceeds, a momentous issue comes to view. There is in Christ a marvelous mingling of fullness and simplicity. He is infinitely facile, and yet always the same. He can concentrate upon a single word or a single act, while holding in His mind and hand all wisdom and all the world. This living combination of freedom and constancy, of concreteness and completeness, is of mighty purport for one who is seeking to find the unity that comprehends the diversity within the Gospel scenes. One of the mightiest of its disclosures is the revelation of the vast sweep of a single scene. What seems at first altogether simple is found at last to be altogether sovereign. This brings one to see that these several Gospel incidents offer an ideal field to any seeker after a synthesis of the Christian ethical life. In many a single scene that seems quite easy to compass and comprehend the posture and outlook

of Christ are found to be not tentative and limited, but positive and world-commanding. To find the secret of this easy blending of things concrete in things supreme is found to be the first task and the final achievement of this work. Here comes to view the critical point of the whole undertaking. Method and material must coincide. To win this end will require the discipline of many men and the toil of many years.

In prosecuting now this method within these Gospel records each several scene becomes in turn a guide. The light of each incident illumines the whole, while also the history as a whole illumines each scene. Pursuing the study, scene by scene, one comes to see that certain qualities of Christ are ever present, integral. They form the standing constituents of His being, His teaching, His deeds.

One of these elements is Truth. This stands in Christ identified. He is Truth. Truth and He are one. In His presence and by virtue of His presence among men Truth stands unveiled. As He witnesses His word, one comes to feel that His message and His personal integrity are one. In sum, Truth, as it shows in Christ, can be defined as personal Self-respect.

Another of these elements is Love. This too stands ideally identified in Christ. He is Love. Love and He are one. In His presence, and by virtue of His presence among men, Love stands unveiled. He is continually offering all Himself, continually illustrating the full worth of fellowship. Whether in peace or in suffering the partnership is on His part complete. So that Love, as it shows in Christ, is defined as personal Self-devotion.

Another of these elements is Purity. Like Love and Truth, if Purity is existent anywhere, it is identified in Christ. From all that soils and all that decays He holds free. His character is attempered to things deathless, spiritual. In Him is life. He is essentially eternal.

Another of these elements is Dignity. In Christ personal grandeur stands identified. If majesty is historically embodied anywhere, it is in Him. By virtue of His presence among men reverence and humility became instinctive. For in His person pure lordship is seen to reside.

Here are four notable qualities in the being of Christ. Each one is integral, pervading the whole life. Each is elemental,

by no means an accident. They are severally simple, impossible to dissolve. In their pure, full unison rises a clear vision of a perfect Person.

This is the Person of Christ, the living fusion in a personal life of Dignity, Purity, Self-devotion, and Self-respect. Here is for a student of Ethics a priceless synthesis, essentially vital, essentially free, essentially one, essentially complete. This is personality. It is elementally manifold, not a monad. It is elementally integral, not a fragment. It is elementally creative, not mechanical. It has its law of being within itself. It can generate and multiply. It is a fountain-head of life. Here can center and hence can evolve all that the science of Biblical Ethics can contain.

To trace from root to fruit all the moral motives and designs, through all the moral ways and means, unto all the moral consequences and ends inwrought in the thought and life of Christ, as in His person and work He brings to a finish the moral ideal germinant and ripening in the Messianic plan, is to reveal in real history the finished theory of the ethical life. The living Christ is a living proof that this may be. And more, Christ consorts with sinners. He bears our sins, not tarnishing therein His own moral spotlessness. To show the burden and the bearings of this unparalleled fellowship, to explain closely how His supreme ideals may without compromise take root in us and unfold from within our life in a living unison, is a task full of toil indeed, but also full of hope. It will expound in ordered form what stands embodied in living verity in the life of Christ. It will formulate for our ultimate moral anomaly an ultimate moral law. Towards that end this science strives.

Closely parallel with Biblical Ethics will emerge out of the method which this essay defines another Biblical discipline — a discipline that will aim to lay open the order and vigor, the clarity and coherence of Christ's reasoned thought. By tracing again the outline and being of those qualities in the personal life of Christ that have been already described, in order to find how they are interlocked in the syllogisms of His daily speech, to identify His axioms, to pursue His reasonings, to feel and measure the momentum fast bound within His conclusions, as in Messianic argument He conducts and consummates His Messianic life, the mind that will bow to its rigorous and

invigorating discipline will win the mighty science of Biblical Logic — a science, that, as handled by Christ, is never for an instant mere mental dialectics, but always an art engaged upon duty and sin, upon conscience and will.

When Biblical Ethics and Biblical Logic stand complete, they will be found jointly to contain the principles for a philosophy of the religious life. They will reveal that these Gospel scenes, where intelligence and conscience and will are so vivid and real, contain all the coefficients for a rationale of the reality and reconciliation of right and wrong. The orderly reflection of this religious life will form the task of Biblical Dogmatics.

These studies will also lay bare and reveal in action the universal and elemental forces of soul-life in God and man and so yield the science of Biblical Psychology — a science that in the Biblical field never leaves the realm of Ethics.

In like manner these radical syntheses of the Messianic life will so portray the person and character, the speech and design of Christ, and will thereby fashion such an ideal of symmetry and harmony and beauty in a personal life, as to produce in Biblical Æsthetics a discipline that may well claim dominion over every form of art designed by the mind of man.

By this same method upon these same Gospel scenes two other disciplines will also be given birth — Biblical Pedagogics and Biblical Homiletics. Towards these two sciences all the sciences mentioned before inevitably tend. In each and either of these two all the others will vitally blend. For an aspirant in the field of Pedagogy, whether its science or its art, the Christian Gospels offer cosmic wealth of example and thought. As illustration may be seen two volumes by the writer of this essay, *Teacher Training by the Master Teacher*, and *Jesus the King of Truth*. The whole volume of Messianic Writ awaits the studied exposition of this most engaging Messianic art. Biblical Homiletics forms the acme of Biblical work. The Messianic scenes are the divinely furnished birthplace of Messianic heralds.

In concluding the statements of this paper it surely does not need to be said that it is not written as an outline of things already achieved. It is rather conceived as a careful definition of work waiting to be done.

THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA

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HAS the organism of the sciences which inhere in Theology been formulated into a clearer and more comprehensive system from 1834 until the present day? To answer this question is the object now in view. The limits of length imposed upon this article take discussion of details involved in the ups and downs of our science within the last seventy-five years out of the range of constructive skill. The mere enumeration of books that have been written on this subject would alone cover pretty nearly the farthest space allotted. Nor will it be practicable to argue any point or substantiate any assertion, much less to analyze even the foremost authors; one can only affirm without defense, and state his beliefs without explanation.

The second edition of Schleiermacher's *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums* was issued in 1830, and initiated a novel and influential, but erroneous treatment of the organism of Theological Encyclopædia. A year later Rosenkranz gave his Hegelian and combative scheme to the world. In the edition of 1845 he amplified his tripod and pitched his tone still higher. Danz's masterly work appeared in 1832. In 1833 Hagenbach's treatise first saw the light; in our period it has gone through twelve editions. In 1834 Gengler and Staudenmaier, although Romanists, colored their systems with speculative thought. The highly developed book of Clarisse was printed next year. Two years later the significant system proposed by Harless was published. In the forties Pelt, Noack, Kienlen, and Laforet were the most suggestive. Passing by the dissertations of the next two decades, we come, in the seventies, to the lectures of J. P. Lange, Wirthmüller, Vaucher, Hannah, Doedes, and Hoffmann. In the eighties Rothe, Doedes II, Hugenholtz, Martin, Drummond, Eklund, Grétilat in full form, Nathusius, Rübiger, Zöckler are the leaders. In the nineties Kraus, Kihn,

Kuyper, Vaucher again, Kähler, Bernoulli, Cave, Schaff, Heineke, both in the *Grundriss* and in the article of Herzog III, close the series. The most original, brilliant, and exhaustive author during this entire interval is Kuyper, in spite of his strict confessionalism. Of course there are many minor writers, and some translators, whose names cannot even be mentioned. The various tendencies, confessional, romantic, speculative, mediational, secularizing, can only be characterized by these terms, nor is there room to criticize or classify individual surrogates of these clashing drifts. It must, however, be stated summarily that in these seventy-five years there has been no real forward movement in straight lines or even in parabolas; the course lies wholly in elliptical orbits. Voluminous, indeed, are the treatises, many the devices to give color and depth to the science, and startling are the discords in classification; but the starting-point remains everywhere the cloudy and fallible. How then is growth or rational development to be expected? Hence this is the point from which we are constrained to elaborate our topic. As long as the organism of all science lacks the only suitable substratum for logical and coherent architectonic, so long will the special sciences remain isolated and without a legitimate classification. Manifold and complex are the aggregations, but these do not constitute either a cohesive or an elastic scheme. If there be no logically concatenated General Encyclopædia, there is not likely to be any well-ordered method in so-called Theological Encyclopædia.

A. GENERAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA

I. The reaction from the passionate system-building, which characterized the philosophers at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, has frightened their epigones into a degree of shyness about grouping and unifying the universal body of knowledge. Very naturally the subjective, a-prioristic excesses of Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Schelling, and their lesser confrères have deterred their successors from indulging in a kindred boldness.

A spectral gloom broods over those mighty ruins which lie scattered over the mountainous highways along which those elder aspirants erected their massive seats. Their cyclopean

structures were overturned with such earthquake rapidity, that a nightmare has ridden the stomachs of their commentators. Since that philosophic catastrophe, even the Idealists have not had the heart again to base the universe on a pivot; the most daring speculator among them is convinced that you cannot rear an enlarged superstructure, outtopping heaven, upon a mental point. There is, indeed, a present frenzy about *Weltanschauung*; it has reached a very feverish temperature. Many poets, novelists, essayists, naturalists, psychologists, physicists, philosophers, excel Job in his estranged mood, or Koheleth in his report of flippant investigations into the meaning of life. The Fatherhood of God is a truth that makes their mouths acrid. What of oneness or wholesomeness can you expect from such a Manichean *terminus a quo*? The very quantity and contradiction of these morbid interpretations of life, and the universe, forbid any symmetrical architecture. The exegetes of being jostle one another in their ambition to lay the chief corner stone; their impatient air of certitude does not scare us from saying that their whole art of unification and systemization is in a state of irreparable disorder. Nor are the efforts of Neo-Aristotelians, Neo-Kantians, Neo-Fichteans, Neo-Aquinasians, any more deserving of laurel crowns. In the face of empirical science, they cannot get momentum enough into their aeroplanes to mount to that empyrean where their fathers sailed with levity, and, we may add, burst asunder in the midst. They still linger warily in the lap of their mother and are slowly but wisely getting courage to compress the material sciences within their just limits. The theologians themselves either move in their confessional circus rings or they make a desperate break for freedom in the lines of Comparative Religion, History, Psychology, Sociology, and Kantianism. In large measure, then, the central force of unity and system remains neglected. Even the logicians have abstained from any universal classification; they are content to fight for the priority of Logic over material Science, and next over Psychology, and finally over History. Some of these are just now in hottest encounter. The *odium theologicum* is a rush-light compared with the blazing temper of these combatants.

II. The educational institutions with their traditional departments act as powerful restraining forces and almost compel

an encyclopædia to be formed in and according to their immobile molds, and to preserve intact the boundaries of long usage in the face of all common sense. True, the university system is presumed to be a practical organism of all the sciences, and yet, in effect, it remains but a corporation of students and professors under whose guidance the branches of knowledge lead a happy-go-lucky existence. Is that an organic system which maintains Faculties of Medicine, of Law, of Theology, or is it an agglomeration which has not even the merit of being well glued together? Does it in itself create a vital bond between them, simply to be members of the same association? Are not these the old bread-and-butter professions, whose only point of contact is that they have sprung out of human needs and are servants of one curatorial body or of the State? But if you enforce such divisions, so illogical and irrational, as far as their essential nature is concerned, can you expect any improvement in General Encyclopædia? This error became more glaring and inexcusable when the so-called Faculty of Philosophy was gradually added, a compound of philologists, historians, mathematicians, naturalists, physicists, economists, philosophers, and what not. True, a few universities have attempted some feeble subdivisions in this medley. But what sort of Acropolis can one rear out of blocks, some cubical, some spheroidal, some conical, some cylindrical, some in the shape of a parallelepipedon, others in that of a tetrahedron? Again, the very title of Ph.D. is as meaningless as the Faculty which bestows it; you cannot tell whether its proud wearer is a student of Philology, of Astronomy, of Chemistry, of History, or of the Socratic method. The pity of it all is that our own institutions have imitated these historic crudities: some pattern after the unformed collegiate English inheritance; others, after the unrelated French entanglement; others, again, after the German hodge-podge. Further, a comical difficulty lies in the introduction of social absurdities into the realm of science. What have the differentiations of dignity to do with the pursuit of truth? Can you clog the forward strides of wisdom more disastrously than by clothing this, or their mental pursuit, in royal apparel, and condemning others to wear homespun? Every grade of human industry is as much an exalted profession as are those which are not invested with academic honors. Yet many a theoretical branch is not incor-

porated into the university system. Almost all technical, commercial, mechanical, artistic claimants are ostracized and clustered in separate schools, that they may be made conscious of their lack of a court suit. So long as the equality of all human knowledge is not recognized, there can be no genuine Encyclopædia. But probably the most enigmatic position held by any of the faculties is that of Theology itself. Time was when it went about in royal robes, with powdered peruke and the scepter of empire. Every study had to do it servile reverence. Each science in turn had to ask of it permission to live. Now, none are poor enough to make it a bow; even the latest newcomer in the Faculty of Philosophy shakes its fist superciliously at the degraded ruler, as an intolerable, hypocritical intruder into the sacred precincts of Wisdom. It is regarded as an antique, bloated tyrant out of employment, so deep is its fall. Its professors and students require extra starch of assurance to dare breathe in the presence of Law, Medicine, and Political Economy, to say nothing of its subjection to the shrewish satire, sniffing air, and jeweled finger of the undergraduate. It is, indeed, a humiliating reversal; Dives has turned beggar at his own gate, and he finds the new despot as imperious, unjust, and intolerant as himself in his own halcyon days. Contrast the present squalor, with the ancient splendor: in a great university, Law has a teaching staff of over thirty; Medicine, over one hundred and fifty, the heterogeneous philosophical corps musters over two hundred; while Theology lags behind with a scant twenty. This is a proof of how unworthy of differentiation the science of Theology is deemed. It is true that in a State with an established Church, the confessional question makes a great pother. Some forty years ago, Holland began a decapitation of the Theological Faculty as such, and retired its surviving subjects to the other departments. In Germany, not only do some orthodox clergy seek for the segregation of Theology in separate schools, but the Materialists of all shades with not a few Antinomists and Secularists insist on the entire abolition of the Faculty as such. In a recent congress of university professors at Jena, the proposition in favor of such an annulment was not only formally discussed, but the statement that, were the universities to be founded to-day, surely no one would incorporate a theological faculty within them,

was hailed with approbation. Was there ever such another revolt of the ancillaries against their once transcendent queen? With us, a State university cannot constitutionally embrace Theology in its curriculum. The older privately endowed institutions tolerate it with shoulders shrugged; while the newer ones, as a rule, ignore it; a few only have the courage to invite all confessions to appoint their representatives as parts of the system. But if Theology be a science in any sense whatever, who dare close the doors of a university against its admission, since such an institution professes to be a teacher of all the sciences? And seeing that Theology has many branches, who can lawfully deny it an equally differentiated Faculty? We must not argue the case, but must limit ourselves to the assertion, that progress in General Encyclopædia is hampered just as much by the antitheological scholastics and the heady monistic abstractionists as by a solidified tradition. Certainly, the dogmatism of the material sciences on the one hand, and that of the spiritual sciences on the other, is no more justifiable than was the misrule of ecclesiasticism. The current efforts at breaking through the aged and outworn ramparts begin at the wrong end. A substitution of other evils is no cure. One likes the blare of a trumpet that signals liberty to teach, and then sounds the order to put Theology in shackles, or to banish it into the Wilderness of Shur. After all, who built the universities? It was hoped that the American university would be the exhibit of a universal, comprehensive, logical, coördinated Encyclopædia, but it has degenerated into a mechanism aping foreign traditions, displaying the same misconceptions of system and method. No presiding officer should ever be chosen for the headship of any new foundation who is ignorant of General Encyclopædia. How many rectors in purple robes are acquainted with the first principles of classification? How many presidents of existing universities could pass an examination in the organism of knowledge?

III. Since the downfall of the Napoleons of philosophy, what shall we say of the current attempts at finding the unifying center of the sciences? The ambition to discover such a head for all the colossal aggregations of research and development has not wholly died out, although the Olympians made such grotesque architectonics. Some philosophers still insist

that Philosophy is the parent of all the children of Wisdom, even after its speculative territory has been so painfully and narrowly circumscribed by the grim disciples of induction, an induction, it must be confessed, frequently sudden and spurious. The epistemologist, probably, has latterly been the most assertive of the philosophic groups. The psychologist is girding himself to capture all the area which the philosopher sturdily claims for himself, and the dispute for supremacy is lively between them, and, we may say, edifying, for we all love to see a pretty fight. The sociologist has been emboldened to think that he has driven in the farthest stake towards the center of things. The monist of every camp has an idea that his molecules, or his force, or his energy, conscious or unconscious, would make altogether the best beginning. The logician, since his formal syllogistic cloak has been torn from him by his categorical and essential rivals, has been content to see all classification reduced to the ranks. The new school will go so far as to substitute for the material and spiritual sciences the natural and the cultural groups, in itself a step downwards. The anthropologist too would exploit man as the measure of all things, and put his science as the universal and all-embracing one, while his competitors are trying to force him into the attic, as so much cast-off clothing for the rummage-sale. The historian is also fetching a big circumference in order that he may make the development of life and its environment the inclusive topic, while he forgets, in his zeal, that the object of his survey must be greater than the mere tracing of its evolution. A more potent and active claimant is the seeker who desires to substitute his view of the mysterious universe as the well from which issues the entire economy of thought and deed. Verily he is the most irruptive of all the contestants, and the press booms with his explosive assaults on the traditions. These many antipodal challengers of unity do start up much yellow dust, but give us no gold. The initial synthesis, the formative personality, the resulting concretion, seem undiscoverable among these vague hallooings in the mist.

IV. Another chain for the feet of our muse is the determined persistence of the ancient, but also Kantian, folly which divorces faith from knowledge. Its favorite method is to distinguish between the pure and the positive reason, as if reason could be both pure and not so pure because of certain statutory elements

alleged to exist in it. Through this wonderful discrimination the pure reason is made incompetent to demonstrate the existence of God. This lost ground the positive reason is presumed to recover. Moreover a lot of antinomies are paraded that vanish for the most part if you remove the cause of the difficulty, namely, the false division of personality into independent, incommunicable fractions which no psychology can warrant. By this hocus-pocus, faith is banished from the intellectual arena and is confined to the area of Ethics, and this Ethics is in turn made the foundation of Religion. All of which are monstrous treasons to personality as well as to experience. Through this uncritical criticism vast chasms have been opened up between the different branches of knowledge as well as between those elements of the human constitution by which the sciences should be attained. Unless these fallacies be surrendered, it will be out of human endeavor to throw up a bridge that shall reach the borders of the ultimate truth. If there be no unity in our nature, we are not going to sight much of oneness in the frame of things. He who discriminates between values is either instituting a court that is selfish or is begging the question as to the moral worth of the universal order as a whole. The largest fraction by far of the unhappy internecine strife among thinkers and educators lies in just these distracting absurdities.

V. Another evil which cries for eradication before any sane advance can be made in our science is the wrangle between Materialism and Spirituality. The Materialist would reduce spirit to a florescence of matter; a distinct school of Idealism would deny the separate external existence of the world of phenomena, and would express the material in terms of noumena, notably as to problems of space and time; the Physicist would solve the question of ether, light, space, the internal relations of astronomical bodies by symbols of mathematics. A multitude of investigators insist that a hypothesis, although it have no absolute inductive demonstration, is yet an eternal verity. All these mental and moral attitudes make any harmony of things as they are literally impossible; and the evil persists, in spite of the fact that back and through matter and spirit move those ethical waves which are the evidence of a controlling and infinite personality. Spiritual Philosophy has waged a

protracted war with the despotic and dogmatic Materialism that has so long usurped the crown, and has been pressing back yonder aggressive banners into narrower and juster limits; but the end is not yet. While each camp may construct its own Encyclopædia, no institution which embraces all shades of inductive and speculative opinion, and at the same time insists on the absolute freedom of each teacher to formulate his own quiddities according to his own goodwill, can illustrate the general organism of the sciences and be thoroughly true to structural principles.

VI. In some Encyclopædias there is a confusion between the thinker, the object of his thought, and the process of his thinking. In the majority of cases, the two latter conditions are indifferently blended. Further, the uniformity of the processes themselves as applied to the study of all realms of research, material and spiritual, or natural and cultural, seems never to be recognized, nor has it ever been carefully wrought out, theoretically or practically. The human mind in its effort to grasp facts and reduce them to system goes through precisely the same more or less definite and ascending stages, but nowhere is this fact made the groundwork of systematized science. The confusion has become so fixed that it seems like trying to root out a spell-bound forest without the dissolving charm; and yet as long as this perversity obtains, so long can there be no General Encyclopædia worthy of the name.

VII. There can be no unity which does not confess an eternal personality to be at the base, a supreme intelligence, with heart and will, which has created and sustains the material and spiritual whole. All science must be confessed to be the study of God, in Himself and in His manifestations. This is not a prejudice and a prepossession. To put the universe out of its relation to the First Cause and the Upholder, is the devastating folly of those unwise men who yet seek to formulate His laws. All sciences must be suffused with the Spirit, if we want to know anything aright; the objects of study must not be put out of accord with the divine order. Further, the discovery of things does not create them; the explanation of things does not call them into being. All have been there, beyond the reckoning of men, in beautiful development and system, a concrete whole, in obedience to the transcendent intelligence, with purpose

written upon every atom and film, and upon the concordant mass; therefore Encyclopædia must have its root on the concrete and not in the detail, in the synthesis, and not the analysis.

B. THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA

If now we turn from the high range to its foothills, the same lack of unity and coherence awaits us. Notably does what is styled Theological Encyclopædia appear stagnant and unimprovable; not that it is deficient in large and numerous treatises; nor does it lack sparkling and aggressive essays on minor themes and critical inquiries into the true position of certain branches of the science; but herein, too, the absence of adequate differentiation in the universities acts as a veto upon free and effective inquiry. Hence vast fields remain as a wilderness. It is true also that on this account Theology neglects all too much its relationships to other sciences, and the Church as a consequence wakes up to the significance of its mission and the largeness of its ministrant duty long after the field has been occupied by other agencies, very often, at least verbally, antagonistic to religion. But beyond this there are positive barriers to advancement because conspicuous sophistries are sturdily maintained.

I. The very definition of Theology has shrunken into a little puddle. They call it now the Science of Religion — a feeble gloss, which neither etymology nor history warrants. The Science of Religion — yes, indeed, a worthy study it is, and of shining conspicuity; and so is the Philosophy of Religion a high branch enough; but neither of them is Theology; they are but little offshoots of the great tree, and tiny rivulets of the same full river, but emphatically, once and for all, they are not Theology in its genuine import. At first, when men used this term, they meant the knowledge of God and His works. Unfortunately the schools struck a downward grade when they limited the science to such revelation of God as there is in the Bible, and so gave impetus to the steep descent toward either separating God from His universe or swallowing Him up therein. The word should be restored to its primal breadth as inclusive of every revelation of the divine, as well in nature as in grace. All science therefore lies within its compass, since the concrete universe is but a manifestation of Himself. There is no law

of Chemistry, of Physics, of Zoölogy, of Psychology, of Logic, of Æsthetics, but is a law of God. The Christian is all too pusillanimous in letting his charter-rights go by the board, as, indeed, any rational man is, who forgets that he is but the creature and servant of God. The Christian lets one prerogative of the cosmic Christ after another slip from under his vicariate, because the philosopher waxes presumptuous against the transcendental, and the materialist cries *ignoramus*, yet leaps over all chasms of chance with his hypothetic links and bridges. Would St. Paul or St. John succumb to an assumptive Anthropology that builds the universe on perishable man, or on dust and bugs, or on radium, important as the man, the dust, the bugs, and the radium are in themselves, and yet more in their relations?

II. A new labyrinth for our science is made by that group of theologians who, since Overbeck's day, insist that Religion is History. By this time, there are almost twelve tribes of diplomats and documentarians, who are elbowing one another for the ownership of this promised land, in which the orthodox and the evangelicals have been dwelling so composedly. It is a wonderful discovery; no miracle of the Old or New Testament demands so much sagacious credulity as this fallacy has exacted of its worshipers. It mistakes the development of a thing for the thing itself. Jesus Christ is neither descriptive nor essential history, although He appears in the course thereof, and has centralized and concatenated all events in Himself as the eternal Word; and since that incarnate Word drooped His head on Calvary, faith in Jesus Christ is not faith in a circumstance, but in a person, however that person sprang up in the current of events, or however much He has colored and broadened the ever-flowing stream of experience. We are not to be diverted by the ripples and eddies nor by the river itself from the throne out of which the waters flow. We are not to be bewitched by these Merlins into mistaking the outflow or its life-covered banks, for their creative Christ, as if the Jesus of the Gospels, and Epistles, were dust from the fly-wheel of circumstance. He is no such thing! He is the Son of God, and appears in history teleologically to accomplish a foreordained, specific, divine purpose, if Christianity be true at all and its records have an iota of verity left in them. Whatever contributions History may have yielded Him, they do not either obscure or modify

His conscious and unique mission to save the world, as the way, the truth, and the life. No medley of happenings can alienate us from that central personality and that salvatory weal. That is to say, the essence, the kernel, the substance of Religion is not History, whatever stirring incidents may cluster about its evolution. Now, while in any readjusted Theological Encyclopædia there will be much in its treatment of history to correct, that correction should not be dictated by so egregious a sophistry as this. The so-called religious historians, who at the same time happen to be for the most part secularists, will not be able to shift the heart of the faith to their quaking quagmire, nor make Christianity itself a happy evolution of successive human religions.

III. Probably those who in our period have most injured a rational development of Theological Encyclopædia are the followers of Schleiermacher. The school which makes faith, and with it religion, a function of the feelings exclusively has crippled the science beyond expression. It is astonishing to see how gifted men have adopted this as a principle in their effort to escape from the brawling threatenings of a hypothetical Natural Science and of a Philosophy and even of a Psychology, for each contestant claims the Infinite as its exclusive ground. It is an eviscerating cowardice to surrender any one of the elements of faith by denying that its rational quality is its primary factor. Surely we ought to have gotten out of this dismal swamp as we got out of the purely rationalistic sloughs. Must it be reaffirmed that faith is the spiritual exercise of the entire personality of the individual in the verifying of his relationship to God and to men and to every possible sphere? There ought to be an end to the theories which divide the spirit of man into compartments, acting independently of one another. This whole compartment business betrays its own leakiness, for what Kant, and Schleiermacher, and their congeners have formulated as an axiom in one paragraph, they have taken back in another, and yet the formula lives forever. Backstairs wit is good, but it should be honest. Reason cannot be excluded from faith as a primary and essential factor thereof — and still less from religion. Even the unbeliever seldom reaches his unbelief through his feelings; the grounds of unbelief are not for the most part in the emotions, certainly not exclusively. Much less can faith

be the sole issue of the will. Voluntarism is another of these compartment frauds which has obtained quite a vogue. Let us then repeat, that faith and religion involve the whole personality, while it is true that different men have a stronger accent, now upon this, now upon that, element of their spiritual constitution. We may say that the Rationalists, the Romanticists, the Sentimentalists, and the Voluntarists, have contributed more than any other class to the dethronement of Theology and the impoverishment of religion. They have built the stairway by which the Materialists, the Philosophers, the Philologists, the Historians, the Psychologists have mounted to the dais on which they struggle with one another for the vacant throne. Indeed, they have made of their spiritual life a house doormat on which the Materialists and the Modernists may wipe their spurning feet. What sort of Encyclopædia can you expect from such schools of a softish Christianity?

IV. The lack of clearness and agreement as to the true function of Theological Encyclopædia has prevented a legitimate unfolding of its contents. The most serious damage in this respect has been inflicted by the romantic and mediatory tendency of Schleiermacher. In his desire to remove religion from direct intellectual activity, he gave doctrine and thought generally a secondary place, and contracted the main object of Theological Encyclopædia to the administration of the Church, and the training of the ministry for that function. His theory of truth, as dependent upon some consensus of the Church, led not only to an exaggeration of the importance of ecclesiasticism, but to the subordination of the supreme elements of Christianity to the dictation of that fellowship. This is really a leaning toward mediævalism and Tridentine theology; nor is it any wonder that there followed a steep descent to Rome on the part of some disciples in the different shadings of this romantic morass. Not a few encyclopædists of all nationalities have fallen into this deep pit. Of course Romanism locates the seat of authority in the Church, but while their encyclopædists form their treatises in obedience to this tenet, they do not destroy its scientific character and coherence in the violent manner that Schleiermacher does. In spite of a distinction between extensive and intensive praxis, this theory is a reduction of our science to Practical Theology, and in some respects it is also identical with

Methodology. Somewhat better is the view which places the center of the organism in Christendom or Christianity; but these, too, miss the true point of unity, which is God in Christ. Towards Him climbed the past, and from Him have flowed the various streams whose facts have become the subjects of study and have constituted the various branches of the Science of Grace. Nor will it do simply to say that Encyclopædia groups the sciences connected with the Bible and with the history of the Church; these are mere records of facts and not the things themselves. An organism must be vital, and a comprehensive organism must be rooted in the Supreme Life.

V. As a consequence of the ecclesiasticism of so much Encyclopædia, we find another obstacle to its development in the omission of any mention of the science of Individualism. Yet the Church is nothing without the individual believer. The Kingdom of Heaven finds its chief service in the winning and training of the individual. Salvation and duty alike turn their manifold energies to the building up of the single soul. Nor can the highest extension of the Church or the Kingdom forget that the mutual growth of either depends upon the culture of each solitary spirit, and that continuously by itself, as well as in its relative functions. Individualism gives the intensive life, the vitality, the power, to the combined energies resident in the body of Christ. The mission of the Spirit in all His offices is fundamentally and first of all concerned with the individual. But there is not one Encyclopædia that takes note of this fact, except incidentally and as a fringe of theological and ethical doctrines or of ministerial functions. Certainly this is a grave defect, and one that subtracts from the value of the best treatises written in these fruitful decades.

VI. Minor difficulties which have arrested the forward steps of our science can be but mentioned, such as: the elimination of Metaphysics and the transcendent from Theology; the warfare upon dogma, as if faith should not formulate its thought; the confusion of propædeutics, or the preparatory outlines for the beginner, with the full treatment of the subject, not for the advanced pupil only, but strictly as an exposition of truth. It is a fact that Hagenbach pointed out the need of such a division, and placed his work under the first class; but apart from Schaff few have observed the distinction. Again, some contend

against the inclusion of Practical Theology, forgetting that any technical use necessarily develops a theoretical side, which in its turn also demands scientific statement. The same folly has led to the isolation of the technical schools of all kinds, and in some cases even the artistic faculties have been thus sundered. Nor must we forget to refer to the contradiction of which the encyclopædists are guilty, in that they handle the Biblical sciences in an entirely different way from their unfolding of the ecclesiastical studies, as though identical topics were radically different. Other impediments lie in the bulky discussions of Theology and Religion which really belong elsewhere; in the immense lists of bibliography; in adding a treatise on each subject and thus converting Encyclopædia into a handbook of the theological sciences. Still more objectionable is the combination of our science with Systematic Theology, serving as an introduction thereto.

Such it seems to us is the ring around which these shadowy, uncertain ghosts of knowledge pursue one another. The dethronement of Theology from her domain as queen of the sciences and the fountain of all the streams of wisdom is the radical defect which hinders any further rightful coördination; all the more, since each minor group, and often a single branch of knowledge, makes bold dashes for the ruling seat. What a pity that the hypothetical material sciences have gone back to the elemental, physical theories of the most primitive philosophers, and have ignored the nobler inductive inference of Anaxagoras with his confessed need of an autocratic *Nous*, for herein is the beginning of wisdom. And so the alienation will continue until learning is constrained to acknowledge with adoration that God in Christ is All in All.

“O grace, unenvying of thy boon! that gavest
Boldness to fix so earnestly my ken
On the everlasting splendor, that I looked,
While sight was unconsumed; and, in that depth,
Saw in one volume clasped of love, whate'er
The universe unfolds; all properties
Of substance and of accident, beheld,
Compounded, yet one individual light
The whole. And of such bond methinks I saw
The universal form.”

CHRISTIAN ETHICS

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It was not until the day and work of Schleiermacher that the traditional division of Systematic Theology which dealt with Christian conduct became separated into a distinct theological topic under the title "Christian Ethics." Since then the subject has been dealt with in a variety of forms and with great exhaustiveness by German theologians. Their work has been distinguished by one important feature. They have taken their title seriously and have, therefore, most consistently sought to show the dependence of Christian conduct upon Christian faith. The first part of their discussions is almost invariably concerned with the principle of faith, in the endeavor to unfold its inner meaning so that its relation to the personal conduct and the social institutions which it has so powerfully molded in the history of Christendom may be displayed. One has only to name works like those of Rothe (*Theologische Ethik*), of Luthardt (Eng. trans., *The Moral Truths of Christianity*), Martensen (three volumes on *General Ethics*, *Individual Ethics*, *Social Ethics*), Dorner (*Christian Ethics*), and many others, to realize the genius and energy which have been given to the discussion of this portion of the theological field. The Ritschlian movement has by no means weakened attention to this subject. Although Ritschl himself did not deal with it formally, his positivist method and his view of the relation of Christ to His Church have proved most fruitful for the study of Ethics. Of this we may judge by such works as the admirable little *Grundriss* of Hermann Schultz, as well as the remarkable *Ethik* of W. Herrmann, the latter a work of great originality, insight, and fervor. A beginner in this field of study needs only to read the essay of the last-named writer, which has been translated under the title *Faith and Morals*, to discover the rich inner relations of Dogmatic Theology with the field of Ethics.

In the English-speaking world, apart from translations of many of the works named above, we have until recent days an almost complete dearth of books. Dr. Ralph Wardlaw of Glasgow more than seventy years ago (1838), published a little volume entitled *Christian Ethics*, which one might have expected to be a harbinger of great interest in the subject. But so far as the present writer is aware, no systematic work on this topic appeared until Dr. Newman Smyth wrote his portly and useful volume, *Christian Ethics*, for the *International Theological Library* (1892). A number of small class books have appeared, but none of any importance until Professor Clarke Murray published last year his *Handbook of Christian Ethics*.

On the other hand, we have received from time to time valuable discussions of certain portions of the field of Christian Ethics. One of the first of these, and still among the most remarkable, is the second part of *Ecce Homo*. The Anglican Church has produced many more orthodox treatises upon this subject, but none displaying greater insight or a truer feeling for the immediate connection of Christian practice with the Christian attitude towards the personality of Jesus Christ. F. D. Maurice set forth in a somewhat apologetic vein the influence of Christianity upon social institutions in his work entitled *Social Morality*. Dr. T. B. Strong in his book entitled *Christian Ethics* has discussed with great learning and power the deep meaning of the fundamental Christian virtues, and has traced with a master hand a comparison of these with the discussions in Greek philosophy. Dr. J. R. Illingworth has produced in his beautiful, and even fascinating volume, entitled *Christian Character*, the nearest approach of which the Anglican mind has yet been capable to a systematic conception of this portion of theological science. The Bampton Lecture, *Christian Theology and Social Progress*, by Dr. Bussell, presents a valuable unorganized mass of material, from which others may derive much help, if they have the courage to face the task of searching through the pages of this work for the treasures which it contains. Scotland has produced the Kerr Lectures of Mr. James Kidd on *Religion and Morality*. The rapid development of interest in General Sociology (*e.g.*, in the works of F. Giddings, Albion W. Small, and G. E. Vincent), the passion for practical results in the relation of the Church to the life of the people, the deep

and often bitter sense of responsibility for industrial and social conditions which are found to be cruel and intolerable (*e.g.*, in *The New Basis of Civilization*, by A. N. Patten; *Sin and Society*, by E. A. Ross), have combined to stimulate the production of many books dealing with the influence of Christianity in this general situation.

One set might be arranged of books which discuss the teaching of Jesus in its social aspects, and would include works like those of Dr. Francis G. Peabody and Dr. Shailer Mathews. Another shelf might be made out of books which deal with the relation of the Church to social problems, and would include works like Dr. Rauschenbusch's *Christianity in the Modern World*, J. A. Leighton's *Jesus Christ and the Civilization of To-day*, as well as many others by Dr. Lyman Abbott, President D. W. Hyde, etc. These works are nearly all characterized by great earnestness of spirit, by thorough acquaintance with the concrete situation in which the Church now finds itself, and by their illumination with the Christian spirit. If one ventured upon a criticism of them as a whole, it would be that they suffer from the absence of just that feature which we noted above as characterizing the systematic work of German theologians upon Christian Ethics. The discussions of social ethics in America from the Christian point of view are suspended, as it were, upon a warm but vague Christian sentiment. They lack the guiding and driving power of a clear apprehension concerning the relation of practice to faith, of ethics to theology. Hence even their value as occasional discussions is weakened by their lack of this systematizing principle. (It is only fair to make a partial exception to this criticism in the case of Professor Leighton's work, and of Professor C. S. Nash's *Ethics and Revelation*.)

If there were a large number of other works current among the readers of Christian literature in this country, which developed this inner dependence of Christian Ethics upon Christian Doctrine, the works which we have named above would prove of tenfold more power. But it is this almost complete lack of perception of that inner bond between the Church's work and the Church's faith which at once weakens these books and threatens to paralyze the Church itself. It is safe to say that the Church can never redeem society by forgetting the individual,

any more than it can thoroughly perfect the individual by forgetting society. In other words, the Church which loses the sense that religion has its own rights will never be able to make it serve morality. It is not those who forget to love God who are for that reason better fitted to love their neighbor, any more than it is possible for a man to say that he loves his brother whom he hath seen, if he love not God whom he hath not seen. There is a great truth in the saying that the Church to save its life must lose it, to perfect the world must not seek its own institutional glory; but this is not equivalent to saying that it must lose its very life in God or destroy its very structure as the body of the risen Christ. What the Church must learn is the secret of maintaining its own position in the world as the creature of the Spirit of God, as the organ of the eternal Kingdom, as the means by which men are brought into possession of the peace of God. It is out of man's inner spiritual relations, out of his sense of the value of human nature in the eyes of God, that he can shape his conceptions of life in this world, and measure both the quality and the scope of his task as a child of time. This means that in the field of science our writers on the subject of Christian Ethics must not call upon the Church to give up doctrine, or to pray less, or to seek less the salvation of individual souls, or to be less busied with the inner relations of each man with his God; but in a more systematic, scientific manner to reveal the facts that religion alone can preserve the highest type of morality, and that no Christian ethic is complete which does not discover its roots in a theology which has expounded the divine significance of human nature, and which has learned to show man his own value in the presence of the grace of God and the hope of eternal life. There is a broad field here for the next generation of American theologians. We need not, indeed, fewer practical monographs and passionate exhortations, but to strengthen these we deeply need much broad, scientific treatment of the relation of Christian conduct among men to Christian faith in God; in fine, a systematic exposition of the dependence of Christian Ethics upon Christian Theology.

THEOLOGY IN BELLES-LETTRES

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THE Hartford Theological Seminary began just as a famous literary epoch — the Age of Wordsworth — was closing. It is not probable that the founders of the new institution gave much attention to the theology which appeared in the belles-lettres of this period. They were moved to undertake the enterprise mainly by local religious conditions — by the alarming dogmas that were gaining a foothold in the churches and theological seminaries of New England. But whatever heed they may have given to the matter, it is significant that a similar agitation was disturbing the field of pure literature. Though certain special conditions, like the inevitable reaction attending the collapse of the hopes which gave rise to the French Revolution, may have modified the character of the agitation, yet the appearance of religious and theological discussions in literature of this class was by no means a novelty, as the plays of Æschylus and Sophocles, the *Paradise Lost* of Milton and the *Divina Commedia* of Dante abundantly prove. What weight should be given to the conclusions of men of letters in these matters, compared with those of the professional theologians, is a different question and one that does not concern us at present. It is only necessary to remark that the creeds and dogmas of the church — questions of fate, free will, revelation, and human immortality — bulk largely in the great literature of the era. And another point is quite as unmistakable — a more or less radical dissent from current theological standards pervades it. Shelley took superfluous pains to enroll himself among the non-believers; Keats, despairing of the present, took refuge in the ancient world of Greek chivalry and romance; Byron exclaimed loudly upon the dogmas of the Church; Wordsworth swung away from orthodox formulas into a mild pantheism; and Coleridge, by his

penetrative and rationalizing speculations, set in motion a wide-reaching theological disturbance.

The Seminary, then, was founded at the end of a literary era dominated by an aggressive spirit of inquiry, if not of skepticism. In the seventy-five years that followed — and this is the period to which our brief survey is limited — there was no lack of genius either among the poets or the writers of prose. Nor did questions of theology interest them less deeply than they had interested their immediate predecessors. Yet one does not need to study the times very profoundly to perceive that conditions and issues have essentially changed. While no disturbance like the great Revolution convulsed the last three quarters of the century, the political and civic transformations, the progress of education, and the growth of the classes interested in books, were phenomenal and inevitably affected the general status of theology. But the disintegrating and reconstructive influence of these agencies was small compared with that of modern physical science, the rise of which unsettled the old creeds and dogmas so seriously that some readjustment of them was imperative. Such processes are accompanied almost inevitably by depression and pessimism, which, in the nineteenth century, are seen at their worst in James Thomson's *The City of Dreadful Night*. Scarcely less somber at the outset was Swinburne's theology. His early poems brood despondently upon the "mystery of the cruelty of things" and bristle with charges of malevolence against the supreme powers. In the second stage, which began with the publication of *Songs before Sunrise* in 1871, he did not pass beyond a pantheistic worship of humanity — in fact was still "on the hard flat road of total disbelief." If the agnostic theories persist, as they evidently do, in subsequent periods, they are held with a less aggressive temper.

In no other great writers of the period does such bleak nihilistic theology appear. They are unmistakably within the lines of Christianity. Tennyson and Browning, for example, though by no means out of sympathy with the main currents of recent thought, were profoundly religious. If they rejected in part the letter of the creeds, they held fast to the spiritual substance of Christianity. Tennyson, while he believed that "modern scientific theories had shattered the forms in which past generations represented the essential realities of life," had little sym-

pathy with Agnosticism. Browning may have entertained liberal views in regard to the doctrine of the atonement and of eternal punishment; he may have rejected the sterner articles of the creeds and now and then exhibited pantheistic leanings, yet no one can question the extraordinary spiritual power of poems like "Saul," "Christmas Eve and Easter Day," and "The Ring and the Book."

From a theological point of view Matthew Arnold was in many respects the most important literary figure of the century. On the whole, his immediate influence in liberalizing current theology seems to have been greater than that of Tennyson or Browning. Arnold, like his friend Clough, passed from the sheltered and devout life of Rugby into the fierce religious controversies then raging at Oxford. Emerging from these controversies with the conviction that the old faith had lost its vitality, that "the received theology of the churches and sects is itself now a hindrance to the Bible rather than a help," he undertook in *Literature and Dogma*, *God and the Bible*, and other books to provide a substitute which should be "a real experimental basis" for the religious life. He alone among contemporary men of letters attempted Biblical criticism. If successful work of this sort demands years of training in Oriental scholarship, Arnold's equipment was plainly inadequate. The tribunal of last resort, however, in settling the ultimate questions of religion is not grammar or philology, lexicons or manuscripts, but the elemental instincts and convictions of humanity. And this was in substance his contention. He argued that the Bible is not dogma but literature, and must be interpreted in harmony with the canons of literature, which involve both knowledge of facts and "right tact and delicacy of judgment." In this way he sought to relieve the book from the old traditional scheme which threatened to "pitch it to the winds," and restore it to its lost preëminence as a religious document. The outcome of his labors was a creedless Christianity of sentiment.

Thus far we have considered for the most part — the chief exception concerns Matthew Arnold — the theology of poetry. In the narrow space available little more can be attempted than a passing reference to the prose that lies fairly within the boundaries of belles-lettres. Carlyle renounced the presbyterianism of his ancestors, and the latitudinarianism of Froude was ex-

treme. In George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, in Shorthouse's *John Inglesant*, in Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*, and in Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere* the drift toward a reconstructed and liberal theology — a theology emancipated from the tyranny of Calvinism — is altogether clear and indisputable.

It is true, however, that while a general concord prevailed, reactionary movements, like the poetry of the Pre-Raphaelites and the prose of the Tractarians, were not wanting. The Pre-Raphaelites may have been what Stopford Brooke calls "a pleasant back-water in the full stream of a nation's poetry," but, so far as they proclaimed the incompleteness of every theory of life which ignores or discredits the imaginative and the spiritual, they rendered to the world a conspicuous service. Of the Tractarians, Cardinal Newman was the most distinguished representative. In that remarkable book, his *Apologia pro sua Vita*, he attempted to demonstrate the inadequacy of Science and of Protestantism as interpreters and guides of life. Some solvent, he argued, which they could not supply, was necessary for disturbances of mind and soul, for doubts and fears and heartaches — a solvent that he found in the dictum of the Papal See. Whatever effect his example and his book may have had upon English Protestantism, they were powerless against the movements of Science, Philosophy, and the Higher Criticism.

In 1834 American literature was fairly under way. The material and political problems, hitherto so imperative and absorbing, had become somewhat less urgent. Many of the best-known writers antedate the foundation of the Seminary. With the exception of Cooper and Irving, they belonged to New England, then and for a considerable period before and after this date the seat of a theological war which resulted in the rise of Unitarianism. That movement, with its subsequent phases of Transcendentalism, was simply a reaction from the despotic dogmas of Puritanism — from Michael Wigglesworth's *The Day of Doom* and Jonathan Edwards's *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*. We have no occasion to consider that important movement further than to note the fact that it found in the literature of the period a powerful ally. Almost invariably the eminent writers, who meddled with the controversy at all, whether in earlier or later stages, followed the lead of their

English brethren and espoused the liberal cause. The most conspicuous figure in the American group was unquestionably Ralph Waldo Emerson. Other writers may surpass him at this point or that, but on the whole no one of them has affected the national life so widely and deeply. In him the reaction swung very far from the orthodox standards. This does not mean that there is any formulated theology in his writings. His mind was essentially poetic, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to construct out of his writings a formal system of dogmatics. But some points are clear enough — that the universe, so far from being spent and bankrupt, is steadily emerging into better conditions; that the Christian religion with its sacred books, with its life and works of Jesus, falls “entirely within the field of human experience.” And it can hardly be denied, as President Eliot has somewhere pointed out, that Emerson’s thought anticipated “the most fruitful acting and thinking of the two generations since his working time.”

For Emerson the break with current theology left behind no sting of bitterness. His nature was essentially intellectual and unemotional. Dr. Holmes, who passed his youth in an atmosphere of radical Calvinism, had a different temperament. Sensitive and impressionable, this unhappy experience awoke in him an active and lifelong hostility to that creed which seemed to him to be in the main “an old canonized error.” In Longfellow, Lowell, and Bryant the theological note is relatively incidental. They are less radical than Emerson, less aggressive than Holmes. Whittier passed through no militant experiences of religious emancipation. He inherited the sweetness and light into which other New England men of letters fought their way. In Hawthorne’s works we find scant sympathy with Puritan theology. With him it had ceased to be an available code of doctrine and practice for the conduct of life; had taken its place in history, like the mythology of Greece or Rome, and had become simply a motive of art. Hence the impulse which led him to depict the retributions of sin in *The Scarlet Letter* was literary rather than theological or ethical.

While a survey of the theology of American belles-lettres during the period under consideration which attempted anything like a detailed treatment of the subject would include a considerable number of books like *Gates Ajar* and *John Ward*,

Preacher, we shall touch upon those of two more writers only — Sidney Lanier and Walt Whitman. It would be difficult to imagine men of greater contrasts and unlikenesses. In Lanier we find delicacy, sensitiveness, and imaginative subtlety of a high order. While the artistic temper dominates his verse, it is not wanting in theological didacticism. Reared under a stern Calvinistic discipline, he reconstructed somewhat radically the theology which he inherited. But whatever else he may have abandoned, he never lost the Christlike spirit — a spirit which perhaps reaches its happiest expression in the poem "How Love looked for Hell." Whitman is another sort of man. In him, whatever poetic distinction he may be finally accorded, there is an overplus of the earthy. As for his theology the word which describes it most exactly seems to be "non-Christian." He supposed that the Bible and the Church were in the final stages of decadence, that they would soon be supplanted by some new and better faith, of which his *Leaves of Grass* might be the forerunner.

The general conclusion which from our survey seems to be inevitable is that the foremost men of letters, English and American, of the nineteenth century, rejecting more or less completely the Calvinistic interpretation of Christianity, and teaching "the essential unity of intellectual and spiritual life," were in accord with the temper and results of modern research and scholarship. That there should have been among them so little conflict and so much harmony in regard to questions of theology is a matter of large significance.

VI. THE MODERN CHURCHES

THE MODERN EUROPEAN CHURCH

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THERE have been marked changes in the Church in Europe and America alike during the last seventy-five years. The most striking have been the tendencies to make Christianity more practical, and for the Church to take a larger part in the everyday affairs of life. Men are no longer interested exclusively in the question, What must I do to be saved? but are also asking themselves, What can I do to save the world? And this latter question is larger than it was three quarters of a century ago. More and more the Church has come to interest itself in all problems which have to do with human welfare. This feeling of responsibility appeared in the preceding century. Francke and the other German Pietists did not find satisfaction in merely saving their own souls. Wesley realized that the world was his parish, and as a result there began the various Christian philanthropic interests which have continued down to our own day. The new eagerness to preach the Gospel to all the nations was a part of this general religious awakening. Since 1834 there has been an extension of the movement already begun both in Europe and America.

The year 1834 may be regarded as the close of the pioneer period in European interest in foreign missions. The English Baptists had given William Carey to the work in India, and his remarkably useful life came to an end in 1834, after he had translated the Bible into twenty-five languages and dialects, making it accessible to more than three hundred million human beings. He had lived to see the gifts of the English Baptists for foreign missions increase from nothing to one hundred thousand dollars a year. This increase has continued, until now it is five times that amount.

Another pioneer who closed a long and useful life in 1834 was Robert Morrison, who lived to complete his Chinese dictionary and to gain a few converts from heathenism — in these two ways preparing the ground for those who, coming from Europe and America, were to be the means under God of producing such great changes in the Orient in the course of the next seventy-five years. The foundations laid by these men and others like them have been built upon by the subsequent generations, and interest in missions has steadily grown in all the European Churches.

In England seventy-five years ago there were seven missionary societies, and the interest in world-evangelization was confined to comparatively few. To-day there are more than twenty important organizations devoted to foreign evangelization, and the interest in such work is very general. The money expended has increased out of proportion to the advance in population and church membership. The London Missionary Society has increased its annual contribution from \$230,000 to \$772,000; the Wesleyan, from \$300,000 to more than \$1,000,000. When Henry Thomas Pelham entered upon his long and successful career as president of the Church Missionary Society in 1834, the income for the year was about \$250,000. According to the last report, the income for the year was \$1,864,485, a sevenfold increase.

There has been a similar increase of interest in world-wide evangelization on the continent of Europe. New societies have been organized and old ones have broadened their work; but it is true now, as it was then, that the larger part of the Protestant missionary activity of the world is carried on by the English-speaking nations.

Like foreign missions, Christian education through the Sunday-school was already well established seventy-five years ago. This has now become almost universal wherever there is a Christian church. Some of the ablest of our religious teachers and organizers have devoted themselves to the problems of the Sunday-school, so that there have been great advances in all departments of this line of Christian activity.

The practical spirit in Christian life has manifested itself in some striking ways in the religious life of Germany. It was proposed in 1882, at the three hundredth anniversary of the

death of Gustavus Adolphus, that a memorial be established in honor of the Swedish king, and that it be of such a nature that it would continue his work. The result was the formation of the Gustavus Adolphus Society, having for its object the protection and help of German Protestants in other lands, especially those under Catholic rule. Many Protestant Germans were in Austria and other Catholic countries, where it was exceedingly difficult for them to support Protestant worship and to give their children an education, except in the Catholic schools. This movement met with instant approval. There were two separate organizations at first, which in 1884 united, making Leipzig the headquarters. A fund has been collected, and in addition there are yearly gifts from the members of the twenty-five hundred branch societies. There are branch societies now all over Protestant Germany and Sweden. About fifty million marks have been expended. More than five thousand churches have been assisted, and about four thousand churches, chapels, schoolhouses, orphan asylums, etc., have been erected. The annual income is now about two million marks, and the society forms a common center for the activity of the Protestant churches of Germany.

The practical character of Christianity in Germany is shown at its best in the Inner Mission. This was organized in 1848 by Pastor Wichern of Hamburg, the object being "to renew within and without the condition of those multitudes in Christendom upon whom has fallen the power of manifold external and internal evils which spring directly or indirectly from sin, so far as they are not reached by the usual Christian offices." It was an appeal to German Christians to turn their energies to the solution of social problems in the spirit of Christ. The idea was eagerly taken up, and a central committee organized in 1849 which now has about two hundred societies in affiliation with it. America has nothing corresponding to the scope of this society. In a general way it covers all that is included under home missions, city missions, and charitable and social work, and has the advantage which comes from a systematic plan. A few of the more important lines of work are as follows: In the larger cities well-equipped city missions are maintained. Nearly every city has its labor-bureau and boys' club. Thousands of Sunday-schools are maintained. Hos-

pitals for idiots, blind, deaf and dumb, epileptics, etc., are conducted by the society. Labor colonies, prisoners' aid societies, temperance and ethical societies, and homes for sailors are among its activities. In fact, any kind of social or religious reform, any movement for social betterment, is within the scope of the Inner Mission's work. It is increasingly successful, and is one of the most powerful factors in Germany in checking anti-Christian Socialism. It is an institution which might with profit be adopted in other countries.

In the Church of England, Tractarianism had just begun seventy-five years ago. Some of the ablest men in the Episcopal communion were alarmed at the spread of the Evangelical movement and feared that disestablishment was at hand. They desired to stop the tendency away from what they regarded as essential in the Church, and so they issued the series of papers known as *Tracts for the Times*. In this agitation great emphasis was placed upon the efficacy of the sacraments, especially ordination and the eucharist. Apostolic succession was regarded as essential to the Church, and episcopacy was considered, not only as the best, but as the only form of church organization. The *Tracts for the Times* led to a sharp controversy because of their Romanizing teachings. Some of the leaders, such as Newman and Manning, went over to Romanism; others, like Keble and Pusey, remained as high churchmen. The influence of the controversy still continues through the present Ritualistic party. This movement was not without its good result. Great emphasis was placed on worship and its accessories, such as architecture and music. Cathedrals have been restored at great expense, and more attention has been paid to the beauty and dignity of public worship. A new interest in the Church arose resulting in various organizations for religious and philanthropic activity.

The practical character of Christian work in the English Church is shown at its best in Christian Socialism. The unrest in England following the Napoleonic wars resulted in the Reform Bill of 1832. Workingmen and the middle class had united in their efforts to bring about the desired changes. This bill took political power away from the landed aristocracy and gave it to the middle class, but there was no improvement in the condition of the laborers. The middle class, having secured what

they desired in the way of political rights, showed no longer a desire to help the laborers, so that the workmen turned bitterly against aristocracy and middle class alike. They saw the revolutionary changes going on in France and in other Continental countries. They united in a demand for certain privileges, the most important one being that of universal suffrage. They demanded either their charter or a republic. Socialism of a very anti-Christian character, imported from France, spread rapidly, and the gulf between the Church and the masses became wider every day, till Maurice and Kingsley and a few like-minded men united in an effort to show that at least some of the Church of England ministers were friends of Labor. They tried to bring the Church and the people nearer together and in various ways to improve the condition of the workers. They did not accomplish all that they hoped. Their coöperative plans, which were to do away with the competitive system, were not successful, but they did bring about a friendlier feeling between the different classes and started movements which are still continuing to exert their influence. More important than the different movements themselves was the introduction of a new spirit, preventing that alienation between Church and workers which has been such a marked feature on the Continent. England has thus far escaped the strongly anti-Christian Socialism which has been so characteristic of industrial movements on the Continent.

One of the important movements in the latter part of our period has been the rise and growth of the Salvation Army. It is an expression, on the one hand, of the practical spirit of present-day Christianity, the feeling that there is no depth of misery too great for the Spirit of Christ to reach and elevate. And it also shows, what has appeared time and again in the past, that when one class or form of work is being neglected, there arises a new leader for the occasion. Just so Francis of Assisi looked out and saw the Church neglecting preaching and teaching the lowest classes, and himself took up the work. Wyclif and his Lollards did the same thing when the Franciscans had become negligent. Later Wesley did the same for the neglected in England; and in the last century Wesley's follower, General Booth, and his consecrated wife, again went down into the depths of the misery of the crowded cities. General Booth must be

recognized as one of the great men of the century, and his work, with all its crudeness, as one of the most profoundly Christian.

In the closing years of our epoch this feeling of the practical nature of Christianity has been growing with great vigor, especially among the English-speaking nations. As never before, Christians are realizing that Christ wants His followers to make this the best possible world, as well as to prepare themselves for the next. How this is to be done, is the question; and the answer seems to be, by working together; so that now the most important question is that of Church union, how the scattered and often antagonistic forces in Christendom may work as a unit. Many important changes in this direction have occurred in recent years and others are on the way. This movement toward unity, the breaking of denominational barriers, or united efforts in spite of the barriers, is one of the great advances of the later years of our period and is the one of greatest promise for the years to come.

The past seventy-five years form an eventful period in the history of the Papacy. There have been changes which must exert a permanent influence on institutions. One remarkable fact is, that for nearly all this period the Papacy was under the control of a succession of three men. There is no parallel to this in all papal history. This no doubt gave a continuity of policy and aided in increasing the power of the Papacy. One marked change has been the loss of temporal power. Seventy-five years ago the Pope was one of the secular rulers of Europe. To-day he is such only by courtesy, and considers himself wronged, deposed, and a prisoner in the Vatican. From the early Middle Ages the Roman Bishop exercised sovereignty over central Italy from sea to sea. Efforts were made by the Italians from the days of the Lombard kings to form a united Italy. Surrounded as the people were on three sides by the sea and on the fourth by the mountains, a unit in language and tradition, it seems strange at first thought that the peninsula was so slow in becoming a nation. But the trouble was always the papal lands separating northern from southern Italy. Napoleon's conquest of the peninsula accustomed the people to the thought of unity, even if it was a unity under a foreign conqueror. This was never lost sight of in the following years. Finally Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia was elected as the leader, and, with the

help of Cavour and Garibaldi, this unity was brought about. Rome resisted to the last, but when the French troops were withdrawn at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, Victor Emmanuel became king of the united country with Rome as his capital. The Pope refused the pension offered him as an equivalent for the revenue derived from his lost lands and has remained in the Vatican.

This loss of temporal power is regarded by the Pope as an unjust deprivation of what belongs to him by right, but it gave him the opportunity to exercise his spiritual functions without becoming involved in European political problems, and it is a question whether his influence is not greater now than in the days when he was a political ruler.

There have been also some very decided changes in the position and claims of the Pope in the course of seventy-five years in the direction of a clearer assertion of spiritual supremacy. In the history of doctrine in the Roman Catholic Church this period is marked by the papal promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, so that since 1854 no one can be a good Catholic unless he believes that the Virgin Mary, like Jesus Christ, was born free from any taint of sin. It is the logical result of the veneration paid to Mary through many centuries. Ten years later the Syllabus was issued pointing out modern errors which Catholics were to avoid, and in 1907 a somewhat similar encyclical was published against "Modernism," in which the Pope made it evident that the time has not yet arrived when a Catholic may think for himself. No philosophy is to be tolerated except the scholastic philosophy, no place is given for any new interpretation of Biblical statements. The truth has been settled for all time by the scholars of long-past centuries. The officials of the Church are directed to suppress those who have modern ideas, whether they are teachers or preachers, and rigorously to exclude from the priesthood any candidates tainted with Modernism. Nor are the clergy in their rarely permitted assemblies to discuss such subjects as may not meet with the approval of their superiors. There is restlessness in the Church as a result of this deliverance. Some few have openly broken away, but the vast majority of the clergy, with strong devotion to the mother Church, have submitted. This must rank with the dogma of Papal Infallibility

as one of the great mistakes of the Catholic Church in recent years. Men will continue to think, and any attempt to suppress thought in the twentieth century will result in failure. The Church cannot have the hearty support of its ablest men in any such effort.

Perhaps the most significant event in the recent history of the Papacy was the decree of Papal Infallibility at the Vatican Council of 1870. This was the logical outcome of the policy of the Church for many centuries. There had been a long strife in the Catholic Church over the question of the supreme power, whether it was vested in a general Council or in the Pope. It was left to the nineteenth century to decide this issue. The Vatican Council decreed that the Pope, speaking *ex cathedra* as the pastor and teacher of Christendom, was infallible. Here we have the summit of the papal system. There can be no advance beyond this, and apparently no retreat. This produced great dissatisfaction amongst educated Catholics, especially in Germany, resulting in the formation of the Old Catholic party, which did not accept the doctrine of papal infallibility.

In its relation to the different nations of Europe the Catholic Church has shown great strength. Apparently defeated in Germany in its conflict with Bismarck over the May Laws, it was nevertheless in the end victorious, owing to political complications, and still retained control of the education of its clergy. It has gained in strength amongst the German-speaking people, so that it is probably stronger now in that country than at any time since the German Reformation.

Whether the Roman Catholic Church has gained or lost in Europe in the course of the last three quarters of a century, is a question that is answered differently by different persons. The expectations raised by the Tractarian movement were never fully realized, because only a few went over to Romanism from Episcopacy. France can no longer be called a Catholic country, and the Pope is no longer a temporal ruler. On the other hand, long-cherished plans have been carried out, especially in the proclamation of infallibility. There have been but few who have turned away from Catholicism to Protestantism, and Catholic Europe to-day is well organized and loyal to the Pope.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

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HISTORY is in large measure the record of physical achievements. If this is true of history in general, it is even more true of American history. The task before all others that confronted the early immigrants to America was the exploitation of virgin territory, the conquest of untamed nature, and the conversion of her unlimited resources to the uses of man. Little did these early pioneers appreciate the immensity of the undertaking; even less did they foresee the speed at which the encircling forests would be made to bow before the restless energy and superior intelligence of succeeding generations of their descendants.

The material and industrial development of a people may seem a matter of minor interest as compared with their political, social, and religious achievements; and yet it must be admitted that these last are necessarily influenced and conditioned by physical facts. The religious life of a people or period should be studied with more or less reference to its physical setting. The progress during a given period of any one of the many denominational units into which American Christianity is divided is best comprehended in the light of contemporary social, political, and economic conditions.

New England, the home and stronghold of Congregationalism, hemmed in to the westward by states whose inhabitants differed from her own, was destined to be provincial. Agriculture and the sea, with its fisheries and commerce, provided occupation for the masses of her people until the trade restrictions of the period prior to and during the War of 1812 gave a new and permanent importance to manufactures. Her people at this time were of almost pure English origin or extraction, differing markedly in this respect from other sections of the country.

By 1820 a radical change in the life of New England was everywhere apparent, due to the heavy drafts made on her population by the tide of westward emigration, and by new developments of a social and economic nature. By the westward shifting of population New England was now relatively weaker than the states beyond the Alleghanies. The population of New England in 1830 was less than two millions, about half that of the states west of the Alleghanies, scarcely more people than were to be found northward of the Ohio alone. It is plain from this that New England as an integral section of the country no longer occupied the position of importance it once held.

The social and economic loss, as well as the loss of political prestige entailed by the westward movement, was offset, in some measure at least, by the extraordinary growth of her shipping industry, owing to the paralysis of European competitors during the Napoleonic wars. A little later the spoliation of neutral trade by the belligerent powers and the retaliatory measures of Congress resulted in the almost complete prostration of New England shipping, but proved, on the other hand, a powerful stimulus to manufactures. The cotton and woolen industries developed as by magic. Textile mills sprang up along the water-courses of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, and the more favorable spots became the sites of factory towns. It was at this time that New England began to have a distinct laboring class. The wages of the mills drew the sons and daughters from the farms, attracted immigrants from abroad, and thus better enabled New England to hold her own in the face of the great inducements offered by the cheap and fertile lands of the great West.

The changes we have noted led to social and racial changes quite as great. The influx of laborers from abroad tended directly to the subversion of that sectional and racial unity which had hitherto been so strong. Agriculture had begun to decline. By 1830 the production of breadstuffs in New England was not sufficient for the needs of the people.

The economic and social changes of which mention has been made were accompanied by political changes of no less importance. Federalist ideas no longer held undisputed sway. The growth of the Baptists and Methodists in the newer outlying

communities was fraught with political as well as religious significance. The Congregational clergy, being of the conservative and governing class, gave their support to the Federalist party. The Baptists and Methodists tended naturally to unite against the Congregationalists and to adopt opposing political views. It was inevitable under the circumstances that the Episcopalians, as sharers of a common grievance, should seek alliance with these and with all other fellow-dissenters against the Congregationalists and the Federalist party. This union of dissenters against the established class and the Federalists is the central fact which explains the political situation of that period. And yet the religious question was so closely identified with the cause of New England's rising democracy that the struggle bore in reality a political rather than a religious aspect. In Connecticut Congregationalism was practically disestablished in 1818. The combined anti-Congregational and Republican forces achieved a similar triumph in New Hampshire about the same time. In Massachusetts the rise of Liberalism and the theological discussion which it provoked had a modifying effect on the views of contending parties, making them as a whole more tolerant in their attitude toward one another. The effect of this was to give to the Congregational establishment a longer lease of life in Massachusetts than in any of her sister states. It was not until 1833 that complete separation of Church and State was effected in Massachusetts.

Broadly speaking, the citadel of conservative Congregational strength lay in the region of the Connecticut valley, while the more liberal and anti-Congregational forces were most numerous in northern New England — Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, along the Atlantic seaboard, and in the region of the Berkshires. It will help us better to understand western Congregationalism if we bear in mind that the remote rural districts of New England, where Democracy and opposition to the established order were strong, were those which furnished the largest quota of emigrants for the settlements of the Middle West. A fair proportion of these might be classed as radicals; the majority, however, deserve to be characterized by no stronger term than dissenters; both were the inheritors of two centuries of Puritan training, and neither class was quite able to divest itself of its New England conscience. The tendency of the New Eng-

lander, wherever he pitched his tent, was to become a reformer, to lay down rules of conduct for himself, and incidentally to insist on their observance by his neighbor. His opposition to the established order in the section from which he had gone out, coupled with the sudden release from its restraining influences, rendered him especially open to new ideas and willing to accept fellowship in the Presbyterian or even the Baptist or Methodist fold.

The rise of Liberalism and the consequences to which it led constitutes a chapter of nineteenth-century New England history too important to be wholly passed over. For many years the Congregational leaders of Boston and vicinity had quietly entertained an ever-increasing hospitality toward the Arian speculations long current in England, among Presbyterians especially. The effect of this Arian leaven was greatly to alter the character of pulpit-teaching in many of the eastern Massachusetts churches. The Calvinistic doctrines respecting sin, human depravity, and the atonement were no longer heard. In place of the older teachings much emphasis was laid on the fatherhood of God, the dignity of man, and the importance of high ethical conduct and ideals. The Liberal or Unitarian movement, so far as the making of disciples was concerned, was confined to narrow territorial limits, but within those limits its conquest was amazingly complete. Harvard College fell speedily under its dominance, and among its followers were to be found in large numbers people of high culture and social standing. An attempted readjustment of a hardly conscious nature between Liberals and Orthodox led to the formation of a new theological party on the basis of a modified Calvinism. The doctrinal conflicts and attempted readjustments which occupy so large a place in the history of eighteenth-century Congregationalism effectually dissipated whatever of unity the older faith possessed and resulted finally in a sort of eclecticism of religious and moral ideas. These ideas found a worthy vehicle of expression in a new literary movement in New England, a movement in which the influence of Unitarianism was strongly reflected.

A study of later Congregational history, however brief, requires that some allusion be made to the series of evangelical revivals which began near the close of the eighteenth century and

with frequent recurrence continued for upward of fifty years. These profound emotional stirrings exerted a most potent influence in promoting and molding the progress of Congregationalism throughout the intervening years of the last century.

The first of these movements (1797-1801) made its appearance simultaneously and unheralded in many widely separated communities. The work began and progressed under the direction of the regularly appointed leaders of the churches with such occasional assistance as they were able to render one another. As respects the preaching which accompanied this revival, it is perhaps sufficient to say that, generally speaking, it was "Hopkinsian" in character. A fair idea of its content may be gathered from the literature of the period. Along with the doctrine that all sin is in essence selfishness went the practical teaching that the fundamental duty of the sinner is immediate and unconditional submission to the will of God. The earnest enforcement of these doctrines was profoundly effective, and large numbers were received into the churches. The scenes and experiences of this religious quickening were repeated with certain differences of manifestation and method at succeeding intervals as follows: 1805-1806, 1815-1818, 1820-1823, 1826-1828, 1830-1831, 1844-1845, 1857-1859.

It was noted that in the first of these revivals the itinerant preacher had no part, the work being wholly under the conduct of pastors. In the revivals that followed there was a gradual return to the earlier practice of depending on the special talents of traveling evangelists. Among the more noted and successful of these special servants at this period should be named Rev. Asahel Nettleton and Rev. Charles G. Finney. There were many others of lesser fame and importance. An examination of the sermons preached during the last of these revivals makes it plain that a pronounced theological change had taken place. The distinctive tenets of the Hopkinsian teaching are no longer insisted on with the old-time emphasis. Less stress is placed on the necessity of utter self-renunciation, as well as on the uselessness of all human effort in the matter of attaining unto salvation. This progressive doctrinal change in the revival preaching of this time is directly traceable to the theological teaching of two of the most eminent and influential religious leaders of that day — Rev. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College and

Professor of Divinity there, and Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, who became Professor of Systematic Theology in the Divinity School of the same institution.

In opposition to the Hopkinsian teaching of the sinfulness of all moral action prior to conversion and the necessity of the sinner's absolute submission of his case to the arbitrament of the divine will, Dwight sided with the Old Calvinists and taught that it was the sinner's duty to try to help himself, and that it was the duty of the minister to exhort the unregenerate diligently to avail themselves of every visible means of grace. There was nothing novel in this teaching. In the doctrinal controversies of the day it had found many able advocates and defenders. The new potency which it now manifested was due to the superior ability of Dr. Dwight, the clearness and cogency of his reasoning, and the added weight assigned to his views because of the honorable and influential position which he held.

To Dwight's influence in effecting a gradual theological change must be added the influence somewhat later of Professor Nathaniel W. Taylor. Taylor's peculiar contribution was in perfect harmony with the body of Dwight's teaching, and, as in Dwight's case, was hardly more than a reversion to the Old Calvinist position. Taylor declined unqualified assent to the Hopkinsian teaching that sin is in essence selfishness. So far from being blameworthy, he maintained that self-love was a legitimate motive to repentance, and that a proper self-love was entirely consistent with the Hopkinsian theory of disinterested benevolence. The adoption of the phrase "self-love" to express a moral obligation was on Taylor's part a tactical blunder. It was certain to be misunderstood by persons long accustomed to the Hopkinsian view of sin. It is not unreasonable to believe that a different clothing of Taylor's thought might have prevented the unfortunate controversy and division which arose over the "New Haven Theology." Be this as it may, the effect of the New Haven teaching was to modify in course of time the Hopkinsian theology. The proof of this appears in the gradual accommodation of the revival preaching after 1830 to the New Haven type of doctrine.

The evangelical revivals of the first half of the nineteenth century, aside from their immediate effect on those who participated in their scenes and experienced their power, left a permanent

impression on the organic life of the churches. It is to the new warmth of religious enthusiasm kindled by this movement that the great missionary enterprises, home and foreign, the multiplicity of philanthropic and humanitarian societies so characteristic of the present age, can be directly traced. The Connecticut Missionary Society was chartered in 1820. Similar societies were organized promptly in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Bible and religious tract societies were speedily formed as coöperative evangelistic agencies in the work of the home land. But the newly aroused sense of missionary obligation and privilege demanded even wider fields for its expression. The year 1810 saw the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

The cause which led to the establishment of home and foreign missionary societies led also to the founding of schools in various parts of New England, for the more thorough training of Christian ministers. Whatever the precise and differing secondary causes which gave birth to our various theological seminaries, whatever recognizable differences or diverse trends of theological thought they have shown or may continue to show, it remains true that the common impulse back of their creation was the revivals of which mention has been made.

To the revivals also may be attributed the final passing of the "Half-way Covenant." The Half-way system, much discredited but still generally in force at the beginning of the century, could not withstand the emphasis which the awakenings placed on personal religious experience as a condition of entrance into church-membership. Before the close of the third decade the system which for more than a century had been quite generally in vogue had ceased to be.

An event contemporary with the founding of Hartford Theological Seminary (Connecticut Theological Institute), and of very great significance to the life of the denomination at large, was the founding (1834) of Oberlin College on the Western Reserve of Ohio. No other educational institution has made itself more truly and widely useful to the denomination than Oberlin College.

The tardy spread of Congregationalism westward was due to a feeling which early obtained and long persisted that it was a form of polity ill adapted to frontier conditions. This lack of

faith is reflected in the fact that the three oldest missionary societies organized by Congregationalists were interdenominational in character. The adoption of the "Plan of Union" is also confirmatory of the prevalence of this feeling of self-distrust. Loyalty to the polity in which they were born and reared was treated as a negligible virtue by clergy and laity alike after crossing the Hudson River. It was not until the fourth decade of the nineteenth century that Congregationalism awoke to any proper sense of its own national and world-wide mission as a distinct polity. This awakening to corporate and denominational consciousness had its beginning in the nearer and more remote regions of the West, in places, especially, where Congregationalism was brought into friendly rivalry with other polities.

One of the first proofs of the springing into life of a new denominational consciousness, was the organization of state associations in regions where missionary work was carried on under the "Plan of Union." The New York State Association was organized in 1834. A few months later, in northeastern Ohio, there came into existence the "Independent Congregational Union of the Western Reserve." Owing mainly to theological differences occasioned by the rise of the Oberlin theology, the Congregational forces of Ohio were not cemented into a State Association until 1852. Twelve years previous to this, in 1840, the General Association of Iowa had been formed. The Michigan Association dates from 1842; that of Illinois from 1844; Kansas, 1855; California, 1857; Indiana, 1858. A casual glance at the foregoing data is sufficient to convince one that the home missionary on the frontier was the most potent factor in this denominational awakening. The element of rivalry which entered so largely into the commercial and industrial development of the West infused itself, in some respects unhealthily, into the work of missionary conquest. This awakening, of course, had its influence on the East, where a new sense of denominational responsibility and importance was presently manifest. That this sense was not earlier developed, that its progress from the beginning was not more rapid, was mainly due to the retarding influence of the "Plan of Union," a system of comity and coöperation entered into by Presbyterians and Congregationalists, the results of which were in the end unsatisfactory to both parties. The speed with which

Congregationalism unencumbered by the "Plan of Union" planted its churches and schools over the great state of Iowa constitutes an impressive demonstration of its adaptability to frontier conditions. Of its subsequent steady advance to the remaining states and territories the limits of this article will not justify even a general account.

It appears from what has been said that the decade beginning with 1830 was of epochal importance as marking the general awakening of Congregationalism to such a degree of denominational consciousness as it had never before felt. The new interest made itself especially manifest in the persons of certain gifted leaders in the East, of whom Dr. Leonard Bacon was perhaps the most conspicuous. For more than forty years pastor of the First Church of New Haven, he devoted much of his time and thought to a study of the life and institutions of New England. As preacher, author, lecturer, and editor, throughout the course of his intensely busy life, he did more than any other to kindle an interest in New England Ecclesiastical History and to inspire a love for the polity and institutions which he held dear.

It is important that some mention be made of present-day movements and tendencies. Throughout their history American Congregationalists have been mainly interested in matters of theological belief. Questions of polity and practical administration have not failed to elicit attention, and at times to call forth earnest discussion; but as a rule such interest has been neither deep nor long sustained. The first century in New England was somewhat of an exception to the history of Congregationalism as a whole in the intensity and generality of the interest taken in the subject of polity. There was a special reason for this. Congregationalism at that time was in its formative stage. But lately separated from Episcopacy, it was face to face with the perplexing problem as to how it could best organize and conduct itself after the New Testament model. The solution of this problem was one requiring much time and mutual interchange of opinion. The essential results of the discussion of these years, the solution of the problem, so far as a solution could be reached, is to be found in the Cambridge Platform of 1648 and the Saybrook Platform of 1708. Following the adoption of the Saybrook Platform interest in polity declined, particularly in Massachusetts — a decline which in that colony was accom-

panied by a corresponding decline in religious interest. Since the days of the Great Awakening, as respects its inner spiritual life, Congregationalism has varied greatly at different times. As respects questions of polity the lack of interest during the same period has been almost monotonous. Within the last few years there has been a change in this regard. A revived interest in polity is manifest on every hand. The denomination has apparently awakened to the belief that the old ways are outgrown, and that certain changes are necessary to adapt Congregationalism to the altered social and economic conditions of the present day. It may be generally described as a movement toward centralization of authority — though the word *authority* has always had an unpleasant sound to Congregational ears.

Allusion has already been made to the numerous missionary, educational, and philanthropic societies which sprang into being in the early part of the nineteenth century, the fruit of a new consciousness of Christian responsibility in view of the greatly enlarged opportunities for mission work presented by the expansion and development of the great West. It was inevitable that the efforts of voluntary societies, each eager to attempt and do its full share of work, with no central administrative body to advise and direct, should be attended with some rivalry; that a waste of resources should result through the duplication of work; worst of all, that through lack of correlation and co-operation there should be a failure oftentimes to embrace properly the opportunities presented.

Conscious at last of this weakness, and spurred to action by the successes of more centralized bodies of Christians, moved also by the insistence of the present age on economy and efficiency, Congregationalists, of late, have deliberately set about doing what they can to remedy the situation by effecting a closer and more efficient organization.

This tendency to centralization, which seems at first glance a distinctively present-day movement, is found on examination to be but the latest stage of a development that has been going on for more than seventy-five years. Its first really perceptible beginnings are traceable in the creation of local and state conferences. In 1852 and 1865 general assemblies of Congregationalists, national in scope, met for consultation and coöperation regarding matters affecting the interests of the denomination at

large. A culminating step in the progress toward centralization was the organization in 1871 of the National Council, whose purpose, as clearly expressed in the preamble of the constitution, is "to express and foster their substantial unity in doctrine, polity, and work; to consult upon the common interests of all the churches, their duties in the work of evangelization, the united development of their resources, and their relations to all parts of the Kingdom of Christ" (Walker, *Creeds*, p. 572). The National Council, made up of delegates lay and ministerial, from local and state Associations, and thus truly representative of the entire Congregational body, has held its sessions triennially up to the present time. In the language of a late writer, "It has been a most valuable means of expressing and promoting fellowship in the widely scattered churches of our order. It has discussed questions vital to our polity. It has given advice, sometimes wise and sometimes not so well considered, which has been followed or not as it has commended itself to the churches. It has not even been obliged to be always consistent with itself or the precedents which it has created. It has helped greatly in the solution of important questions and shown that union is possible without uniformity. It will, in the future, be increasingly the rallying-place and unifying power of the denomination" (Boynton, *The Congregational Way*, p. 136).

It was to be expected, in the very nature of things, that as time progressed the National Council would come to exercise a degree of influence over the churches quite in excess of what was anticipated or intended at the time of its organization. It has manifested at intervals much concern over the subject of Christian unity, and has lately attempted to effect organic union between itself and two other ecclesiastical bodies. For the furtherance of this undertaking the triennial meeting at Des Moines, in 1904, appointed a Committee of Nine to devise such modifications of Congregational polity as might be necessary for the successful consummation of the proposed union. This committee through a wide and thorough canvass of the whole question of Congregational polity discovered a firmly established conviction throughout the denomination at large, that for the sake of greater efficiency there should be a strengthening of Congregational organization. The report of the Committee on Polity makes mention of "the waning use of the ecclesiastical council," and says

that "its inadequacy to meet the demands and needs of churches, the languishing condition of many feeble fields, the lack of supervisory care, and the complex character of our agencies and organizations call for the initiation of a more truly representative and Congregational system of administration." It says further: "Entirely aside from and independent of the large and vital interests involved in the proposed Tri-denominational Union, and resultant of what our inquiries have elicited from the large body of our churches, your committee are of one judgment that our Congregational Churches may safely and consistently move along the lines of representative order without in the least imperiling either of their fundamental principles of autonomy or fellowship; and we unite in the conviction that our Churches should address themselves with earnest and intelligent purpose to such readjustment of their order as shall provide for a representative administration of all our interests" (*Report of the Committee on Polity*). The Committee also recommended that local assemblies be uniformly designated "associations," and state assemblies, "conferences"; that ministerial standing be lodged in the local association; "that the state organizations become legally incorporated bodies; and that, under a general superintendent and such boards as they may create, and acting in coöperation with committees of local associations and churches, they provide for and direct the extension of church work, the planting of churches, the mutual oversight and care of all self-sustaining as well as missionary churches, and other missionary and church activities, to the end that closer union may insure greater efficiency without curtailing local independence; that the administration of the benevolent interests of our churches be directed by the representatives of the churches in the national organization, and that this Council appoint a commission of fifteen, including a representative from each of our benevolent societies, which shall report at its next regular meeting such an adjustment of these societies to the body of the churches represented in this Council as shall secure such direction; care being taken to safeguard existing constitutional provisions of those societies and the present membership of their boards of control; but also to lodge, hereafter, the creation and continuance of these administrative boards in the suffrage of the representatives of the churches." This report and its adoption by the Council is an

impressive indication of the rapid trend of Congregational polity toward a closer and more centralized organization. Nor is the movement confined to Congregationalists as a denomination; it is more or less prevalent in other bodies congregationally governed. A thoughtful observation of tendencies current in the large field of human affairs will disclose that it runs parallel to a similar evolutionary process in the commercial, social, and industrial world. Centralization is, in fact, a sign of the times.

New conditions can be most successfully met by a resort to new methods. Old ways are found to be wasteful and ineffective. Economy of resources and administrative efficiency are the reforms to be achieved.

The present-day movement toward centralization contains little that need cause alarm to the jealous champion of the system he has hitherto known and loved. Its fundamental principles are not threatened. Certain modifications, only, are needed to adapt it more closely to the requirements of the present age.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

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THE necessary limits of this article determine its scope and character. The life of the Presbyterian Church for seventy-five years has been too rich and full for one to give a complete history of it; all that can be done is to indicate some of the outstanding features which have been most significant and most characteristic of the Church's life, work, and development. Moreover, this article concerns itself not with Presbyterianism in general, but only with that body which most of the constituents of Hartford Seminary understand when "The Presbyterian Church" is mentioned, popularly known as "The Northern Presbyterian Church," but officially designated as "The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."

When the foundations of Hartford Seminary were being laid at East Windsor Hill, the Presbyterian Church was on the eve of disruption. The division into the Old School and New School branches did not follow any one line of cleavage. Different elements, ecclesiastical and practical, as well as doctrinal, entered into it. There were theological differences, more or less related to the controversies in the Congregational body out of which Hartford Seminary grew, and these were intensified by the trials of Barnes, Beecher, and others. But whatever were the underlying theological differences, the acute points at issue were ecclesiastical and practical. There was the question as to the status of the Synods and Presbyteries which counted as Presbyterian the churches affiliated with them under the Plan of Union with the Congregationalists, though these churches were not fully organized in the Presbyterian fashion. There was also the question as to the conduct of missions, whether it should be by boards, under the direct control of the Church itself, or in the looser method of the Congregationalists through voluntary societies, independent of ecclesiastical control, like

the A. B. C. F. M., with which the Presbyterians had up to this time coöperated.

The General Assembly of 1837, in Philadelphia, adopted what have been known as the "Exscinding Acts," which expunged from the roll of the Church the Synod of Western Reserve and the Synods of Utica, Geneva, and Genesee in Western New York, on the ground that, being organized in accordance with the Plan of Union, they were not strictly Presbyterian. When the General Assembly of 1838 met, the roll was made up without the representatives of these Synods, and they withdrew and organized the New School Branch of the Presbyterian Church. Gradually experience wore away some of the points where there had been the greatest friction; and after the Civil War, when the spirit of union was in the air, the proposal was made by the New School Assembly for "correspondence and coöperation and possibly federation." The proposal was accepted in a fraternal spirit by the Old School Assembly; and almost before any one realized it, negotiations were on foot, not for coöperation or federation, but for actual union. Finally, in 1869, the two assemblies met in New York City, one in the Brick Church on Fifth Avenue, and the other only two blocks away in the Church of the Covenant, which has now by a singular coincidence become merged in the Brick Church. Gradually the negotiations came down to a plan of simply uniting on the basis of the Standards, with no condition and no restriction, except that the two bodies should henceforth be one in the great Presbyterian Church in which they had a common faith and a common heritage. This union was consummated at an adjourned meeting of the two assemblies at Pittsburgh, November, 1869. The united church has since grown so that the reports down to May, 1908, show that it has 8834 ministers, 10,140 churches, 1,287,220 communicants, 1,137,743 Sunday-school scholars; and, for the year then ending, contributed for Home Missions \$1,482,492, for Foreign Missions \$1,158,852, and for congregational expenses \$15,936,290. This division and reunion is not only a fact in the history of the Presbyterian Church, but is a part of its development.

With this should be grouped the Separation and the Reunion with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. This division also was partly theological and partly practical. Some, in what was

known as the Cumberland Presbytery, dissented from what they regarded as the extreme Calvinism of the Westminster Confession; but the immediate break came about from the insistence on the part of the Presbyterian Church for a full theological training for all candidates for the ministry, while these men in the West, face to face with the work that was springing up through the influence of the revival at the beginning of the century, felt the need of workers so deeply that they were willing to relax these requirements. The Synod of Cumberland, organized in 1813, became the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Nearly one hundred years later, after negotiations extending through several years, this body, grown to 1510 ministers, 2869 churches, and 145,411 communicants, was merged in the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America and the union was ratified by the General Assembly at Des Moines, 1906. Unfortunately the union has been marred by a minority of non-assenting members of the former Cumberland Church who have taken the matter to the civil courts. These cases are gradually being settled in favor of the union; and, in spite of all, it stands as the great union movement of the opening years of the twentieth century. While others have talked union, the Presbyterian Church has put it into effect.

The division into the Northern and Southern Churches which accompanied the bitterness of the Civil War has not yet been healed, but fraternal words are passing between the Churches with increasing frequency and cordiality; and there are not wanting those in both who prophesy that two Churches having a common faith and a common ecclesiastical system will not much longer remain divided over issues that have long since been settled, and that have not kept the opposing sections of the country from coming together in common loyalty to the flag.

As a part of this development of the Presbyterian Church in its relations to other bodies there must be noted also its part in the Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian system. This Alliance was organized in London, 1875, and now includes representatives of 83 Presbyterian bodies having a membership of 5,137,328. The purpose of the Alliance is "to confer on matters of common interest and to further the ends for which the Church was constituted." The

Presbyterian Church has also had active and leading part in the formation of the Federation of Churches, the plan for which was formulated by the conference held in New York City, November, 1905. Along with this has been the organization on the mission field, in Mexico, Brazil, India, China, and Korea, of independent Presbyterian Churches as separate ecclesiastical bodies, and in Japan, the Union Church of Christ. Thus the Presbyterian Church has so far measured up to the idea of the Church of Christ that it has crossed all national boundaries, all limits of race or country, and made a home for itself in the hearts of all classes and conditions of men; all shades of color and of thought sit together as brethren of the Lord, parts of one great denominational brotherhood.

There has been also a development of doctrine. The Presbyterian Church has not changed its faith, though it has revised its Confession of Faith. The attempt at revision begun in 1889 was rejected by the Presbyteries in 1893, those who thought the proposed changes went too far and those who thought they did not go far enough voting together against them. A new attempt began in 1900, and the General Assembly at Philadelphia, in 1901, appointed a committee of which the Moderator, Rev. H. C. Minton, D.D., was made chairman. This committee was instructed to prepare amendments of certain chapters "either by modification of the text, or by declaratory statements so as more clearly to express the mind of the Church, with additional statements regarding the love of God for all men, Missions, and the Holy Spirit; it being understood that the revision is in no way to impair the integrity of the system of doctrine set forth in the Confession and taught in the Holy Scriptures." Their report was accepted by the Presbyteries with few dissenting votes and was declared adopted by the General Assembly at Los Angeles in 1903. The Assembly of 1902 adopted a so-called *Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith* which was intended for popular use, not as a substitute for the Confession, but for instruction. Never having been sent to the presbyteries for their approval, it is not a part of the constitutional standards of the Church. An interesting question arises as to the status of a minister or elder who expresses himself as willing to subscribe to this *Brief Statement*, but not to the Westminster Confession, even as revised. He accepts what the Church declares to be its

faith, but refuses to assent to the official statement of the faith of the Church of which this *Brief Statement* is officially declared to be the interpretation. Still further, the General Assembly at Kansas City in 1908 appointed a committee to prepare a new catechism to aid in the training of the young, put in more modern terms and framed in more modern fashion than the Westminster Catechisms. There is no thought, however, of making this proposed catechism a part of the standards of the Church.

Perhaps it is fair to say that organization is the key-word of the period, the most distinguishing characteristic of the development of the Church. The matters already noted, the union movements in which the Presbyterian Church has come into relation with other bodies, and the development of doctrine in the revision of the Confession, may be considered under this head; but chiefly this development of organization has been ecclesiastical and practical. The General Assembly has grown with the addition of the representatives of the former Cumberland Presbyteries to be a body of nearly 1000 members and measures must soon be taken to reduce this membership, if the Assembly is to be in any sense a deliberative body, able to consider the business of the Church in an intelligent and orderly fashion. Development of organization appears in the increased powers of the Stated Clerk of the Assembly through the great number of matters referred to him; the multiplication of committees holding over from one Assembly to the next; the appointment of commissions by which judicial cases are tried; the limitation of appeal to Synod, except in cases involving doctrine; the elaboration of the *Book of Discipline*. The General Assembly of 1908 has also appointed for the first time, under the authorization of the Presbyteries, an Executive Commission, from which all members or officers of the Boards of the Church are excluded, and which is to hold office permanently, representing the Assembly between its sessions, and attending to matters committed to it by the Assembly. The Commission thus appointed this year is to consider the relations of the Boards and to prepare a single budget, to be presented to the churches, covering their whole missionary and benevolent work.

But more important still is the development of the organization of the Church practically for the accomplishment of the

actual work of the Redeemer's Kingdom for which the Church exists. The practical element is always strong among Presbyterians. It is said that, when Presbyterians divide, it is on questions of policy and administration, on practical rather than speculative issues. At the Reunion of Old School and New School in 1869 the united Assembly declared that "in this union are seen the outflashings of a divine purpose to lead us on to greater self-sacrifice and more entire consecration to the evangelization of the world." The leading representatives of the Cumberland Church declared that union was sought for the sake of efficiency, that together they might do more of the work of the Kingdom of God. The same spirit appears in the section added to the Confession "On Missions" and in the concluding section of the *Brief Statement* "Of Christian Service." The Board of Home Missions and the Board of Education antedate the period before us, but these seventy-five years have seen the organization of the other Boards of the Church, carrying on their important and enlarging work: Church Election, Freedmen, Sabbath-School, Ministerial Relief, Colleges.

The life of the Board of Foreign Missions almost corresponds with our seventy-five years, the Board having just presented its seventy-first report to the Assembly of 1908. If missions are the business of the Church of Christ, then there is no part of the development of the Church more important or more interesting than the organization and prosecution of the work of missions. The mission work of the Presbyterian Church began in 1741 when Azariah Horton, a member of the Presbytery of New York, was appointed to work among the Indians of Long Island. David Brainerd, ordained by the Presbytery of New York in 1744, was the second. In 1817 the United Foreign Missionary Society was formed, consisting of the "Presbyterian, Reformed Dutch, and Associate Reformed Churches, and all others who may choose to join them." The Synod of Pittsburgh organized itself in 1802 as the Western Missionary Society; and when the United Foreign Missionary Society was absorbed by the A. B. C. F. M., the Synod of Pittsburgh organized, in 1831, the Western Foreign Missionary Society, with the declared purpose of recognizing "the Church in her very organization as a society for missions to the heathen." The present Board of Foreign Missions was established by the Assembly in 1837. It is evident

that, whatever development or advance has been made in the line of organization and machinery, the spirit of devotion to the cause was present and powerful in the Church three quarters of a century ago. The work carried on by the Presbyterian Church through this Board has not been surpassed by that of any Church in its extent, its ability, its results, or in the character of the men who have been devoted to it on the field or in the administration at home. It has been marked by an emphasis on education, on philanthropic and humanitarian work, and by the development of self-sustaining churches on the mission field. The Board now reports 889 missionaries, 139 stations, 3129 native workers, 70,447 communicants, with 11,106 added during the year.

The Board of Home Missions, organized in 1816 to continue the work of the Committee on Domestic Missions appointed in 1802, has been steadily enlarging its work throughout these seventy-five years to meet the growing demands of the growing field. It tries not only to bring the Gospel to those in the older or the newer portions of the land who might not be able to maintain churches themselves, but also to reach special classes such as the Southern Mountaineers, the Mexicans, Indians, Mormons, and the natives of Porto Rico, Panama, and Alaska. In recent years it has sought to meet the social and economic conditions of the time through special departments of Church and Labor, and Immigration.

Coincident with this development of missions, and contributing to it, has been the increased activity of women. The first distinct organization of women, the Women's Foreign Missionary Society, was founded in 1870, and its contributions have amounted to nearly \$5,000,000.

The Presbyterian Church is called conservative, but its conservatism is not stolid stagnation. The records show that it is a living body, strong, vigorous, growing, alive with the life of Christ at its heart. It is ever seeking and discerning new lines of progress on the old lines of truth, bringing the eternal Gospel to bear more and more closely on the men and the conditions of the present.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

REV. WARREN FRENCH SHELDON, B.D.
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SIMSBURY, CONN.

SEVENTY-FIVE years is a long period in the history of Methodism, covering as it does about three sevenths of all the years since Wesley began his unique work in 1739, and about three-fifths of the years since the Methodist Episcopal Church, now the leading body among "the people called Methodists," was organized at Baltimore in 1784.

For about fifty years before 1784 in England, and for about twenty years in America, the Methodist societies had been unofficial home-missionary societies under the personal supervision of John Wesley. Their energies were especially directed to the vast multitudes of unevangelized or unchristianized poor people under English dominion.

In America the rapid spread of the settlers westward kept the Methodist preachers, with their instinct and commission for the neglected and needy places, for the most part in the saddle. For a number of generations most of these preachers worked themselves to death in less than ten years. Francis Asbury, the apostle of Methodism in America, endured the strain for forty-five years, rising from a sick-bed hundreds and perhaps thousands of times to travel or preach. He preached over 16,000 sermons, traveled more than 270,000 miles, and ordained upwards of 4000 preachers. No other one man has accomplished such a life's work for the Christianity of this continent.

Methodism paid little heed to New England during the early decades, because there was little need of evangelization in that quarter. New England, however, did need a gospel "whose arms of love would all mankind embrace," and in due time Methodism contributed her portion toward the supplying of this need.

The home-missionary character of the Methodist societies long continued, even after the formal organization of the Church

in 1784, and continues to be more or less prominent even unto this day. 1820 is reckoned by historians as the year when the general organization became complete. This completeness, however, was more theoretical than practical, and 1834 would be nearer the real transition date from the earlier conditions to the new. The period before 1834 was the time of the unschooled preacher *par excellence*, and there were giants in those days. Trained clergymen simply would not attempt such rigorous work in any considerable numbers, and there were not enough of them to meet the needs of the situation, even if they had all been eager to meet it.

The growth of the Church by 1812 made it necessary that the quadrennial meeting of the General Conference, the governing body of the Church, should be a delegated body. The various auxiliary institutions for education, missions, Sunday-schools, and printing were in existence, or in sight, by 1820.

In 1816 a systematic course of conference studies for preachers was established. Cokesbury College was established in Maryland in 1787, but the attempt was premature. The financial resources of the people were hardly sufficient for the maintenance of their rapidly multiplying infant churches, to say nothing of colleges and other institutions. But the instinct for education and culture was not less vital and virile in Methodism than that for evangelization. The next extended formal effort was for the foundation of a system of academies or secondary schools, which began with vigor in 1816. As a result, before 1830 Wilbraham, Kent's Hill, and Cazenovia Academies were well established, and in 1831 Wesleyan University was chartered and opened with an endowment of \$20,000. It was eight years more before the theological school which later became a department of Boston University was founded.

During the decade ending with 1834 "The Sunday-school Union" was organized, and the system of Church periodicals, which has played a large part in the development of the Church, was established. The decade beginning with 1834 saw the complete unification of several missionary societies, which had existed more or less irregularly from the beginning, with the formal central parent society which, thanks to Nathan Bangs, was organized in 1819.

These two decades saw also two serious schisms. In 1828

the Methodist Protestants broke away because lay representation had been refused by the General Conference. This refusal was partly remedied in 1872, and wholly so in 1900, when equal lay and ministerial representation became the law.

In 1844 the question of slavery fairly split the Church. This question no longer agitates. The two great divisions of Episcopal Methodism have now a common hymnal and order of service. Most encouraging overtures in temper and in letter have been exchanged in recent months between these two great bodies and the Methodist Protestants. Whether a Methodist Tri-union is to occur in the future we cannot foresee.

As to the present outlook a few remarks must suffice. It is fair to characterize the history of Methodism before 1834 as a period of emphasis on aggressive evangelism; growth in that period was extensive, though the beginnings of intensive culture and perfection of organism were made. If we regard the period since 1834 as one of emphasis upon intensive development, we must remember also that the growth of the Church extensively has been even more rapid than in the earlier time. In view of these two kinds of growth, and the rapidity of the extensive one, it seems necessary to conclude that Methodism as an institution is yet in its infancy.

From the beginning, this Church has been a source of energy, and many minor sects have sprung from the original impetus. For some decades there has been a growing tendency toward consolidation. Three Ecumenical Conferences have been held at intervals of ten years, alternating between England and America. The fourth of these conferences will be due in 1911. Several minor bodies have united in England, and there has come to be one Methodism in Ireland, one in Canada, one in New Zealand, one in Australia, and one in Japan. This last is a notable example not only of progress in foreign lands but also of comity at home.

At first there was no time-limit for the pastoral term, but the exigencies of the case made rotation rapid. A favored few inevitably were desired by the stronger churches, and the rampant spirit of democracy in 1804 fixed an arbitrary limit for the pastoral term at two years. In 1864 this was extended to three years and in 1888 to five. In 1900 the limit was removed, and it is devoutly to be hoped that this "is the end of the limit."

There is a growing demand for a diocesan bishopric. Our general superintendents, or bishops, now "travel at large through the Connection," and are required to do so by our fundamental law. Whether the development of powerful centers and special problems will force a settled superintendency upon the Church is, as yet, an open question.

The chief glory of Methodism from the beginning until the present time has been that within her walls the poor have the Gospel preached to them. She has made marked progress along educational lines at home and abroad. American Methodism alone fosters over seventy colleges, nearly two hundred secondary schools, and a dozen theological seminaries, at least three of which are of special importance. In some sections her people have grown rich or substantially well-to-do; nevertheless, there are very few Methodist churches which have a "working-man's" problem. Men who are or have been manual laborers, in considerable numbers, are to be found among her active workers, both lay and clerical. It is significant, also, that the Church which founded its first successful college less than eighty years ago, with a scant endowment of \$20,000, entered the twentieth century with a "thank offering" of over \$20,000,000, while the offerings of other Methodist bodies at the same time were sufficient to make a world total approaching \$30,000,000.

THE BAPTIST CHURCHES

REV. GEORGE MARVIN STONE, D.D.

HARTFORD, CONN.

THE history of the Baptist denomination, in the period covered by the seventy-five years now closing, has been noted for significant changes within the body itself, and corresponding modifications in its recognized place among the fraternal organizations of Protestantism. In this period it has come to a new consciousness of itself, and has thus entered upon new measures of self-respecting dignity in service and an enlarged sense of its fundamental and necessary place in the brotherhood of Christian Churches. The breadth and compass of our work, as an organized body of believers pledged to emphasize neglected truths in the primitive heritage of truth, has been disclosed as never before in the modern period.

1. *Position on Baptism.* — Our position respecting the initial rite of admission to the church during the period under review has been confirmed by the scholarship of leading teachers in the universities of Europe and America. For reasons of eloquent symbolism, as well as for the truth's sake, we owe a firm and unwavering testimony respecting baptism to our fellow-Christians.

2. *Position on the Bible.* — It has been our misfortune to be misunderstood with reference to the matter of baptism. The modern Baptist registers the extent of his advance from the position of his fathers by his refusal to be considered simply as the apologist for the primitive mode of baptism. He recognizes a definite cleavage between the revealed will of God, as authority in all matters of belief, and the uncertain testimony of tradition. Our main position to-day involves the adoption of the Bible as *the exclusive authority* in matters of belief and life. Other Christian organizations accept the Bible. The Baptist does more. He accepts it alone, to the absolute exclusion of other sources of authority. He will allow no other stream to color the water which flows from this original divine fountain. We do not

ignore the lessons of Church history, in the interval between the time of the planting of the Christian Church and the present. We fail to find, however, any reliable "consensus of faith" in the corrupted and tortuous stream of tradition. The opinions of the Fathers are not harmonious; the decrees of councils are contradictory. Hence the Bible must judge both. Says Dr. Francis Wayland: "To a Baptist, all appeals to the Fathers, or to antiquity, or general practice, in the early centuries or in later times, are irrelevant and frivolous." He asks for divine authority as his guide in all matters of religion, and if this be not produced, his answer is, "In vain do ye worship God, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." Our quest for the unity of faith is more successful when we look for it among the obscure and despised "reformers before the Reformation," like the "poor men of Lyons," than when we turn to the great hierarchy whose shadow darkens so much of the history of the Christian centuries. But even "these hidden ones of faith" must be tested by Holy Scripture.

In our position with reference to the supremacy of the Scriptures, of course we are brought into direct issue with the Romanist. He affirms unequivocally that the Scriptures "are not the sole standard, and that God gives to the world from time to time, through Popes and Councils, new communications of truth." The accretions which the Roman Church had allowed to gather about the original body of revealed truth, became in the sixteenth century so offensive to the common moral judgment of mankind that Luther's manly protest initiated a Reformation which changed the moral aspect of Europe, and whose momentum survives with cumulative power to-day. But that Reformation is not concluded. Beliefs and practices linger in Protestant churches which rest upon tradition alone. The Baptist rejects any and all of these. His position is easily understood. He gives hospitality to every truth of Scripture. He challenges whatever cannot trace its origin to this source. Archbishop Hughes, the astute Roman prelate of New York, said to a Presbyterian minister, "We have no controversy with you; our controversy is with the Baptists." The Baptist is pledged, as far as in him lies, to prosecute the work of the Reformation, until the Church shall return to the simple forms it possessed under the Apostles chosen by our Lord Himself. In

the entire course of revelation, we trace a noteworthy connection between ethics and the keeping of specific commandments. The law given by Moses was hedged about with sanctions of immeasurable gravity. If law without penalty is merely good advice, and powerless to insure obedience, the Old Testament law came with golden bribes for the obedient in one hand, and in the other definite and inevitable retributions for the disobedient.

3. *Foreign and Home Missions.*—Certain providential events occurring in the first quarter of the nineteenth century affected in a very great degree the growth of the denomination in the succeeding years of that century. The change of views on the part of Dr. Adoniram Judson, in 1812, respecting baptism, and his subsequent identification with the newly-formed American Baptist Missionary Union, gave a powerful impetus to the cause of missions among us. The impulse, lasting unto the present time, has borne abundant fruit in the establishment of prosperous mission stations over large areas of the heathen world. We are by definite character a missionary people. The quickened heart of our widespread churches responds ever to the appeal unceasingly made to it in behalf of the darkened races of men. From the ranks of our membership every year men and women press forward to serve in the places of those falling in the foreign field.

The unparalleled expansion of our territorial area has been an effective stimulus to the home-mission spirit among us. In the valley of the Mississippi, by the edge and in the centers of almost illimitable and fertile prairies, churches have risen as if by magic, and countless communities of men and women friendly to our New Testament conceptions now worship with joyous freedom of spirit. The names of the early home missionaries, the noble pathfinders of our faith, are cherished with liveliest gratitude. John M. Peck and his co-workers on the home field are held in equal honor with Judson, Wade, and Vinton, who wrought unto death on foreign fields.

4. *Preaching and Evangelism.*—During seventy-five years now closing, the pulpit standards of our people have manifestly shown great improvement, without serious detriment to the evangelical tone of our pastors. Our people hunger for "the holy bread of preaching." Many of our pastors are practically

evangelists, with the ability and disposition to serve their brethren in extra religious meetings, and to act as counselors in times of unusual religious interest. Such times form part of the habitual expectation of the majority of our churches. The settled order of our organic church life is thus reciprocally coöperative with the free spirit of evangelism. The conservative body is thus kept from stagnation, and on the other side, the outgoing interest for salvation beyond it is moderated and chastened by the permanent and compact forms of the church. We have been largely and enthusiastically responsive to the wave of recent interest in the study of the Bible. The old designation of the Sunday-school has given way to the Bible-school, and the area of instruction has widened to include all ages and conditions as pupils. There is a growing tendency to bring under habitual instruction in the best elements of Biblical knowledge every member of our churches. The stimulus of the "new education" in secular institutions is reacting as a definite inspiration upon spiritual instruction in the church, and is already raising up teachers with ample equipment, to put the methods of church instruction on a level with the highest methods of the college and seminary.

5. *New Molds of Doctrine.*—Our people have never lacked leaders of insight and breadth who have recognized the necessity of new statements of vital truths, to meet the new intellectual wants of growing minds and expanding souls. Says a wise, discriminating writer, one of these leaders, "We are impelled to statements, as a means of getting possession of truth. But all statement is necessarily partial and imperfect for the reason that there is an endless progress for the soul, and the infinitude of truth is God's provision for that endless progress." We have welcomed those new molds of doctrine which, instead of reducing the natural force and emphasis put upon the deity of Christ and the exhaustless efficacy of His atoning deed, have added clearness and amplitude to both these pillar-teachings of inspiration. It has surprised some of our more conservative constituency to discover the large margins in the old doctrines for every new discovery in science or philosophy, even as Aaron's rod in the court of Pharaoh swallowed up all the rods of the wise men of Egypt. The revealed Word of God is yet in advance of men's best and widest thought, and in the gathering light shed

upon it by the ever-working Holy Spirit we look for the bread of life to feed the enlarged minds of believers until He come, whose right it is to reign.

6. *The Educational Advance.* — In the planting and endowment of schools and colleges of various grades, the years under review disclose remarkable progress. While this has been due in part to the pressing needs of new and inviting fields in the middle and remoter West, it also reveals a quickened and pervasive sense in the very heart of the denomination respecting the elemental facts of liberal education. The large and constant outlay of money, and the development of new gifts among us in the faculties of our growing institutions, indicate a position in these respects quite abreast of the ripest thought of the age. While we have in the focal light of the new day only renewed confidence in the integrity of all portions of the Bible, we welcome the Christocentric tendency of modern scholarship and give warm recognition to the movement to assign our sacred books to a conspicuous place in the study of literature. The features of our polity are such that we have everything to hope from the most thorough-going and many-sided investigation of the literary basis of our faith. If there have been instances of painful defection from the main bulwarks of our faith, we have not become aware of a large following into untried paths, or a large preference for the new because of its novelty. And yet the instructed scribe is honored who brings forth out of his sacred treasure things new and old.

7. *Attitude toward Socialism.* — Our people recognize a distinctive and imperative socialism in the teaching of Christ. The constituency of our churches is very considerably found in the ranks of labor. It would be impossible for us to ignore the burning questions which emerge in our time, respecting rights and duties as between the world's work and the world's wealth. The solvent of the complexities created in our day is the spirit of Christ ruling in the heart of the worker as well as in that of the employer. Hence our pulpits give a cordial acceptance to themes which discuss the rights of labor. We heed the bitter cry of children wronged by mercenary capital, and insist upon the stewardship conception of wealth so clearly stated in the New Testament. While much remains to be won from the possessors of large estate among us, we recognize in a goodly

number the disposition practically to hold money as a trust for the public good.

8. *The Outlook.* — Our place has changed from one of reluctant toleration to one of hearty approval and intelligent valuation. We are Protestants among Protestants. On the firing line we keep our wakeful vigil. Against the danger of a false liberalism, and in advocacy of the majesty of definite precepts and statutes, we are now assigned, because better understood, our true vocation in the confederation of Christian bodies.

Under the New Testament dispensation, new institutions were organized, and new duties defined. These were not left to the uncertain chances of oral tradition, but were committed to the fixed forms of a written language. The Greek tongue, like the ancient ark overlaid with gold, contains our priceless covenant. We receive it as a sacred trust. And as it would have been an act of sacrilege for a Jew to have changed one phrase in the ten words of the covenant, it seems no less so for us to modify any commandment of our Lord. A great poet interprets the spirit of Christ's commission to us as Baptist believers when he says:

“ Hold thou the good; define it well,
For fear Divine Philosophy
Should push beyond the mark and be
Procuress to the Lords of hell.”

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

REV. CHARLES MELLEN WOODMAN, B.D.

FRIENDS' CHURCH, PORTLAND, ME.

THE year 1833 looked upon a body of Friends in this country scattered along the entire Atlantic coast, and reaching westward across the Alleghany Mountains principally into the Middle States. They were living well along in that second period of the Society's history, a period which extended from the close of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth, when the intense evangelistic zeal of the first fifty years of Quakerism had disappeared, and the quickening that came to the Society in the latter half of the nineteenth century was still a thing of the future. Their spirit was one of quiet introspection, and from the standpoint of the world and of other religious sects they were seclusive. Among themselves there was intense feeling over the Hicksite schism of 1827-28, which had divided the Society into nearly equal parts, and from the effects of which they were still suffering.

During the thirties and forties of the last century Joseph John Gurney, an English Friend, brought to the whole Society a vital message, making an appeal for Bible study and an evangelistic ministry. After the Civil War the great revival swept thousands into the Kingdom, and west of the Alleghanies membership among the Friends increased from 32,000 to 78,000. This gain was exclusively among the Orthodox Friends. The gains in the Hicksite branch have been relatively small. At present they number a little over 22,000. The Orthodox membership in this country approximates 95,000. (It is of this branch that this paper treats.) With the development of the western part of the country the Friends helped to carry the Gospel message to the newly settled regions. Within the past seventy-five years the following Yearly Meetings have been established, *viz.*,¹ Iowa, Kansas, Western in Indiana, Wilmington in Ohio,

¹ The name of the Yearly Meeting defines in general terms its locality.

Oregon, California, Canada, and Nebraska, which was set apart from Iowa Yearly Meeting last year.

In missionary activities the Friends have developed work among the Negroes and Indians, and in Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Africa, Madagascar, Constantinople, Palestine, Syria, India, China, and Japan.

Within the past forty years ten colleges have been founded, making a total of eleven in this country and one in Canada. These colleges, by developing strong Biblical departments, together with two training schools, are filling as best they can the place of a theological seminary. In the past twenty years these schools have contributed toward supplying a ministry fairly well equipped for the growing demands of meetings which within a quarter of a century have come to value with growing appreciation the efficiency of the pastoral system. For more than half of the last century the call for an educated ministry was practically nothing; now the demand is rapidly becoming universal.

Aside from the expansion of Quakerism, which came as a result of the great revival movement that swept over this country about the middle of the last century, the greatest accomplishment of the Society of Friends within seventy-five years has been the bringing about of a practical organic unity of the American Yearly Meetings. Beginning with the year 1883, conferences of Friends from the several Yearly Meetings were held at intervals of five years. The permanent result of these fraternal gatherings was the *Uniform Discipline*, approved by the Conference in 1897, and adopted by a sufficient number of the Yearly Meetings in the few years following to make it effective upon those which acted favorably upon it. The American organization is known as the Five Years' Meeting, and embraces twelve of the fourteen American Yearly Meetings. The initial steps of this movement for a united American Quakerism are full of promise. Two sessions of the Five Years' Meeting have been held. The boards on Legislation, Education, Condition and Welfare of the Negroes, Foreign Missions, and Church Extension are in process of organization and have already accomplished some effective work.

Present-day Quakerism is placing less emphasis upon peculiarities of dress and speech, and more upon methods of worship and service adapted to the age in which we live. The readjust-

ment necessary to meet modern conditions is by no means being achieved without difficulty. The absence of creed gives freedom for growth such as few denominations possess, but makes the Society liable to tangential and extreme movements. A twofold conservatism and liberalism, the one in theology, the other in methods of work and worship, play no small part in complicating the efforts to attain the highest degree of efficiency in the face of enlarging opportunities. In their attempt to meet these problems the Friends of to-day are combining in a wholesome way the evangelistic aggressiveness of the first fifty years of their history, and the quiet dignity, poise, and rigidity of character which have marked the Friends of the last two hundred years. They are making themselves felt as a spiritual force, presenting to the world a belief, simple but fundamental, and a life devoid of artificiality, and calm in its rest upon the Eternal.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA

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REFORMED CHURCH, CATSKILL, N.Y.

THE first significant event since 1834 in the history of the Reformed Church in America was the immigration of the members of the Free Church of the Netherlands to Michigan in 1846. These Hollanders had seceded from the State Church, and left their country for America because of severe religious opposition and persecution. In many cases the pastors brought their entire congregations with them, and these churches were organized into a Classis and admitted in 1850 into the Reformed "Dutch" Church. In 1867 this name was changed to "The Reformed Church in America" and the word "Dutch" is no longer part in any way of the Church's title. Since 1864 over one hundred and fifty thousand immigrants have come to the western section of the Reformed Church in their quest for religious liberty. They founded Hope College at Holland, Michigan, in 1866, and the Western Theological Seminary at the same place soon afterward. The activity of the western branch of the Church has also resulted in the founding of schools which give promise of great usefulness.

In the East, Rutgers College (1766), the Theological Seminary (1784), and the Preparatory School (*cir.* 1770), all located at New Brunswick, N.J., have enjoyed a steady and consistent growth during the last seventy-five years, and have educated many men who have become prominent in all walks of life, especially as ministers, not only of the Reformed Church, but of other leading denominations as well.

The Reformed Church has carried on correspondence at various times with about forty other religious denominations and bodies, with the idea of maintaining friendly and fraternal relations with all evangelical churches. In the Alliance of Reformed Churches she has always taken a prominent part. As a true

child of the Reformation, she has sought to make herself felt in the life and progress of the Church Universal.

The Constitution of this denomination, which has several times been revised, provides a form of government which is elastic, and yet which furnishes a definite standard for the carrying on of ecclesiastical affairs with uniformity and dispatch. While this Constitution requires allegiance on the part of ministers to the Canons of the Synod of Dordrecht of 1618, it should be noted that liberty of individual conscience has ever been granted her ministers by the Reformed Church. Though there have been men in the ranks of her ministry who have differed widely in their individual interpretation of the Scriptures and of the Church standards, yet she has never had a heresy trial.

While for many years the oldest denomination in America has neglected her opportunities for church extension, there has recently come an awakening to a sense of her responsibility for domestic mission work. This is due in no small measure to the activity of the Women's Executive Committee of Domestic Missions, which was organized in 1882. These women have quickened the whole Church, and have been remarkably successful in their work, in coöperation with the Board of Domestic Missions, among the Indians of the West and the Mountain Whites of the South. The new Classis of Oklahoma also owes much to the encouragement and assistance of this branch of the Church.

But the most significant fact in the history of the denomination during the last seventy-five years has been its progress in foreign missionary work. In the very front rank among all denominations in her per capita contributions to this cause, the Reformed Church has been second to none in her progressive leadership in the work in Asia, ever since the organization of her Board of Foreign Missions in 1832. For twenty-five years this Foreign Mission Board carried on its work through and in coöperation with the American Board. Since 1857 the Reformed Church has prosecuted her foreign mission work separately. In 1875 the Women's Board of Foreign Missions was organized, and has proved a most efficient factor in the work.

Most unselfishly has the denomination given consistent and splendid leadership to the foreign mission movement in China, Japan, India, and Arabia. In 1864 the action of the Reformed Church Synod resulted in the establishment of an independent

Union Church of the Presbyterian order in China, probably the earliest effort for church union and separate autonomy on foreign soil. This was not only a new departure, but consistent with the self-sacrificing spirit which has characterized the foreign mission work of the Reformed Church.

In 1876 the first United Church in Japan was formed out of a body of Christians gathered together largely by the representatives of the Reformed Church in that land. In 1906 the United Presbyterian Church in India, over which the Governor of Bengal is now Moderator, was formed, in which union the venerable Dr. Jacob Chamberlain of the Reformed Church took a large part. It is safe to say that this movement could hardly have been consummated without the assistance of our missionaries and Foreign Board. Indeed, this most significant union movement in India was initiated and has been led throughout by representatives of the Reformed Church in that land. So wisely has this ecclesiastical union been guided, that the Congregationalists in India have recently made definite overtures with a view to joining in this movement, that there may be a United Church of Christ in India.

The Arabian Mission, which was founded in 1889, was the first mission in that country from America, and has been used by God to stir the whole Church to thought and prayer for the Mohammedan world.

Unselfish devotion to the cause of Christ, and generous giving up of her best for the wider spread of His Kingdom in the foreign field, made possible by the loyalty and generosity of the little Reformed Church at home, have been the most significant facts in her history during the last three quarters of a century. However the Reformed Church in America may have neglected her opportunities for church extension or refused to enter into competition with other denominations at home, she has set a pace in the work abroad which not only challenges the admiration, but should arouse the best efforts of her sister denominations.

THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH

REV. FREDERICK HENRY GRAEPER

GERMAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH, CHILlicothe, OHIO

MANY readers of this sketch will naturally ask, what is the Evangelical Church? What events in the history of the Christian Church have contributed to its origin, and why does it call itself "Evangelical"? Seventy-five years more than cover its existence in this country; therefore this résumé of its progress within that time will include its entire history.

In 1817 Frederick William III of Prussia proclaimed a union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches within his realm, which union has since that time been known by the name *Evangelische Kirche*, or the Prussian State Church. While this was the only instance of an actual union of the two great branches of the Reformation, it was nevertheless the ideal of many Christians in other parts of what is now the German Empire and Switzerland, who thought that the time had arrived for the laying aside of doctrinal controversies. Among these were especially the members and friends of the two well-known Missionary Societies of Basle and Barmen, who were to be found in all parts of Germany and Switzerland in both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

In 1837 the Missionary Society of Basle sent two of its young ordained missionaries, G. W. Wall and Joseph Rieger, to America. They were sent in response to an appeal of Mr. Richard Bigelow of New York City and other Americans of New York and New England, who saw the need of missionary work among the German immigrants, especially in the West. The two missionaries spent the first four months of their sojourn in America in Hartford, where they found friends who took a lasting interest in the work which they were to undertake. The writer regrets that he has not been able to learn the names of these good Hartford people.

From Hartford they made their way to St. Louis where they took up the work of organizing congregations. More men soon followed, and some had even preceded Wall and Rieger into this great field. The necessity of organized work was soon felt. A meeting was therefore called which was held in the little log church of Rev. L. Nollau, another Basle man, who was to become one of the leaders, at Gravois Settlement, Mo. There, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, eight men founded the German Evangelical Church Society of the West. A constitution was adopted, the doctrinal paragraph of which was briefly this: "We recognize and accept the canonical books of the Old and New Testament as the revealed Word of God and as the sole guide of faith and conduct. In the interpretation of the same we recognize the symbolical books of the Lutheran and Reformed churches — the Augsburg Confession, Luther's Catechism, and the Heidelberg Catechism, in so far as their teachings agree. In their points of difference, however, we recognize only the respective passages of Scripture and exercise the liberty of conscience prevailing in the Evangelical Church." Thus they tried to realize the great principles enunciated by Augustine, which have since become the traditional motto of the Evangelical Church in America: "In essentiis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas."

This organization grew steadily. In 1850 a Theological Seminary was founded at Femme Osage, Mo. Its first periodical, *Der Friedensbote*, was also published that year on a hand press. The latter had been presented by Mr. Richard Bigelow, who, with other friends in the East, at various times rendered considerable financial aid.

Several smaller church bodies which had been founded in the same spirit were soon united with the German Evangelical Church Society of the West, — the German Evangelical Church Society of Ohio in 1858, the United Evangelical Synod of the East in 1860, and the Evangelical Synod of the Northwest in 1877. Since these unions had been consummated the name of the organization was changed to the more comprehensive title, The German Evangelical Synod of North America.

The German Evangelical Church has always been German, its work being mainly among the German immigrants throughout the United States. Within the last decade, however, it has

become necessary to introduce English services into many churches. In a few instances the English language is already used exclusively.

The polity of the Evangelical Church has been gradually developed, according to its growth and needs. It consists of a general organization in which both churches and pastors hold membership and which meets in conference every four years. It is presided over by a president who is elected every four years. There are now eighteen districts or state synods which meet in conference every year. The Evangelical Church now numbers 282,195 communicants, 1355 churches, and 1007 pastors. It has its Theological Seminary at St. Louis, and one college at Elmhurst, Ill. It supports its own foreign mission in India, and has during the last fifteen years been especially active in following the trail of the German immigrant to the Pacific coast and the great Northwest.

The demand has at various times been made that the Evangelical Church should make its own definite doctrinal statement. But it has always remained true to the principles of its founders, that both the Lutheran and the Reformed symbolical statements be retained side by side, and that perfect freedom be allowed its members as to the disputed points. Thus not only those who were Evangelical in the sense of the Prussian State Church, but also Lutherans and Calvinists, have worked side by side in perfect harmony. As a union church the Evangelical Synod certainly fills a distinct want, and has a mission to perform which, through its own initiative and also through its example, must be of lasting influence in helping to fulfill the Master's will when he prayed "that they may all be one." In bringing this about the Evangelical Church has stood and will always stand shoulder to shoulder with other denominations which try to realize this ideal through both federation and organic union.

FEDERATION AND UNION OF CHURCHES

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FOLLOWERS of Christ have never been able to forget the Master's prayer for unity. Through the centuries, therefore, disfigured by discord among brethren, prayer and effort toward reunion have never wholly failed. But the present centripetal movement, with its sense of duty and its shout of organized power, is entirely new within the last fifty years. At the opening of our Seminary period no significant action had occurred, no awakening had begun. The hour of peace and union had not yet come. Gigantic divisive forces, notably those of slavery and political disruption in our own land, were ascendant. Some principal ecclesiastical divisions occurred after 1834. In 1837 New School and Old School Presbyterians sprang apart on doctrinal grounds. On the issues to be fought out in our Civil War passionate cleavages were made, producing, among other new bodies, the Southern Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. In 1843 the Free Church broke away from the Scotch Establishment. In England the Established Church was in unquestioned control, while the non-conformist bodies had not caught the idea of federated free churches. On mission soil each denomination was doing its separate work, and the great coöperation was still many years ahead.

Yet the spirit of union was preparing the ground. Christians had been coöperating for years in certain interdenominational activities, notably the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Sunday-school Union. The primary aims of these societies being specific, they yet aided profoundly the centripetal tendency which has since taken definite form in a world-wide movement of church federation and union.

That movement began to gather force after the Civil War. In peace and union various causes of church division declined. Sectional antagonisms were bound to disappear. Doctrinal differences yielded to rising intelligence and brotherhood. The age of organization challenged the churches to adopt efficiency as a dominant note in duty. In 1870 Old School and New School Presbyterians regained their union, and the modern movement for the reunion of Christendom was fairly begun. It has already shown itself one of the most powerful and pervasive elements in current world-progress. Its interests and issues are supreme, and upon them it is marshaling forces no less than ecumenical. This paper can do no more than enumerate certain characteristics of the movement.

1. It is marked by simplified doctrinal holdings. Followers of Christ, developing the sense of values, are discovering the essentials of doctrine. Upon these they find themselves agreed, and their service to men identical. Doctrinal disagreements have flamed up into tragedies for the most part upon points now called non-essential. Hence a main cause of separation is fading away in the growing light.

2. A recognition has come of the unity of Christian work as well as of Christian faith. Religious problems and opportunities are world-wide. Divisions are wasteful. To prey upon one another is a crime. The duty is peremptory to organize commensurately with the task. The deadly fight against sin and degradation covers a vast area and black depths. Without more delay the death-grapple must be joined at all points and all depths. There are forces enough, rightly deployed and co-operating, to fight the battle comprehensively.

3. The mission fields have shamed and led the home land. In the frightful abysses of heathenism the disagreements and strifes at home are unutterable folly, unpardonable crime against dying myriads, pitiful hindrances to the Kingdom. The missionaries and their converts began quietly to coöperate, and then to organize. "Foreign missions," writes Secretary J. L. Barton, "have been the university in which our churches and home organizations have received their training for coöperation and federation. . . . More interdenominational institutions have been organized abroad and are now (1908) in successful operation than exist in the home field."

In the great mission centers, like Bombay, Peking, and Tokio, it is customary for all missionaries of whatever church names to form "missionary associations" for the discussion of common problems and the furtherance of effective interdenominational cooperation. In Japan for several years nearly all the Protestant missions have acted together in the "Standing Committee of Coöperating Christian Missions," with such working departments as practical comity, Christian literature, evangelism, education, and philanthropy. The Protestant Christians of Japan, having sustained for many years a branch of the Evangelical Alliance, are now reorganizing it into a National Federation of Churches comprising all denominations. In China the Centenary Missionary Conference, held in 1907, initiated a National Federation of all Protestant missions and native Christians, to act through a national council, divisional councils, and provincial councils. In India for a number of years all the missionary bodies have held stated conferences and maintained relations of comity and coöperation, while the native Christians of various denominations are sustaining an Indian National Missionary Society.

In education, literature, publication, and medical work the Protestant denominations are uniting all over the missionary world. A union theological college is projected for South India, a union mission normal school for the Bombay Presidency. In China four of the largest mission boards are unitedly sustaining a chain of colleges, including the liberal arts for both men and women, medicine, and theology. Four other denominations have agreed upon a Christian university for West China. In Japan few mission schools are strictly denominational, literary and publication work goes on coöperatively, and a common hymn-book recently issued has been adopted by all denominations save one. These illustrations indicate throughout the missionary world a notable federative movement with a distinct tendency toward organic union.

4. The reaction of the mission fields upon the home lands has been decisive. The official mission boards have followed the gleam. The Conference of Foreign Mission Boards of North America, comprising officers and delegates of all the Evangelical boards, held in January, 1909, its sixteenth annual meeting, forty-six missionary organizations participating. In these meet-

ings all the practical problems of world-wide evangelism are brought under united consideration, to the end that the total work may be conducted in harmony. Home missions are falling into line. In 1908 eighteen home missionary societies, representing nine denominations, organized a standing conference for stated meetings and coöperant measures. In one state the missionary superintendents of five leading denominations have agreed upon a working basis of comity. In English-speaking lands local, district, and even national federation movements are in full swing, while various attempts at organic union of denominations are in evidence. These advances have been promoted by many different agencies, no influence reaching farther than that from the mission fields.

5. A large number of undenominational and interdenominational agencies have contributed greatly to the rapprochement of churches. The following, in addition to those already named, belong in such a group: the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Evangelical Alliance, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the Student Volunteers, the Young People's Missionary Movement, the Laymen's Missionary Movement, the World's Christian Student Federation. Many other religious and philanthropic bodies, less permanent and powerful, have helped to minimize church divisions and promote united action. This large group of agencies, most of which have arisen, and all of which have done their work, within our Seminary period, constitutes an important phase of the great reunion movement. Its contribution to distinctively ecclesiastical action has been incalculable.

6. A principal characteristic of the great movement has been federation as distinguished from organic union. Much of the coöperation on mission fields has been of this sort, with or without express organization. In the home lands magnificent federative action is now in full operation. Foremost stands the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches in England and Wales, with its district and local councils and its all-embracing parish system. In our own land we have the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, a working federation of thirty-three denominations containing over eighteen millions of church-members. Sixteen state federations have

been reported, pioneer among them the Interdenominational Commission of Maine. City federations are found in many lands. The Federation of Churches and Christian Organizations in New York City has the Episcopal Church among its leaders, and enjoys in much of its philanthropy the coöperation of Roman Catholics and Jews. The London Metropolitan Federation comprises sixty separate councils. In Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are found district and local federations, including all the large Christian bodies. On the continent of Europe a beginning has been made by a council of free churches in Berlin. The Federal Council has pledged the American churches and organizations to promote in every way the closest possible federation of all Christian churches in foreign mission fields.

It is inspiringly obvious that the Christian world is fairly possessed by the spirit of federation. This movement is more immediate and wide-reaching than that for organic union. The object, limitations, power, and duty of federation can be quickly seen and embraced. The corporate union of separate church bodies often requires decades and generations, nor is it likely ever to proceed so far as the free churches of England, the United States, and Australia have carried their federation within three years.

7. Another mark of the present movement is found in unions of churches within the great polity or family groups. In Scotland the seven Presbyterian bodies of seventy-five years ago have been reduced to three. In England the separate Presbyterian bodies became the Presbyterian Church of England in 1876. In the United States the Cumberland Presbyterians have recently returned to the parent body. In Canada the many Presbyterian bodies became in 1875 the Presbyterian Church of Canada. Since 1873 the six Methodist churches have formed the Methodist Church of Canada. In Australia and New Zealand the Methodist divisions have achieved union since 1900. In Germany the Lutherans and the Reformed have been united. Besides these and other corporate unions of allied churches, international councils have been formed within the great family bounds. Thus we have to-day Pan-Anglican, Pan-Presbyterian, Pan-Methodist, Pan-Baptist, Pan-Congregational, and other such ecumenical organizations. This is the point of

readiest coöperation and union. Church bodies that are congenial in doctrine and administration, many of which had a common origin, some of which have resulted solely from regrettable division, are finding it increasingly difficult to remain apart. Negotiations are now in progress at different points within the various polity or family groups, as between the northern and southern branches of Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, destined to reduce gradually the scandalous number of Christian sects.

8. The spirit of love and unity cannot be restrained within family or even polity limits. Across the boundaries runs the pursuit of union, sometimes to failure, sometimes to success, but always advancing the cause of union and the Kingdom of God. Mention here is deserved by the famous Quadrilateral put forth in 1886-88 by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Church of England. Its proposed basis of union was impossible, but its spirit revived the hope and zeal of Christendom. In Canada, the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists have been earnestly engaged for a number of years in plans to form the United Churches of Canada. Reference should also be made to the recent Tri-Church Council, an unsuccessful, but not fruitless, effort to bring together United Brethren, Methodist Protestants, and Congregationalists throughout the United States.

The most successful example of such union of different polities was given when in 1908 the churches belonging to the Scotch Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed, and the English and American Congregational missions came to corporate union in the South India United Church. This new Christian community of over 140,000 souls has framed a polity combining the excellences of all the systems involved. The Wesleyans, Methodists, and Baptists were hardly ready to enter the United Church, but desired closer federative relations. This object-lesson, furnishing the high-water mark thus far of inter-polity organic union, is being earnestly conned and deeply felt by the Christian world.

9. As the missionary world has been leading the reunion of Christendom, so it is there that the highest aspirations find freest utterance. Christians in the great mission lands, not content with comprehensive national federation and partial organic

unions, are seriously contemplating national churches. In no country is federation more inclusive and complete, or the principles of Christian union more profoundly controlling, than in Japan. Christian India has its National Missionary Society composed of Christians of the several denominations and supported by all alike. At the Centenary Missionary Conference in Shanghai a national church for China was frequently mentioned, and a resolution was offered, but not brought to vote, in favor of a national church as the goal of all mission work in the empire. This trend, upon Oriental soil, marks the utmost outreach at present of the union movement. It may be brought to speedy realization. Western church divisions are nothing less than a scandal and offense to Oriental Christians; why should they be enforced or even tolerated? Let a national Christian church arise in each great country, to face with undistracted power the prodigious Oriental religions. Such a lesson in union is too divine to go unheeded in the West, and once more the Christian hosts hear themselves ordered forward to the colors.

10. Indications are present that the main adjustments must now belong to polity. With growing agreement upon essentials of doctrine are seen the folly and shame of allowing divisive significance to incidentals. Thus is disappearing the one obstacle which has been reckoned insurmountable without impairing mental integrity and conscience. Reunion is no longer rationally and conscientiously impossible. The great behest of the Master that they all be one is delivered into the realm of obligation and action, and regains at a bound the supreme place in ecclesiastical duty.

The labor now becomes that of administrative adjustment. In this domain of form and method nothing is impossible. All degrees of essential union can be wrought out into action. The spirit of love and ministry is always able to incarnate itself. The churches growing single-hearted in thought and love and resolution, their vast resources can be applied victoriously to the enormous task.

11. Progress thus far made and projected does not prophesy the entire disappearance of administrative divisions in the final reunion of Christendom. Willingness to unite must grow perfect and universal. Brotherly love must be given the scepter of

the world. Differences in polity have hitherto been a subordinate assertion of unyielding division. Formal union, now at the front, must be carried far enough to prove and establish once for all, not only union of heart and purpose, but also unembarrassed united service. These being assured, further administrative union may cease to be imperative. Divisions that mean nothing more than group preferences in modes of worship and methods of pursuing common ends, preferences followed only so far as they do not offend brotherhood or mar united devotion to the Kingdom — such divisions remain or become permissible. But federation and organic union must be carried much farther in order to usher in such a state of administrative liberty. Denominational individuality, and even the integrity of the four historic polities, must sacrifice themselves to essential and embodied unity. One hundred and fifty distinct and rival church bodies in the United States cannot continue to be justified or forgiven. Brotherhood and service cannot thrive while rent, as at present, into “six kinds of an Adventist, seven kinds of a Catholic, twelve kinds of a Mennonite or Presbyterian, thirteen kinds of a Baptist, sixteen kinds of a Lutheran, and seventeen kinds of a Methodist.”

VII. CHURCH WORK

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

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SEVENTY-FIVE years take us back only to the theological schooling of our grandfathers. With our great-great-grandfathers things were altogether different, as every theologian knows. To a few courses of study conducted by the college professor of divinity they were wont to add such instruction as they found it convenient to receive from some pastor in active service, with whom at the same time they served a more or less practical apprenticeship. This custom had possibilities and likewise limitations. Many an ancient parsonage on a New England hill had no small repute a century ago as a seminary of theological learning, and the system — so different from our own — has always a certain fascination for the speculative inquirer into things past and gone. But this falls outside our present field. The sense of its limitations had already prevailed. The transitional arrangement devised by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1784, which came presently to be the seminary at New Brunswick, the early schools of certain Presbyterian bodies, and the institution wrought out at Andover, in 1808, by the earnest leaders of Massachusetts Congregationalism, were quickly followed by like foundations in several quarters, and the new manner of theological training was firmly established before the period with which our review begins.

This, then, was hardly a subject for discussion when the new torch was kindled on East Windsor Hill, nor yet the general arrangement of a curriculum, nor the methods of class instruction. Rather was the division of opinion concerned with the substance of the doctrines taught and the theological (as distinguished from the pedagogical) propensities of the teachers. Inquiring, as we do, what alteration seventy-five years have made

in *methods* of instruction, we are much more clearly provided with a *terminus a quo* than with a *terminus ad quem*, for there was substantial uniformity among seminaries then, whereas the subsequent changes have been far from uniform, and the many institutions of to-day illustrate contemporaneously the greater part of the development which some epitomize entire in their single story. It is the extreme range, not the minimum, of progress that concerns us, and present tenses must be understood accordingly.

In some formal particulars, however, we are all where we were then. Theological instruction has been given in a three-years' course from the time that separate schools of divinity were first established in this country. Other professions, beginning perhaps with less, have steadily increased the allotted period of preparation; the ministry has had to fit ever growing interests into the constant term, though the East Windsor examiners so early as 1848 pronounced it to be too little. This stability has been due in part to another constant factor, namely, that the normal preparation for the seminary has always been held to be the full collegiate course; after which the average student fast grows impatient of delay in "settling down."

The departments of study seventy-five years ago corresponded roughly to the number of years they occupied — Biblical Literature, Christian Theology, and Ecclesiastical History, with excursions into Practical Theology by way of application. And whether these three (or four) should be considered consecutively or in parallel appears to have been one of the chief pedagogic issues for a considerable time thereafter. Presumably it was the natural reaction of the human mind from sheer monotony that led to the abandonment of the attempt to concentrate each year's effort upon a single line of study. Moreover, the order in such case was hard to settle and keep settled, and Professor Woods, for example, discussed earnestly the respective advantages of learning what other men have thought and done (History) before or after one knows what it is proper to think oneself (Theology).

This simpler problem of arrangement soon gave way, however, to more complex, with the subdivision of fields and, latterly, the addition of many new disciplines unthought of at the outset — critical, historico-theological, musical, sociological,

psychological — significant alike of the vitality of theological science and of the new demands upon it for practical service. While it may not be quite within bounds to say that “the little one has become a thousand,” seminary catalogues of the last thirty years show a constant and rapid multiplication of professorships, departments, and courses within each department, which would have amazed the worthies two generations ago. And this expansion, which again, in strictness, does not fall to us to discuss here in detail, is reflected in a new method, the elective system, whose appearance in schools of theology is due not merely, one feels sure, to the influence of the corresponding development in the colleges, but quite as much to the inexorable pressure of unlimited subject-matter upon limited time.

The change involved is more radical than its first modest announcements might suggest, for with the passing of the possibility, has there not also passed a cherished ideal, of a complete, and therefore uniform, indoctrination of every student in the things pertaining to his ministry? The seminary of to-day admits frankly that its graduate is not a finished product (made according to the pattern shown beforehand in its creed); and, realizing as never before that this impossible is also undesirable, it has turned with quickened interest to the more human task of preparing the student to carry on his own development.

Which brings us duly to the real core of our matter — the changes in method which have grown out of changes in aim. The announcements, examiners' reports, and pamphlet arguments of 1834 and many years before and after, reveal all unconsciously an attitude which two generations have almost revolutionized, an attitude, first, toward the Bible studied, then an attitude toward confessional statements of the faith once for all delivered to the saints.

The former is not easy to define without seeming to impeach the supreme importance of the Bible for ourselves, but the distinction between then and now, though it be more in tone than in words, is none the less a real one. It appears, for example, in this very common order of topics in Dogmatics: “the evidences of revelation, the nature and degree of inspiration, the system of doctrines revealed in the sacred text.” Granted the infallible source, the whole process went on deductively, unvexed by

questions of date, authorship, documents, or the evolution of doctrine within the Scripture itself. "The authority of religious experience," either in the Bible or out of it, would have been a strange conception to men thus accustomed to the authority of the written word.

With this went naturally, and even more conspicuously, the domination of the confessional habit. Seminaries existed to teach men the correct interpretation of Scripture as set forth in the correctest available creed. The exceptional status of the Yale Divinity School in having no fixed confession was a real offense to many, who complained that there was no way of knowing what the New Haven professors taught except from their lectures and published books! Moreover, it involved a "want of security," for was not their teaching, like modern time-tables, subject to change without notice? Security, certainly, was sufficiently cultivated elsewhere. An examining committee in 1839 records its "conviction that the students are thoroughly indoctrinated in the great principles of the confession of faith upon which the institution is founded." Another in 1849 reports with pleasure that "the officers of the seminary evidently felt no necessity or wish to conceal *their* sentiments or instructions." (The italics are ours, as we had supposed it was the students who were examined.) A committee in 1855 speaks well of "the correctness of the views exhibited by the students in accordance with the confession," and the next year's examiners report that "the confession is strictly adhered to, and fully and thoroughly taught." Extreme devotees of the German "historical method" would surely grieve over Dr. Woods' conviction that students must be well grounded in correct theological views before being introduced to "the various clashing opinions and unauthorized practices" of history, though there is no little wisdom in his counsel that they become thus "settled" by "carefully searching the Scriptures for themselves." But on the whole there is a manifest concern lest the youth be contaminated by "hurtful errors" or shaken in their faith, and an anxiety to remove difficulties, meet objections, and above all "defend" the truth, which shows how much the angle of approach to that same goal of truth has changed. "Defense," indeed, is conspicuous in the catalogue of Hartford Seminary as late as 1882, though the next year's announcement does speak of "giving

modern views a fair chance," presumably before they are demolished.

In short, the whole training was viewed as the elucidation and support of a scheme of truth given to begin with, rather than investigation, discovery, and final orderly construction. It was the old deductive method as opposed to the new "scientific," inductive method. It aimed at conformity and even uniformity more than at originality and independence — though we are by no means sure that there were not more actually self-directed theologians in America fifty years ago than there are now, when some of us have made such a fetish of "freedom" as to be enslaved by the latest imported novelty.

The change came gradually, of course, as it has come in every other department of study, but it did not lag so far behind others as the assailants of seminary conservatism would sometimes have us believe. The word "inductive" does not appear indeed until the '80's, and the now familiar "sources" about the same time, but the thing was there before it was talked about. An Andover Bulletin of 1882 was devoted to "The Scientific Method in Theology as Contrasted with the Dogmatic and Rationalistic," and its author was by no means one of the younger professors. A department of Biblical Theology (technically so called, as distinguished from "a Biblical theology," on which the fathers never ceased to be properly insistent) was first announced, I think, at Yale in 1875. On the whole, it would probably be fair to say that the new attitude has been making itself felt for forty years, and has transformed the entire aspect of the seminary curriculum in the last thirty.

A word only remains. No doubt there are yet many weaknesses and some extravagances in the use of these new methods of instruction — faults, by the way, which are not confined to the schools of theology — but their correction will work out in due time. A broadening human outlook, a sounder view of Scripture inspiration, the recognition of manhood's opening maturity and of the fundamental necessity that every coming spiritual leader think his world fairly through for himself in humble, earnest dependence on the Spirit of the Lord Christ — these are the elements of life within the method which shall make of it not a new bondage (as "method," in quotation-marks, is apt to be), but a more perfect law of liberty.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PREACHING IN AMERICA

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FOR practical purposes the Civil War divides our survey into two periods. Strictly speaking, there are three: the Early (1834-60), the Middle (1860-80), and the Modern (1880-1909). Preaching impulses for the early epoch date from the beginning of the century, and the chief modern influences come after 1880. Taking the Civil War, however, as the dividing line, we may regard 1800-34 as preparatory to the period under consideration, and 1865-80 as transitional within it. Denominationally the Congregational pulpit has had the longest evolution, from Colonial times. Notable preaching of other bodies dates chiefly from the Revolution. Episcopalian preachers were comparatively inconspicuous until 1811 — after Bishop Hobart's consecration. Methodist preaching acquired its momentum after 1784 — chiefly in the South and West until 1834. This is also practically true of the Baptists. These shorter periods of development heighten the relative credit of these bodies. The most noteworthy preaching has been in the North; the Western type is somewhat more practical in tone, though more conservative in theology. A close survey of personalities, however, discloses some eminent names of Southern origin.

Certain historical data of influence just before 1834 affected the first half of our era. Unitarianism had passed its earlier conservative stage under Channing, and by 1832 the ultra type of Theodore Parker was becoming dominant, chiefly, however, in eastern Massachusetts. President Dwight's great triumphs in preaching had just broken the post-Revolution era of darkness. The first missionary, humanitarian, and educational influences upon preaching, in the first quarter-century, were in full swing before 1834. The great migration westward had brought to the front, for preaching, the Methodist and Baptist fervor. Strictly

within the Early era two great revivals (1830 and 1857) gave tone to much of the preaching. The theological disruption in the Presbyterian church (1837) affected the Congregational pulpit as well. The publication of Bushnell's *Christian Nurture* in 1847 was epochal in bridging the older individualistic and the newer organic conceptions. The type of Calvinism, as modified by Lyman Beecher and Dr. Finney, dominated thought during the earlier half of the period. By the time of the revival of 1857 still further modifications are noticeable.

I. *Pulpit Personalities.* — Passing on to consider the more notable preachers, our enumeration must be confined to this country, and to certain leading Protestant denominations. Very little has been written upon the American pulpit. Biography and sermonic literature are scarce for the earlier period. Files of the *National Preacher*, a few compendia of sermons, and pamphlets in libraries form the chief basis of inductive study.

(1) 1834-65. — A group of personalities immediately preceding 1834 belongs strictly within this enumeration. Timothy Dwight had only recently died. His sermon on the "Sovereignty of God" is accounted one of the world's greatest discourses. Lyman Beecher was just entering his professorship, having achieved his most notable preaching. Dr. E. D. Griffin, with Dr. Beecher, who had constituted the great duumvirate against Unitarianism, lived into our era. Edward Payson had finished his brief and famous career in 1827. Nettleton had achieved his evangelistic work in 1834, and gave his subsequent services to our Seminary until 1844. Among the Presbyterians, the most famous preacher had been John M. Mason (d. 1829). President Nott lived long after 1834, but his most famous sermon, "On the Death of Hamilton," came earlier. The Methodists had produced Asbury and Summerfield. The famous Baptist, Francis Wayland, had already preached his two greatest sermons, "On the Dignity of Missions" (1823) and "On the Death of Adams and Jefferson" (1826), but his educational work and pulpit power continued far into our era.

Strictly during this period (1834-60), the Congregational group included the three Edwardses (Justin, Bela B., and Tryon), Drs. Finney and Kirk, Leonard Bacon, Nehemiah Adams, and the brothers Abbott. Professors Pond and Shepard were at Bangor, Park and Phelps at Andover, Taylor and Tyler at Yale

and East Windsor, and Edwin Hall at Auburn — all famous as preachers. Drs. Hawes and Bushnell were in Hartford. The senior Storrs at Braintree was the peer of his son in Brooklyn. Dr. J. P. Thompson and Joel Parker were making the Broadway Tabernacle famous in New York. Dr. A. L. Stone was upholding the traditions of Park Street in Boston. Drs. Todd, Buddington, and Eddy were conspicuous, and Joshua Leavitt was keeping the pulpit abreast of reform movements. H. W. Beecher's greatness was reaching its zenith — to culminate during and after the Civil War.

The Presbyterians had a notable group: the Alexander family, the Kentucky Breckenridges, and the two Palmers at Charleston and New Orleans. Albert Barnes was at the height of his power in Philadelphia. Hoge was in Richmond, and Kolloch in Norfolk. Dr. Sprague was at Albany. Field and Prime added religious journalism to the pulpit, and Skinner and Miller added professorate to parish. The famous blind preacher, Timothy Woodbridge, belongs in this era. Brooklyn had a distinguished group in Ichabod Spencer, the elder Van Dyke, Dr. Jacobus, and Samuel H. Cox.

Perhaps New York never had so strong a pulpit as in the old down-town streets (Spring, Allen, Rutgers, and others). Here were Krebs, Erskine Mason, Spring, Hatfield, Potts, and Cheever. The Dutch Reformed preachers Bethune and Vermilye were also in New York. There also were heard the eminent Universalist Chapin and the Unitarian Bellows. Beecher and Chapin and Bellows were counted the great pulpit triumvirate. There too the Baptists had two celebrated preachers: Wm. R. Williams and Thomas Armitage; while elsewhere, Ide in Albany, Baron Stow in Boston, and Richard Fuller in South Carolina attained great fame, while Wayland, Sears, and E. S. Robinson were passing from leading pastorates to academic honors. The Episcopal Church in New York saw Dr. Morgan Dix beginning his work in Trinity, and Dr. Tyng laying the foundations at St. George's. Elsewhere its great preachers were principally its bishops: McIlvaine, Clark, Hopkins, Burgess, Cleveland Coxe, and Alonzo Potter. But Alexander Vinton of Boston and Philadelphia held the primacy of eloquence in his communion, till surpassed by his own protégé, Phillips Brooks. The greatest men of Methodism belong to a later period — chiefly her

bishops. But in this earlier period belongs John P. Durbin, who pioneered the movement for a more educated ministry. McClintock was conspicuous in the New York group. Samuel Simpson, peer of the greatest, began his long career. The blind preacher Milburn entered upon his famous chaplaincy in Congress.

Before passing to the later period, note a few external features of this era. With a few notable exceptions the preachers were highly educated men. Their biographies disclose the remarkable number who had previously studied law. At no subsequent period was there more frequent interchange of Presbyterian and Congregational pastorates. It was an era of almost universal pastoral evangelism. Finney, Kirk, and Nettleton supplemented, but never supplanted, a prevalent evangelistic predilection. The continuance of family names in the ministry is a marked feature: three Edwardses, three Beechers, numerous Alexanders, Duffields, Palmers, Abbotts, Potters, Notts, and others. We note also the long pastorates: Dr. Storrs, sixty-three years, Samuel Nott, seventy-one, and others of corresponding length.

It is also noteworthy how many of the current sermons of distinction were from men in comparatively small places. The senior Storrs was at Braintree all his life. Cyrus Yale was famous, though in the New Hartford hamlet. Haddam and Stockbridge covered the career of Dr. Field. Romeyn, who preached one of the famous sermons of the century ("Enmity to the Cross") was always in smaller fields. Edwin Hall gained his fame in South Norwalk. The long career of Samuel Nott in Franklin, Conn., did not quench his great repute. This record could be enlarged *ad libitum*. The comparative absence of allusion (outside of Massachusetts) to Unitarianism is surprising. The attitude of mind towards Catholicism and Episcopacy is more acute. It is refreshing to our courage to-day to meet frequent complaint of the decline of preaching, and on nearly the same indictments that we hear to-day. Abundant evidence is educible, yet this was probably the golden age of American pulpit dominance. It is also interesting to hear Dr. Todd arguing for the continuance of the Sunday evening service, and suggesting the novelty (!) of expository preaching.

(2) *From 1865 to the present time.* — As already intimated, this era has a natural cleavage about 1880, when distinctively

modern views began to affect the pulpit. The era from 1865 to 1880 was transitional. The War gave a great impulse to outward church activities, to coöperation, to catholicity of sentiment, to organization. Individualistic, as compared with organic, conceptions were gradually giving way; a sense of sin was growing less poignant even as early as the revival of 1857; and conditions of church-membership were becoming less creedal and more freely experimental. The Sunday-school came into greater prominence. Evangelism was becoming more specialized. Moody's work was beginning.

Many great ante-bellum names continued in force. Dr. Bacon was taking up his professorate, after laying deep foundations for the coming social era. Edward E. Hale, with Collyer, came into especial prominence during the War. Phillips Brooks had begun his career in Philadelphia. The homiletic influence of Professors Park and Phelps was at its zenith from 1860 to 1880.

Now appeared in the Congregational pulpits such names as William M. Taylor in New York, Dr. Manning in Boston, Dr. Mackenzie in Cambridge, and Hartford's four eminent preachers, Burton, Parker, Twichell, and Walker. Dr. Gladden was starting his social impulses. Dr. Goodell of New Britain was setting up pastoral ideals alongside of the Presbyterian Cuyler in Brooklyn. Now came Dr. John Hall to form one of the notable New York Presbyterian group containing Crosby, Hastings, and Robinson. Now the theologian-preachers Hitchcock, Shedd, and Johnson began their career. Dr. Duryea was in Brooklyn. Among the Baptists, Dr. Boardman was in his prime at Philadelphia. Dr. Broadus in Kentucky, and Gallaher and Wayland Hoyt were coming to the front. This was the period of the most eminent Methodist bishops, Fowler, Foster, and McDowell, while Simpson continued his career. Chaplain McCabe was preaching his church-extension sermons, and Warren, Mallalieu, and Goodsell were training for their future bishoprics. The Frothinghams, Minot Savage, Drs. Chadwick and Bartol were preparing for the places of Hale and Clarke and the elder Peabody.

The greatest name among the Episcopalians, if not of the century, was Phillips Brooks. Among the bishops few were greater than Frederick Huntington, giving the most distinctive

preaching impulse to modern social movements in the Church. Some of these earlier preachers passed into the most recent era of those living, from whom it were invidious to make selection.

II. *Certain Characteristics and Contrasts.* — Preaching has three great categories of comparison as to content and method: Truth, Personality, and Audience. The main difference, we may say, between earlier and modern sermons seems to be the relative prominence of these three elements. In the earlier period the first dominated the other two; in the latter period the second and third are relatively the more dominant. In the earlier era, objective, authoritative, Biblical truth, controlled generally by a particular system, held relatively in check to some degree the freer play of personality, and divided the audience sharply, with little regard for temperamental differences, into two classes at the bar of probation. Hence a certain limitation in range of pulpit themes, a certain monotony in motives urged, and a certain procrustean method are yet counterbalanced by mental confidence, intensity of motive, and the sharp imminence of the sermon's message to the soul. The general impression in reading these older sermons is: the objective infallibility of the Bible, the central thought of probation, and the imminence of conversion. Hence mentality, confidence, and urgency are its notes. Doctrine is dominant, but conceived more evangelistically, as compared with the preaching of the Colonial era. The modified Calvinism of Lyman Beecher, Finney, and Taylor was a preaching theology which gave closer access to the will. It is a far different thing to read about the theology of these sermons, and to read the sermons themselves in the mental grasp and heart-glow of such men as Justin Edwards, Shepard, Barnes, Williams, Bethune, and Krebs. Three things are specially noteworthy: —

First, the mentality of this preaching. It is not merely the length and elaborateness of the discussion, but its closely reasoned utterance and its argumentative method. As a mental exhibit of its own apprehension of truth, as felt to be both logically defensible and also Biblical, it has not been surpassed in the modern era. Dr. George A. Gordon has spoken recently of earlier preaching as "testing the intellect of the reader, and in turn making him aware of his intelligence," or lack of it, as compared with a current sermonic attitude which, he says, tends "to substitute the mill-round of the mind for the sun-path."

Dr. Gordon to-day as a preacher, though differing so notably from the earlier theology, yet preserves to our age the elaborate treatment and the mental fiber of preaching which was far more prevalent then than now. Dr. Gunsaulus and Dr. Storrs in method and rhetoric are more nearly akin to a style abundantly prevalent in this earlier preaching. The modern reader of the ante-bellum preaching feels at least the mental tonic of a confident system of thought, even if he do not accept it, and the constant *background* of system then, as compared with the modern persistent *foreground* of personal differences of opinion on vital issues. Whatever our estimate of that early theology, it gave a mental confidence which made strong preaching. Its limited range challenged reticulated thought, and its themes were what Professor Phelps has called "the aristocracy of thought, which deals in superlatives": God, Conscience, Atonement, Conversion, Duty, and Destiny.

A second quality which underlay this mental positiveness was its absolute acceptance of an *infallible Bible*. Even early Unitarian preaching was little averse to a strong Biblical dictum. There was almost no Biblical perspective in this era of preaching, yet we find less allegorizing of Scripture than in Colonial eras. Expository preaching, as mere current comment, was, contrary to the general supposition, very rare. Nor is Biblical phraseology used in form of lecture-room citation, as often supposed, but is woven into discourse with marvelous rhetorical and familiar efficiency. With objective revelation an undisputed dictum, doubt is generally treated as sin in rejecting an evident standard.

A third characteristic of this earlier preaching is its *evangelistic tone*. It is not so true to say that this preaching is doctrinal, as that it is doctrinal evangelism. We do not find so much bare dogmatic discussion as we had expected; we do find everywhere homiletic use of doctrine in its bearing upon probation. Probation is the absorbing theme, from whatever point approached. The brevity and sacredness of life as a test, the imminence of death, the cleavage-line of peril, the eternal issues — these are the overshadowing themes. We see this in nearly every doctrinal compendium preached on public occasions: in Storrs, Sr., Justin Edwards, Dimmick, Bidwell, etc. We read it in installation sermons on "Conceptions of the Ministry" (Sprague,

Griffin, Barnes, Ray Palmer, and more). One of the sharpest reminders of probation I have found was preached at the funeral of a young lady. The same imminent burden is felt for the pastor's own soul, if he be not faithful to plea and warning (Justin Edwards, Storrs, etc.).

The correlate of probation is destiny in its most blessed or appalling portraiture. Such preaching was not confined to the days of Jonathan Edwards, but is found abundantly in sermons from 1834 to 1865. Among the most persistent themes are Heaven and Hell. Even material conceptions of future punishment and glory are abundantly illustrated. Themes like "Monitions of the Judgment" (Justin Edwards), "Perdition Dreadful" (Hamilton), "The Gospel Woe," "Tears at the Judgment" (Krebs), are prevalent. So gentle a preacher as Dr. Sprague has given one of the most realistic pictures of doom. One of Albert Barnes's most tender sermons on "Parental Responsibility" closes with thoughts of "the great separation." New Year suggests to Erskine Mason and others "The Approach of Death." Realistic time-measurements of bliss or punishment prevail (Tappan and others). Yet the brighter side of destiny is no less frequent, as seen in Pond and Shepard and many more. The constant prevalence of probation and its issues indicates the most striking difference between the pulpit of that day and now. Whether it has come about from recoil, disbelief, or distaste; be it humaneness, different perspective, or change of motive, the most radical departure in modern times comes from the dropping out so largely of this particular note in evangelism.

Another range of topics, now seldom used, is seen in Jonathan Brace's sermon on "The Nature and Employment of Holy Angels," and in Enoch Pond's famous discussion on "The Great Conflict," an intense realization of the battle between the higher and lower forces in the other world. Another theme which swayed thought, down to Professor Park's lecture-room, is the conception of the drama of redemption on this earth as a spectacle to other worlds of sentient beings. But while doctrinal evangelism was the staple of this era, experiential preaching, which is the type of modern pulpit discussion, is almost entirely wanting. We occasionally find sermons on "Christian Joy" (Edwin Hall), "Walking in the Spirit" (Spencer), "Covetousness" (Shepard), "Secret Sins" (Todd), "Fruitfulness in Old

Age" (Hawes), and others similar; yet wide reading discloses few, excepting Bushnell and a few others, who are harbingers of a coming change.

Social preaching, in the modern sense, is rare, and generally confined to special public occasions, like the "Death of Hamilton" (Nott), the "Death of Adams and Jefferson" (Wayland), the "Great Fire of 1845" (J. P. Thompson), "The Great Naval Accident" in 1844 (Williams). Thanksgiving and Fast Day literature contains some of the signal sermons of the era, and permitted a freedom on political subjects usually excluded. It is a pity that one of Dr. Bushnell's greatest sermons, on "American Politics," is not included in his works. We must remember, however, that the early reforms of intemperance and dueling were inaugurated by the pulpit; that the humanitarian societies owed their inception chiefly to Justin Edwards and his Andover Faculty. As to slavery, Theodore Parker and some other Unitarians were the leading pulpit antagonists; but Finney and Oberlin College were also outspoken. Samuel H. Cox was mobbed for his pulpit fidelity, and Joshua Leavitt was equally fearless. Beecher was the great tribune. Dr. Bacon was an early opponent, and to his writings Lincoln is said to have attributed his early impulses. The era under review was the Missouri Compromise period, with its passion for Union. The pulpit took probably as high ground, when it did speak, as did Webster, and was also as prudential as was he. But the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854 met widespread protest from the ministry, and the Civil War helped to break the trammels of the pulpit as to moral political issues. The Broadway Tabernacle from its start was a center of social impulse. Dr. Bacon's famous sermon there was among the first to outline some social obligations of the Church which fruited in the modern era.

The modern realism of Christ's character, spirit, and familiar beauty as a man is very largely wanting from even the more practical and tender preachers like Barnes, Williams, and Krebs. We find little emphasis upon the love of God, even in preaching on the Atonement. Bishop McClintock's famous sermon on this subject in 1845 was quite exceptional. This became Beecher's theme. It began to be more widely prevalent in the revival of 1857. The milder notes emphasized in that movement alarmed Alexander and others. It was the love of

God that chiefly differentiated Moody's work from that of his predecessors.

A few words as to the homiletic method of this first period. There was far more monotony and reticulation of form than now. We find a sermon in 1841 with four main heads and eight concluding remarks (Justin Edwards). Another has six main divisions with numerous subheads and three formal applications (Williams). Even Dr. Storrs, Jr., in 1884 has seven divisions. There is little trace of informal expository preaching. Sermons are mostly topical. American preaching is not so textual as the corresponding preaching in England and Scotland. The style of these sermons partakes of the cadence and rhetorical elaboration of the period as seen in the political orations of Webster and Choate. Dr. Storrs has preserved to our day a type that was once the norm. Sermons as fine as his have been forgotten. One is struck with the freer use of the imagination than is permitted to-day. Scenic power of notable impressiveness is abundant. Instances could be cited of dramatic ability worthy a place among the highest flights of oratory. One restraint upon style was its stereotyped form from fear of imputed heterodoxy. One realizes the significance of Dr. Bushnell's essay on language after reading this other sermonic literature. One of his own chief contributions lay in his individual vocabulary. Dr. Hickok of Auburn was suspected of heresy in his attempts to break this stereotype of language.

Again, this period is significantly lacking in illustration — partly from a sense of the graphic sufficiency of Scripture for elucidation, also from the divorce of sacred and secular, or from distrust of literature as sentimental, or of science as dangerous. One is surprised at the scant use of even historical allusion. Some notable exceptions in Hatfield, Storrs, Bushnell, and Williams emphasize the divergence. Dramatic imagination and argumentation are chiefly depended upon for clarity.

In passing to the more modern era, we remark that the first and most comprehensive difference lies in the relative prominence of *personality* in the preacher, and of recognized *diversity in the audience*, as compared with the predominance of *systematized truth* in earlier preaching. The earlier preaching may have been procrustean in its treatment of truth, but it was intense and confident. Yet its categories of personality admitted less play of

individuality, and dwelt upon few and simple types of temperamental differences and needs in the audience for the passionate responsibility of the preacher. The audiences, too, were far more homogeneous than now, and the preacher was surer of holding his constituency. All the modern forces since the War, especially since 1880, have brought to the front freedom and variety of preaching-personality. Relative heterogeneity of audience, mentally, socially, spiritually, affects sharply the hitherto recognized fixity and firmness of Biblical and theological authority, which have relatively declined.

Following from this, we remark, secondly, the comparative *subjectivity* of modern preaching, so far as personality is concerned, and the reality and concreteness of inner Christian experience and of outward action demanded by a modern audience. To consider the causes of this would be to discuss the whole modern situation in Theology and Sociology. Suffice it to say, that as a result two types of preaching, comparatively new, have come to prevail, the Experiential and the Social.

Experiential preaching emphasizes personality in the widest ranges of post-conversion Christian development in thought and life. Social preaching demands that religion cover the related life of man in organic duties, as well as the individually responsible relations of the soul with God. Certain philosophical influences coming from Kant and Hegel, chiefly by way of Coleridge, have emphasized the subjective Christian consciousness, and have elevated the ethical, as either united with or apart from spiritual sanctions. Multifarious practical problems, in this country at least, coming from immigration and the benevolent activities of the day, have combined with philosophical and scientific influences to accentuate these two types of preaching. With these data, critical and historical lines of thought and investigation have emphasized (whatever the authority of the conclusions) the Bible as a book of life; and have tended to lessen temporarily the exclusive evangelistic norm of its use, to put religion into new perspective, to open up the literary variety of the Scriptures, to bring the life and character of Christ into more vital touch with concrete living, and to enlarge knowledge about the Bible to the temporary neglect, perhaps, of its central message.

The chronological order of these two types, Experiential and Social, is significant, yet generally overlooked. First, from the

War until about 1880, following a similar earlier development in England under Frederick Robertson, it was the experiential and even mystical element which prevailed. Social preaching followed after 1880. The whole field of Christian life in its doubts, struggles, fears, and temptations, its personal and temperamental differences, was earlier opened to sermonic treatment. To *be* a Christian as well as to *become* one was the great burden of the pulpit, and a wider range and variety of spiritual themes than ever before began to appear. Now, the great significance of this earlier half of the modern era (1860-80) is that by its deep plowing in personality, its experiential note, its emphasis on post-Christian character, its pulpit passion for Christ's person, human as well as divine, a vital preparation was made for the draughts of the social era after 1880. By experiential preaching, the external, social questions, and the concrete activities of the social organism, have been held back for a time from the otherwise inevitable break, as in the eighteenth century, into mere ethicism, and have held on to an enlarged spiritual individual, to meet the outward trend of all social life to-day. The two great preachers of this magnificent responsibility were Bushnell and Brooks, both coming over from the earlier decades, both deeply experiential, both evangelical but original, both in sympathy with the new social era, though speaking little of it specifically — Bushnell, however, holding still to the homiletical and rhetorical forms of the older preaching, and Brooks forging out for himself an entirely new, less formal, more vital, and individual method of presentment. Thus the realities of life were fostered by two trends in the successive order of preaching: first, the new subjective influences of individual spiritual life, and, second, the objective pressure of the social impulse. The results upon modern preaching of these two main influences are seen in three particulars: Variety, Reality, and Sympathy, which we may call the three dominant notes of the modern pulpit; variety in theme, reality in treatment, and sympathy with men, be it in thought, condition, or service.

Variety. — A most cursory comparison shows this element. A close analysis of such compends as the *Preachers of the Age* in England, or the *Monday Club Sermons* (Congregational), *The Presbyterian Pulpit* (in this country), makes this evident. We note in them all: first, in number, the predominance of

sermons about Christ; second, experiential themes on Christian traits; third, practical social issues. There are, however, relatively fewer doctrinal and evangelistic discourses. The recognition of varied forms of Biblical literature fosters the enlargement of theme. It is the many other aspects of Christ, as well as of His one mediatorial mission, that increase multiplicity of topics. A broader, if less intense, conception of "Gospel," "Salvation," "Preaching Christ," prevails. New fields of Christian application, once undreamed of, make variety of theme and treatment imperative. The prevalence of varied secular literature, historic, scientific, belletristic, journalistic, as competitive agencies of intelligence and impulse, challenges not only pulpit authority, but forces a certain catholicity of judgment, and also tends to break up procrustean literary norms of preaching. Homiletic categories of the religious oration, once dominant, are ruthlessly broken. The essay, the conversational, even the newspaper style invades the pulpit. Sensationalism may be the present danger, as stereotyped form once was. All these tendencies have increased tremendously the range and variety of pulpit illustrative material. "Suggestive" preaching which leaves the application to the hearer is now more in vogue as compared with the former reticulated order and passionate climax of argument and exposition. That a sermon be "interesting" seems to be with many the primal category of success. In any case, modern preaching is more heterogeneous both in theme and treatment, both to the advantage and disadvantage of its dignity and effect.

Concreteness. — This goes with variety. It is a correlate of the modern passion for reality. It is a fruit of the analytic spirit. It is in line with the growing thought of the Bible as a book of life. It shares a current recoil from doctrine as abstract, and sets up experience against theory. It challenges truth for its concrete meaning. In searching for "the real needs of a real world" it is apt to dwell upon environing conditions to the temporary neglect of man's deepest need of all; and while it has much to say about sins, it has relatively lost a former generation's profound sense of sin. Repentance for the past is less sharply urged than present duty. Hopes and fears for the future are infrequent motives. The "otherworldly" is as much ignored as it was once ascendant, while yet the Kingdom of Heaven is the dominant word of current preaching.

Sympathy is the third note of modern preaching — sympathy with men either in belief or condition. This is the outgrowth, on the one hand, of the modern social movement, as it reaches further back into the subjective tendencies of modern thought. Inward experience and outward activity, while both confusing and varying theological formulas, have brought men, as individual or related, into the foreground; have emphasized the intricacies of thought, and the environing social conditions. Sympathy with internal conflicts, no less than with external surroundings, have affected both the pulpit treatment of doubt, and the pressure of social obligation. Both religious experience and practical Christianity have come to expect from the pulpit an ethical rather than a philosophical treatment of truth and life. "To ethicize Christianity" is the prevalent note. But a study of modern sermons discloses less concrete preaching upon problems and programmes of social reconstruction than would be credited without such study. Still, a pervasive ethical and social treatment of all subjects is the notable thing. The evident change in foreign missionary motive is as marked as the grounds urged for personal and citizen duty at home. Thus far the subjective and personal religious and social notes of Robertson and Brooks have not given way in any large degree to the mere sociological or political sermon. So far as preaching is concerned, it is an enlarged man in Christ that is emphatic. It is less a mere philanthropic note than a demand for recognition of humanity both in its perils and in its possibilities, and a higher estimate of human justice as affecting internal and external spiritual results. Two ethical conceptions have measurably been kept together thus far: "Man a child of God," and "The Kingdom of Heaven"; and these social and religious elements together have pervaded the modern pulpit ethicism up to now. The greatest strain upon modern preaching, both in theology and philanthropy, lies in their possible severance. There is little in the published literature of the pulpit to give cause for such alarm. The recovery of some form of the older passion for God and personal responsibility for destiny, together with the modern ethico-religious grip for social service upon man in his depths and heights alike, is the hope for the coming day.

THE MINISTER AS PASTOR

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ONE would like to be able to record the pastoral work of graduates of Hartford Seminary during these seventy-five years. It would be a record surpassing that of their preaching. Many a one who has held an inconspicuous place as a preacher has given full proof of his ministry as *pastor* and brought forth fruit that abides. The fine example that has been set, the word in season that has been spoken, the misunderstanding that has been adjusted, the hope and courage that have been kindled, and the tone that has been given to a whole community by the faithful, fatherly man, who as the chosen pastor and guide has moved among his people with light and love — these cannot be recorded here. No wonder that he has been called “the parson” — the *person* by way of eminence. Many a one has known intimately every soul in his parish, has been recognized as the trusted friend of all, their counselor in all matters spiritual and worldly, and frequently their arbiter in disputes, the one to whom they have gone in times of trouble, and from whom they have sought guidance in all their plans of life. Many a one has been the intellectual leader of his people, contributing largely to the broadening of thought and the developing of plans for the social, educational, and political improvement of the community, and in a great measure has been the State’s best moral guardian. Parents have brought their children to him not only to be named in baptism, but to receive direction from him and to have ambition stirred by his wider vision. What notable names in State and Church testify to the impulse that has come from the timely and wise advice of many a pastor!

The fulfillment of that highest function of the *persona ecclesiæ*, the one who is set apart to represent vividly and personally the life of the church, so that in him as in a vital focus shall be embodied the varied forms and graces of spiritual influence and power, and to send these out again, specialized and emphasized through his

experience, to pervade and mold and assimilate the community in which he is placed, gives to him a grand and magnificent position among men. It is not a function exclusively the minister's, but it is *peculiarly* his by virtue of his appointment; and this embodiment of the life which comes from Christ through the church, and this making it a fresh and effluent power in the church and the community, is the grandest office ever committed to man. This office is not performed merely in public speech nor in the manipulation of certain rites and forms; it is the subtler and mightier emanation of *character* which must fulfill it. It is this embodiment and communication of spiritual power which has educated, inspired the church, and led it on to victory. It is this assimilating power by which a minister puts his own life into the church and makes it permanent and preëminent there. That is the true idea of the pastorate — an office in which the life of Christ, imparted through the church, centered in the minister, is redistributed by him through the community in all occasional and minor offices as well as from the pulpit, in all the offices of sympathy, in personal converse, in the silent and constant effluence of character, which is a greater force than any force of public speech.

Many changes have come to modify the relation of pastor and people. A marked difference between the pastor of the old time and of the present is to be noted. He was frequently called "priest"; and as he moved among his flock he maintained a distinction in manner and dress that marked him as one "set apart." A pastor undistinguished from others in outward appearance, and mingling freely with his people, even in their games, would have been regarded as seriously compromising his dignity and hazarding his usefulness. Many of us can recall the way in which a minister formerly carried himself, the prestige which clothed his position, the authority with which he was invested. We are then reminded that no such sanctity surrounds him now, that he has been stripped of all that prestige, and has no such authority clothing his utterances. A change has taken place; and while it may involve some loss, we believe that on the whole it secures great gain to the true and earnest man. The relation is now vastly more human and vastly less ecclesiastical than in the past. The change is from the arbitrary to the essential, from the artificial to the natural. The minister is now not a mere function-

ary, not a mere conductor of some ceremonies, not the mere incumbent of an office, but a *man* among men. There is less temptation to act a part, to assume a sanctity, to claim an authority. There is a better authority than that which is external, mechanical, or official; it is that which evokes and educates and expands the spirit of those who come under its sway; which does not silence and stifle, but which rouses by a bond of fraternity and kinship, and interprets and justifies and thrills by the majesty of the reason, and which comes through the more friendly and personal relation which the minister now must assume and hold.

A minister now may be thankful that he is permitted to move freely among men, to influence them by example and contagion, and is not called to be separate or to magnify himself. Like Ezekiel, who, by being called more than eighty times "son of man," was reminded that he should not be elated by his commission, while those who received his message were reminded that the message was not Ezekiel's but God's; so the minister is to have in mind that he is not superior clay and cannot lord it over God's heritage, but that "we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the exceeding greatness of the power may be of God and not from ourselves." He is not the depository of truth which he may hold or dole out, and which by his utterance has an infallible warrant, but a fellow-student of the truth, seeking it just as others seek it; he is not the "church" and they "the people," but a fellow-learner and seeker with them. His is simply the attitude of one who, with superior opportunities, receives that he may give, and thus guide and inspire his fellow-men in their search for truth and righteousness; he is one who influences not so much by authority as by example and sympathy. The real value of his service to his people will be found in his personal and spiritual, rather than in his official and ecclesiastical relations to them. His usefulness among them will be due not to any process by which he is elevated above them or separated from them, but to a character which in its fullest sense he shares with them. "If the mind of Christ is in him, his word will be with power, no matter how little claim he makes to superior dignity. Christ taught, 'as one having authority, but not as the scribes.' His ministry in all its phases derived its efficacy, not from the law of carnal commandment, but from the power of an endless life; and the ministry of every true pastor will draw its power from the same source" (Gladden).

The development of the idea of the church as a working body and its organization in various societies to accomplish its tasks have also changed the relation between pastor and people. In the working out of this idea, no doubt, the tendency has been to multiply organizations unduly and to set up machinery with the false conception that machinery creates power; and the pastor has reason to feel that he has to come to his people too much as the executive head of various societies rather than as a personal friend and counselor. Formerly his pastoral calls were for religious consultation, and he had the freedom of the home because, like the doctor, he came to meet an actual need of advice, or sympathy, or instruction. To-day he comes as the executive of a complicated system, to enlist members in the organization and to make plans for the working of its machinery. In prodding careless or forgetful members of its various societies, or committees, or clubs, he seems too often to become little more than the messenger of the court serving a summons. How often he envies Peter when he refused to serve tables! He is distracted by the multiplicity of separate organizations that he must keep going and of which he must be the chief engineer, and is often reminded of the truths, so clearly brought out by President Garfield in his admirable address on "The Limitation of Organization," as he finds himself engrossed in the attempt to "make the wheels go round."

But here, too, we must not overlook the great advance that has been made by the theory of the church as a working body, formed not mainly of those who seek forever to be fed and ministered unto, but of men and women working together to extend the Kingdom of God, and that the function of the pastor to distribute the grace and power he receives may be best performed by multiplying himself through a working church and thus applying in the various ramifications of society and life the impulse which he may impart. In the past the minister was expected to be the working force, now the emphasis is changed to a working church under the inspiring lead of a capable head. It is a higher conception, and the church which has attained to this view of its vocation will expect and demand leadership in the choice and maintenance of its pastor, and he must recognize this view and welcome the change.

Fortunately there lingers in all our parishes high esteem for the ministerial office. The old-time ministerial dress and the old-

time awe of the parson have gone, but the old-time respect for the man and his office remains. This is a living witness to the good character, the kindly spirit, and the faithful service in the past which has given to the profession the confidence of the people and the recognition of the need and the dignity of the office. This appreciation may well suggest that it be guarded against being overloaded with mere business management, and that there be in our churches helpers—in some, pastor's assistants, in all, brotherhoods—that may relieve the pastor of much detail and enable him to give his strength to personal ministry in all the manifold ways in which his people need spiritual service.

The attention that has been given of late years to the study of child-life and the best methods of training and nurture is a hopeful stage of progress, and opens to the pastor of the present day a most inspiring and promising field for his best endeavors. In his commission to Peter, the Great Master made the test of his affection and loyalty the nurture he should give to the lambs of the flock. This duty has been more or less neglected since the revulsion from the days of formal instruction in the definitions of the catechism, but it is being emphasized by the religious and scientific thought of the day. It is being recognized that here is the most imperative and encouraging place for the pastor's own work, that he should fit himself for it, and be jealous of anything which stands in the way of that intimate acquaintance and pastoral care and training which he owes to the children. Perhaps there never was a time when the children of our churches so much needed the instruction and guidance of their pastors. Faithful souls are feeling that this cannot be delegated to others, and it will be a glad and fruitful day when this view becomes prevalent, and each minister becomes the true pastor of the children.

The progress of Christ's Church in this missionary age with its wide outlook and its signal successes, gives to every pastor a new dignity, and to his personal appeal an added force and claim. He moves among his people as the ambassador of the King of all the earth, who is not now simply asking for a place, but is assuming His dominion over all peoples. There should be now a change corresponding to that among the disciples after Pentecost, and the appeal should be not merely to a promise, but to a fact. The positive note has been struck. The pastor can move with certainty,

for Christ has come, as He said. The promise has been verified, and the pastor of the present day is the accredited agent of a court that has won its place, the representative of a cause that is sure to triumph. He can appeal to the strong and educated and enterprising to enlist themselves in that which has proved itself worthy of all acceptance, great enough to employ the highest talent any one possesses. It is not merely that men are urged to save themselves or to connect themselves with the local church, but that they may have a share in saving the world. This has always been the appeal; but there is added force as new fields are opening, as the issues are being more clearly defined, as the world everywhere is stirring with new life. There is a call for all the high qualities, for all chivalry and valor, for heroism, for everything manly and magnanimous. In the work of covering the waste places, in correcting abuses, in lifting up public opinion; in the elevation and development of humanity, there is manifest scope for the greatest talent, for chivalrous ardor and heroic devotion — and these not in some small circle, but for the whole race, for the brotherhood of man.

This is a great day for the pastor of a Christian church, more hopeful, more assured than any that has gone before; “the night is far spent, the day is at hand!” Blessed is he who is called to the Kingdom for such a time as this, who is permitted to be a pastor as a man among men, aided by a church organized for work, forecasting the future in the youth given him to train for service, and cheered by the outlook of the conquest of the world for Christ!

CHURCH ADMINISTRATION

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THE term "Church Administration" is new, and its adoption from the world of business suggests the direction of the progress, as well as its cause. Its course is parallel to contemporary industrial progress. The technical term implies that the church has business to be administered. An evolution in the popular conception of what is the church's business has caused the progress in church administration.

The church's own vision of its mission has been expanding. Three generations ago it limited its business to saving souls, and generally the souls that were nearest. Its activities were quite exclusively spiritual and its field usually narrow. The organization of the church was as simple as its interpretation of its mission. Even its architecture revealed this.

Gradually the church began to notice the mental and physical needs of men, and very tardily the civic and collective needs of society. The new monistic psychology, with its proof of the interaction of the physical, mental, and spiritual, has taught us that man is more than a soul tenanted a body—that he is a complex unity, and must be saved in body, mind, and spirit in order to be fully redeemed. The new humanism has taught us that nothing is secular. The new humanitarianism has broadened our social sympathies until the church dare not deny its responsibility, direct or indirect, for the welfare of humanity in any vital need. Its mission is as broad as the needs of the race, and its business is to do the work left undone by other agencies; to prevent needless pain, suffering, ignorance, degeneracy, and sin—not to duplicate social machinery anywhere, but to furnish it where needed, to supplement it when ineffective, and everywhere to be the dynamic for human welfare and progress, the power-house for generating inspiration, courage, intelligent consecration in every sort of

secondary agency for human welfare. The spiritual must ever be the climax of all religious endeavor; but the work of the modern church is more than saving souls.

Progress in church administration has naturally followed this broadening ideal of the church's mission. When only the soul's welfare was considered worth minding, and religious activities were limited to the spiritual, the minister was priest, pastor, preacher, sometimes prophet, but seldom administrator. He would have eschewed so secular a term, as savoring of the worldly life and inconsistent with his sacred calling. But a broadening field of usefulness has opened to the pastor-bishop with the passing of the years. The church, of course, has always had master-minds more modern than their age, who have anticipated progress. In attempting to generalize from such diverse particulars and to describe tendencies in the church's progress, let us not forget the men of initiative whose vision made the progress possible. We are speaking here, not of isolated cases, but of the general movement.

Again, the progress in church administration has paralleled the social and industrial progress of the nation. These three generations have witnessed three stages of social evolution. We may style them, for convenience, the simple, the complex, and the intricate. American life in the early thirties was hardly out of the age of homespun. We were a nation of villages, 93% rural, and our business was mainly home industries. Capitalist and laborer were chums at the same bench. It was an era of simplicity in social, industrial, and religious life. There was little demand for resourcefulness or individuality in the minister, and little need of the church executive.

But soon came the day of the small manufacturer, and then of the joint-stock company. The village became the prosperous factory-town. In arithmetical progression the social structure developed in complexity, and gradually the church's burdens of opportunity and responsibility for human welfare increased.

The last generation has witnessed an industrial revolution approaching a social crisis. It is the era of giant cities, full-grown in a mere decade. It is the day of the great corporation, the centralization of wealth and industrial power. We read of railroad mergers, industrial coalitions, bank consolidations, and the "trustification" of nearly all industries. Social relations are

increasing in intricacy in geometrical ratio, and even the churches are threatened with over-organization.

The evolution of the church's ideal of service, and its response to the changing time-spirit, is faithfully reflected in the changing architecture of these three periods, the simple, the complex, and the intricate. We may thus interpret the familiar evolutionary series: the colonial meeting-house, the Gothic house of worship with its vestry beneath or adjoining, and the modern church with its parish house. A single church may serve for illustration. The first Broadway Tabernacle was built the year Hartford Seminary was founded. It was a vast auditorium, focusing at the pulpit. The second building was the usual Gothic structure of the period. The present Tabernacle has the most beautiful and worshipful auditorium of the three, plus a nine-story parish house splendidly equipped for its broadly efficient ministry. Each building has well served its generation.

Many a city church, however, is still conducted on country church lines, with grudging response to changed conditions, with the single pastorate still, and traditional methods, and church machinery geared to the slow-moving past decades; but conspicuously successful churches are suiting method to environment and thus are meeting the demands of the age.

With a new insistence the present age is demanding of the church a better adjustment to environment, a more courageous moral leadership, social redemption as well as individual salvation, Christian brotherliness, with all that it implies, and a higher degree of efficiency consistent with the spirit of the times. We are living in an age that does things. Achieving often the seemingly impossible, its masterful spirit has little patience with puttering inefficiency in men or institutions. The successful Yankee is a bit impatient, and thinks his church must keep the pace, and no longer ride the camel of the Magi, or ply the distaff of the homespun age; or be content with a beggarly two per cent spiritual dividend on its great capital of vested property, and latent human energies, and unutilized human talents, and untouched springs of vast unappreciated influence, and splendid reservoirs of untapped brotherly comradeship.

In response to this increasing demand for efficiency, there have been developed some very effective church organizations. Ministering to the complex needs of congested city parishes, there are

great modern institutions, like St. George's in New York, with its great variety of ministries and its large corps of paid workers; and the Baptist Temple in Philadelphia, with its church hospital and people's college numbering several thousand students.

Located in less needy fields, other churches are centers of inspiration and light and missionary helpfulness, whose charity, needed less at home, is generously administered far and wide. There are hundreds of smaller, but proportionately successful churches, both rural and urban, wisely administered and highly efficient, by intelligent specialization fitting the specific activities of the parish to specific local needs, resulting in Christly character, wholesome homes, and right-hearted citizenship.

In general, the complexity of church administration has varied with the attempts of the church to do directly or indirectly the needed social-service work in the community. There are three varieties of policy possible. The Roman Church sanctions no secondary agencies, but directly administers religious hospitals, parochial schools and colleges, orphan asylums, and even fraternal orders. By so doing she has dictated or deflected social movements and has gained great prestige as a social-service benefactor of the highest rank; and in the process has developed a splendidly effective administration, intricate in organization and autocratic in authority.

The Protestant policy has been quite the opposite. Consistent with its narrowly spiritual conception of the church's mission, it has done its very generous philanthropic work, not as churches, but through secondary agencies which have owed their inspiration and support directly to the church and its members. The charitable work is done, but the church receives little recognition or credit for its great share in the process, and by comparison suffers in prestige and influence.

Some modern churches, however, are finding it necessary, in certain environments, to do directly certain forms of welfare work, to supplement defective secondary agencies. But institutional churches are still rare, and usually their cost is prohibitive. Moreover, many democratic churches congregationally governed would probably not develop the degree of coöperation, or subserviency, found in autocratic churches, sufficient to administer hospitals, asylums, and schools. At least, with meager resources

and few paid workers (usually but one), the work is at present impracticable for most churches.

There is a third possibility, which is an effective compromise between Roman absorption of such philanthropic work and Protestant institutional neglect of it. Progress in church administration will make possible the control of such agencies for human welfare by trustees representative of the various local churches, to the mutual advantage of the churches and of these auxiliaries which must always depend largely upon the church membership for inspiration and support.

The record of progress, it must frankly be acknowledged, is all too meager. In this commercial age, with its remarkable business talent, the church too often lags behind. Too often there is a lack of courageous initiative in the minister and of intelligent coöperation among his laymen. We are reminded of the times when long pastorates sometimes developed bishop-pastors with vast powers of leadership, in spite of their limited range of social opportunity, and when loyal laymen were reasonably free from business burdens. Our hope for future progress rests with expert pastors who shall revive the function of the local bishop and train and direct their laymen, that the difficult work of the modern church may be effectively administered.

Theoretically, every pastor of a congregational or independent church is a local bishop. But, as a matter of fact, the bishop function in many cases has become atrophied from disuse. We have largely interpreted this function to mean simply the spiritual oversight of souls, caring for the spiritual welfare of individuals. This is, of course, its most intimate element, but it is not the whole of it. The true bishop is an *administrator* as well as a curate. Foreign missionaries illustrate this function better. They are directing the work of many helpers. In many a mission station a bishop-minister is overseeing the labors of two score or more native workers, and great efficiency results. The trained minister thus multiplies himself.

Likewise in the home pastorate the work of the local bishop is greatly needed. Progress in church administration demands it. In addition to the spiritual oversight of individuals, let it mean also the marshaling of lay forces, the training of lay workers, encouraging and enlisting all the church-members who are willing to become recruits in the pastor's force instead of mere proto-

plasm in his field. Let us revive the function of the local bishop — in other words, the training and directing of laymen in religious work by trained pastors who are experts in administration. Even in a layman's church, this function cannot safely be abandoned; but let it be exercised in democratic fashion, by a true pastor-bishop, fitted by nature and by special training tactfully and effectively to administer the work of a single parish.

We do not overlook the fact that scores of conspicuously successful modern churches can be cited as illustrations of the application of business principles to religion, with wise subdivision of skilled labor, conserving assets and avoiding waste and friction, with the spirit of eager enterprise, of tactful generalship, and loyal, disciplined coöperation. But many another church has not yet found its best efficiency in administration. It is still listening passively to the voice of the past, simply hearing things said, and lazily trusting God to get things done. Such churches are ineffective because, like a crew of workmen, resting in the shade while their *overseer* is gone, *they have no bishop*. The bishop function in their pastor has been relegated to innocuous desuetude, overshadowed by the preacher function. "Plenty of talk, but little doing" has been the popular condemnation of this sort of a church by business men.

The difficulty of enlisting lay workers is partly due to their lack of specific training. People who are highly paid, skilled laborers or trained professional men six days in the week, — experts at something, anything you please, from baking bread to making a brief, — will not willingly enlist in the unskilled ranks of church blunderers, without some opportunity to satisfy their own critical judgment and to attain their own high standard of service through some course of special training. This arduous duty is more and more falling upon the shoulders of the ministry, the duty of training the laymen for the increasingly difficult work of the church. It means often an unwelcome task for the pastor-bishop to stop and train his laymen; but until he does so he will have to bear most of the burdens himself, which means needless nerve-strain and premature age for the pastor, and slow success for a half-effective church. In proportion as ministers realize the possibilities of a coöperating force of trained laymen for transforming a church and dividing a minister's burdens, will they set about it at all hazards, and at almost any sacrifice of time

and effort, to train their laymen and their young people for the future welfare of the church.

Let the local bishop come back; back to the forefront in the pastor's work, as he selects his best material for helpers, trains them for their special service, and superintends and inspires their efforts. Then much of the minister's time, which now seems wasted, frittered away over trifles, will be saved for other duties, as this detail work is delegated to his corps of volunteer lay helpers, while he thus multiplies his usefulness through his administrative work, directing the services of the many. Soon may it be said no longer that the minister is the only professional man who is his own office-boy — that in no other business is a two-thousand-dollar man suffered to do, and do frequently, the work which could be hired done at twenty cents per hour. Not that the minister should feel above the work; but it is simply an economic waste. He has more important work to do, like the manager of any enterprise to whom is committed grave responsibilities and only a twenty-four-hour day.

The specific needs, in detail, for the training of laymen, cannot be mentioned here. They will differ widely in different fields. Adaptation to local conditions will be the constant endeavor. But whatever may be the specific local need, in every democratic church there is a distinct need of the local pastor-bishop to plan and administer the work of his church. He must be recognized as the church specialist. He is the expert undisputedly in Theology and Biblical Interpretation. Let him also be recognized as the expert in church administration, in church finance, in religious pedagogy, and everything else in his field. If he is *not*, let him speedily become such, for it is a vital part of his life-business. An occasional crisis, like a debt-raising campaign, or a serious vacancy in his Sunday-school superintendency, or any other special emergency, may demand his personal service in these details which properly belong to laymen; but only once. Let him do it once, if need be. Thereafter *he* is to blame, if he does not develop laymen to do this work, training them by the most approved modern methods, with minimum of friction and maximum of efficiency.

EVANGELISM

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TAKING evangelism as the effort to secure an acknowledgment by individuals of a personal faith in Christ and allegiance to Him, it is evident that the very existence of the Visible Church depends upon it, for the ranks depleted by death and desertion must be recruited by such enlistments. It is also plain that evangelism is a function of almost every branch of the Church's life and secures its results in many different ways.

This paper is limited to the evangelistic activity of American Protestantism during the last seventy-five years, and to that phase commonly embraced in the term "revival." Compared with the whole evangelistic fruitage since 1834, this constitutes a small, but distinct and important portion. This type of evangelism is usually characterized by a multiplication of meetings and a concentration of effort, with the avowed expectation of securing immediate and definite conversions. Jonathan Edwards, in a way, may be called the father of the movement as we are familiar with it, though kindred forms have appeared in other ages and lands, and even in other religions.

The period under survey begins with Finney at the height of his evangelistic power, and discloses during the entire seventy-five years a very definite development. Fluctuations, of course, appear, but the general trend is steadily in one direction. This development is due to many causes: to new views in theology, to the multiplication of auxiliary organizations within the church, to new factors in education, to immigration, to the presence of new social and industrial forces, to a widespread lessening in the expression of feeling, to the waning power of mass-meetings, as appears also in political campaigns, and to other factors. The modification of the revival is not an eddy in the current of American life, but is part of it, and

only a narrow mind will attribute these changes to any one cause. Whether they are for better or for worse, whether welcome or unwelcome, in their important features they have been inevitable, being adaptations to the ever-changing spirit of the age.

The Origin. — Evangelistic movements usually spring from one of three sources: either from the influence of some commanding personality, or from a spontaneous impulse of the people, or from a desire for the results which prompts an organized campaign. During the past seventy-five years there has appeared a drift from the first two types to the third. We have strong men, like Chapman, Dawson, and Torrey, and also earnest and enthusiastic communities, but the evangelists work only on invitation from the churches, and insist on general coöperation and elaborate organization. We have no Finneys to-day, because such men could not do the work. Moody, whose career came in the middle of the period under survey, illustrates both phases and marks the transition; for, while his personality was a great factor, he inaugurated and established in essentially its present form the organized revival. The recent great revival in Wales was of the earlier types, both a leading personality and popular upspringing of interest being conspicuous factors; but in this country nothing of the sort on any considerable scale has appeared in a long time. We have passed from personality to plan, from spontaneity to system.

Entirely erroneous is the opinion that this proves a decadence in spirituality. The Holy Spirit operates through judgment as well as through impulse, through the coöperation of many as well as through the dominance of one. If order is heaven's first law, system surely is an admirable channel for divine influence. The children of the light should not be charged with deterioration when they take up Christ's suggestion concerning the value of the wisdom of the children of this world. Less and less do the enterprises of this day rely on the power of one personality, or on waves of popular interest, to draw and inspire a following. It is the institutional spirit and method that is the magnet and molder everywhere. In accord with the temper of the times, the revival has become more institutional, but not necessarily less spiritual.

The Motives. — When we come to consider the motives pre-

sented to persuade men to avow a Christian faith, as marked a transition appears. In the earlier years the great appeals were of danger and salvation. The unbeliever was urged to accept the Christian life that he might be saved from the wrath of God, from punishment, from hell, from sin; and, on the other hand, that he might secure forgiveness, peace, and eternal happiness hereafter. This was the conspicuous appeal, but as time went on, it did not retain its supremacy. These motives are still presented in some missions and by some evangelists, but are less and less prominent; and, in a recent large and most successful evangelistic campaign, they were scarcely noticeable.

With their decadence have arisen into correspondingly increasing prominence the appeals of duty and service. Emphasis is placed on the duty of a creature to his Creator, of a subject to his Sovereign, of a child to his Father, and of all to a Saviour who gave Himself in sacrifice for us. The claims upon us of honor and courage, of true manhood and womanhood, are exalted, and also our responsibility for children and friends who will be influenced by us, and for the church that needs us. New and larger opportunities for service to humanity, and for participation in establishing the Kingdom of God on earth, are offered. The call is more a summons to war than an invitation to a feast. These are the appeals that are presented with the most frequency and force at the close of this period. The motives they seek to arouse are certainly higher and nobler, altruistic rather than selfish. The keynote has changed from danger to duty, from salvation to service. There is less minor music in it, more of the trumpet-call.

The new motives are nobler, but less intense. A man will run faster from danger than to service. No fireman feels the thrill that possesses a man whose house is on fire. The appeal is less personal, less dramatic, and men are not stirred as of old. The absence of religious arousal proves not that the Gospel has been emasculated, nor that man's worldliness has devitalized his religious nature, but that anxiety concerning his own peril or gain has yielded to a quiet earnestness for others' welfare. This change has brought both gain and loss — gain in giving a new nobility to conversion, loss in being less able to reach the lower natures that do not respond so readily to the higher motives.

The Emotions. — In all evangelistic campaigns the citadel

whose capture is sought is the will. The victory is won when the convert says "I will." In this battle the mind is used as an ally in the presentation of motives; but the coöperation of the emotions also is sought. This is perfectly legitimate and desirable, if not abused. The will can be carried to higher points by the emotional nature, especially under the impulse of love, than in any other way. During this period the atmosphere of the evangelistic meeting has become very different because of a change, both in degree and kind, of the feelings awakened and expressed. As already stated, emotional intensity has been lessened by a change in the motives presented. Furthermore, the element of excitement has been largely eliminated by the absence of the contagion of the crowd-spirit. During the last half of the years under consideration, the unity which makes possible excited enthusiasm has decreased in all kinds of assemblies in this country. The cheering in political conventions has become a purely artificial prolongation of applause to be measured by minutes. Our public audiences are undemonstrative, far more so than in England or in any other country. Seldom now in any gathering are men fused into a unity, moved and molded by one spirit—a condition made possible only by the emotions, and in turn quickening them. In harmony with this temper of the times, each person in a revival meeting retains his self-consciousness, and acts, not as a part of the crowd, but as an individual. His feelings may be strong, but they are personal and not contagious. That ardor, intensity, excitement, which only an emotionally unified crowd can possess and display, is lacking to-day and is impossible. Consequently, "personal work" is the main reliance of the modern evangelistic campaign; and, similarly and naturally, the intensity of opposition from the world has decreased, bitterness having vanished, and even saloon-keepers having been known to close their saloons with the other places of business in order that all might be at liberty to attend some men's meeting. A complacent good-will, a pleasant species of indifference, often prevails toward revivals.

The change has been in kind as well as degree. The most striking is the elimination of fear. Formerly the fear of God, of punishment, death, and hell, was aroused. "The terrors of hell gat hold upon me" was a common experience. Fear sometimes reached the point of terror, and even frenzied

agony. This emotion has been awakened less and less, until it is now scarcely an appreciable factor. As fear of parents, of teachers, of rulers, of graveyards and ghosts, of many diseases and striking manifestations of nature, has decreased, people have become less responsive to attempts in the religious realm to move them by fear. This emotion has been dulled by disuse, and even Jonathan Edwards, preaching on "Sinners in the hands of an angry God" to a modern audience, would arouse very little fear. The place of fear has been taken by love and sympathy. People respond to references to home, to mother, to a lost loved one. They are strongly moved to a decision by pathetic incidents. Music has become the most conspicuous agency in arousing the feelings, and often it is said that the singer in an evangelistic campaign wins more converts than the preacher. Again and again sermon and song coöperate, at the critical point in a service, to arouse the tender emotions of sympathy and love to a degree that will enable them to carry the will over into an irrevocable decision. This period has witnessed the gradual disarming of fear, and the enlistment as allies, to an ever-increasing extent, of the emotions of love and sympathy.

The Physical. — As in the evangelistic appeal to the will the change in the motives presented to the mind affected also the degree and kind of feeling manifested, so the modifications in the emotional activities have influenced the physical aspects, in which have appeared the most marked changes of all. In the early part of this period physical demonstrations, though not considered essential by the leaders and even regretted by some, were very common. Shoutings, groanings, gesticulations, faintings, trances, paroxysms, accompanied most great evangelistic movements. Some visible or audible manifestation, weeping, if nothing else, was expected as an evidence of the spiritual experience. Steadily, during the progress of these years, has the expectation of physical expression grown less. In time nothing was asked beyond a "coming forward to the altar"; then "rising in the seat" was deemed sufficient; after a time that was reduced to "raising the hand," and that is now being superseded by "signing a card." While much more appears among some negroes, the "holy jumpers," and a few other sects, it may be said that in the main these seventy-five years have

witnessed the gradual elimination of the physical expression of the new spiritual attitude.

Conclusion. — The revival always has, and always will take on, a form which corresponds to the spirit of the age and the customs of the community where it operates. The Apostle says, "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings, but the same God who worketh all things in all." So are the diversities in evangelistic methods in successive generations, but the same Spirit, still one Lord, one faith, one baptism. At this particular time the evangelistic campaign is swinging into a new view of the spiritual change it accomplishes. Its standard illustration no longer will be a man journeying in one direction and then turning squarely about to exactly the opposite direction. Rather will it be a man climbing the heights of a glorious mountain, who has stopped or slipped back, but who now springs forward, renews his upward climb, and reaches new heights. Its command will be, not "Turn about," but "Move forward"; it will cry less "Repent," and more often "Grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." It will dwell less on the new birth and more on the growth of a spiritual life already possessed. It will be more true to its own name "re-vival," but it will be equally insistent in calling for an immediate decision to make a new start for a better life. By no means is it a vanishing factor in our church life. In every community are some people who can be quickened to a higher and holier life only by such special efforts. They constitute a minority, but they are worth gleaning, and can be secured in no other way. Even the Roman Catholics recognize this fact in the "missions" they hold.

The evangelistic campaign challenges the attention of the heedless, compels a general consideration of the claims of a better life, secures the cumulative effect of a series of meetings, obtains the advantage of concerted action, gains the inspiration of new voices and methods, and demands that delayed good resolutions be at once vocalized and exercised. Nothing can take its place. It is not a substitute for the other evangelistic influences in church and home, but a supplement to them, which always will be needed, and which will appear in some form in every age.

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SOME time ago I heard a sermon upon the text, "I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go unto the house of the Lord." For an introduction the preacher said in substance: "It is strange how attitudes change. In David's time they said, let us go unto the house of the Lord. In our time they say, let us go and hear so-and-so preach, or so-and-so sing. We scan the newspapers, not to find out where divine worship is held, but where the greatest preacher or singer is to be found, and so we have fallen into the confirmed habit of going to hear instead of going to worship. In revolting from the evil of ritualism we have fallen into the opposite evil of didacticism. Our common talk betrays our attitude. Everything is made to hinge upon the sermon. Prayer, scripture-reading, hymns, anthems, are all looked upon as mere preliminaries; and when they are over, we square ourselves for what we deem to be the real business of the day, the sermon. Attendance upon church services, more often than not, is conditioned upon the temperature of the sermon-thermometer. To such an extent have we exalted the didactic element in worship within the house of God, while to a corresponding degree have we debased the devotional."

The preacher was right in his analysis of conditions among the vast majority of non-liturgical churches even to-day, although thirty years or so ago eddies in the main current began to be apparent. These eddies have become more pronounced with the passing years, until latterly the desire to enrich the public services of the church has found insistent expression. The reasons therefor have been practical rather than theoretical. With a growing knowledge and appreciation of music, with a marked advance of the cultural elements in our national life, with an awakened sense of what the Apostle meant when he desired to have things done decently and in order, there has

been a steady demand for more ornate and better articulated forms of public worship. Add to this the returning host of foreign travelers who each year have felt the spell of the stately cathedral, and the undoubted fact that many of our young people, especially the college-bred, turn naturally and easily to the Episcopal Church to satisfy their æsthetic, if not their spiritual, desires, and you have some of the practical reasons why this subject is a live one, and will continue to live until it is wisely and sufficiently settled.

The instinct of worship is a real one. It is also practically universal. As Sabatier has said, "Man is by nature incurably religious." If he has no god, he will make one. The wooden idol of Africa and the totem-poles of Alaska are not without a perennial significance. The story is told of a certain German philosopher who wanted to bring up his child without any dogmatic preconceptions, so into the country he took him, far from madding opinions. The child reached the age of ten without having heard the name of God; but he had not reached the age of ten without having satisfied his instinct for worship, for his custom was to rise with the sun, and in the garden pay his morning orisons to what seemed to him a Supreme Benefactor. Here his father surprised him one day and was perforce obliged to tell him of the Creator of heaven and earth. In this story is to be found an epitome of the history of the race. Kept in ignorance, a child worships the sun; kept in ignorance, a race worships fire — because man will have his god.

We of the Puritan faith and polity should not be disturbed at the eddies, rapidly converging into a tide, which run strongly towards some liturgical harbor. We cannot turn back that tide, if we would; we would not, if we could; for the tide is elementally healthy. It is for us, using the tide, to come to some legitimate port, and not to be the sport of wind and wave. Herein lies the greatest immediate danger. Outside of the liturgical atmosphere, often without an adequate training in liturgics, sometimes without musical appreciation or sense, our ministers must guard themselves against a too rapid absorption of the new spirit; and while they browse abroad in wide fields, deeming, and often rightly, that all things are theirs, whether Anglican or Roman or Moravian or Gregorian, they must beware of falling into such liturgical anarchy as to make their latter end worse

than their former state. Such unfortunately is now too often the case. A minister making the round of a dozen non-liturgical churches might need a short vacation to reëstablish his mental equilibrium. Ill-considered freakishness is not lacking. The liturgical advance needs unification and poise.

There is little doubt that early Christian worship was founded on synagogue worship, just as early church polity was in large measure the outcome of synagogue polity. After the Puritan movement became a Separatist movement it sloughed off the liturgical accretions of a millennium's growth and reverted to even a simpler type than that inherited from the synagogue. This can be made plain by the use of the parallel column.

A typical synagogue service: — A typical Puritan service: —

Opening prayer	Prayer
Reading of ten commandments	Singing of a psalm
Reading of Old Testament	Scripture lessons
Liturgical prayers	Prayer
Comment upon Law and Prophets	Sermon
Exhortations	Prayer
Closing prayers	Benediction

The main difference between these orders of worship (aside from the Puritan singing of psalms in long meter) is the more democratic participation of the people in the synagogue service. Whereas in the Puritan order the minister absorbed almost all of the public expression of worship, in the synagogue the congregation participated more freely. For example, free comment was allowed upon the Law and the Prophets by any visiting rabbi or accredited person (*vide* Jesus at Nazareth), exhortations might freely be given by any of the worshipers, while under the exercise marked "liturgical prayers," according to Edersheim, the people rose facing Jerusalem while some leader read eighteen prayers from a scroll to which they responded "Amen." The almost utter lack of participation in worship by the congregation under the Puritan régime is without scriptural or philosophical foundation. It is strange that the most democratic polity should have coupled itself with the most

aristocratic worship, as is seen in the churches of our faith, where minister and choir still absorb unto themselves the lion's share; and it is just as strange that the most aristocratic polity should have coupled itself with the most democratic worship, as is evinced by the large participation given to the congregation in the Episcopal Church. Shall we not take heed thereto?

With the advent of the hymn-book new forces in worship were unloosed. For a few years the hymn-book had a precarious existence; but its manifest advantages were so many that opposition gradually died away, although for a long time there were churches of our order which refused to sing any but Watts's hymns. A typical order of service sixty years ago was as follows:—

Doxology	Prayer	Prayer
Prayer	Anthem	Offering
Hymn	Hymn	Benediction
Scripture	Sermon	

The order of worship is noticeably richer than under the unmodified Puritan régime. Thirty years or so ago further modifications were introduced: enlarging the sphere of the choir, freer use of the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, and the introduction of responsive readings. The writer well remembers the commotion that the introduction of responsive readings stirred up in the conservative congregation of his native Connecticut city. One woman spitefully declared that she had no use for a Congregational dog with an Episcopal tail, while one of the deacons refused for years to join in the readings. The following is the order of service:—

Organ Prelude	Anthem	Hymn
Doxology	Scripture	Sermon
Invocation	Prayer	Prayer
Hymn	Anthem	Hymn
Responsive Reading	Offering	Benediction

A steady and healthy growth in liturgical elements is plainly apparent. What shall the end thereof be? Undoubtedly the ultimate adoption of some common order of worship which shall still allow in minor things an adjustment to local needs. Let us hope, however, that this order will be a growth and not a manu-

facture. Let us see to it that it has a psychological basis in the laws of the human mind. Let us plan so that it may be liturgically sane. Let us not minimize the sermon, but let us magnify the worshipful element, for in the devotional aspects of public worship the church has no competition. In sociables the church has to compete with the clubs, in musical attractions it has to compete with the theaters, in gymnasiums it has to compete with the Young Men's Christian Associations, in sermons it has to compete with the magazines; but in an orderly and dignified ongoing of public worship the church holds the scepter. Why should she not wield it mightily and increase thereby her hold on the lives of men?

May the writer be pardoned if he presents in closing an order of worship which he has used in three widely-different parishes, and yet with a common result of satisfaction? It is not perfect, but it has done one thing — it has always created a worshipful atmosphere, and a worshipful atmosphere is invaluable.

Opening Service

Organ Prelude
Chant (Choir and Congregation)
Invocation with Lord's Prayer

Service of Praise

Choir Selection
Responsive Reading with Gloria (Congregation standing)
Choir Selection

Service of Communion

Scripture Lesson
Pastoral Prayer
Musical Response

Service of Giving

Offering
Doxology (Congregation standing)
Prayer of Consecration (Congregation standing)

Service of Meditation

Hymn (Congregation standing)
Sermon
Hymn (Congregation standing)

Closing Service

Confession of Faith (Congregation standing)
Silent prayer with Benediction (Congregation standing)
Organ Postlude

ENGLISH HYMNODY

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THE hymnal now used in Hartford Seminary contains 861 hymns. Of these, 526 (over 60 per cent) were not published before 1834. Of the remaining 335, about 75 had been current only since 1820, and most of these were unknown in New England. This single fact intimates how extensive have been the changes in Hymnody during the past seventy-five years.

Quite as striking is another fact. Nettleton's famous *Village Hymns*, first issued in 1824, contained, when the East Windsor Seminary was founded, 600 hymns. Of these, only about 80 (13 per cent) are still in use. Most of the rest have been totally unknown to our churches for more than a generation. It is true that here, as in other cases, the apparent change of usage is misleading, since such collections of "hymns" were meant only to supplement the established collections of "psalms," of which more remains in use; but the fact is nevertheless significant.

In 1834 English Hymnody was undergoing a profound transformation. Throughout the eighteenth century, when the use of hymns proper became a feature of English Christianity, the chief hymnists were Nonconformists, with Watts, Wesley, and Doddridge at the head of the list. When, from 1760, the Established Church slowly took up the practice, her usage was strongly controlled by the patterns of her dissenting children. Unless we count Newton and Cowper, who were plainly thus controlled, there is no influential Church of England hymnist until Heber, whose small, but most original, group of hymns was published posthumously in 1827. In the same year appeared Keble's *Christian Year*, not itself a hymn-book, but indefinitely stimulating to hymnody of a new kind. In 1833 Keble preached the noted sermon that marks the outset of the Oxford Movement, the hymnodic results of which were, and still are, widespread.

Apart from these, yet ultimately joining with them to fix a new hymnodic drift, were several others. Foremost among them was the Moravian, Montgomery, known as a serious poet since 1797, who in 1822 put forth his *Songs of Zion*, followed in 1825 by the *Christian Psalmist* and the *Christian Poet*. His precepts and example had immense influence, at once in England, later in America. A less influence, though not small, was that of Lyte, whose *Spirit of the Psalms* came out in the year we commemorate — 1834. As indices of the changes that were taking place in English usage might be noted critically important hymnals like those of Stowell (1831), Bickersteth (1833), and Elliott (1835). Quite as important for Dissenters was Conder's *Congregational Hymn Book* (1836).

Traces of analogous movements toward freedom from the sometimes unpoetic and certainly dogmatic trammels of the eighteenth century are found in America. As illustrations among Congregationalists, note the *Hartford Selection* (1799), Worcester's *Select Hymns* (1823), and Nettleton's *Village Hymns* (1824), not to speak of books set forth by several other denominations before 1834. In Nettleton's preface we find a purpose similar to that more elaborately expressed by Montgomery the following year — to move out into a larger and deeper use of poetry in public devotion, and to escape from the excessive didacticism that is the besetting danger of our type of church. American feeling, however, with the resources at hand, was as yet unready to take more than a small step forward. Not until some three decades later were more decided advances possible in utilizing the rich treasures that had accumulated in England during that time. Yet, besides those just named, there were several progressive American books from the years just before 1834, like Leavitt's *Christian Lyre* (1830-31), Hastings's *Spiritual Songs* (1831), Jones's *Melodies of the Church* (1832), and Bacon's *Supplement to Dwight's Watts* (1833). In following years these tokens of enterprise and zeal gradually multiply, though always at an interval behind the example of England.

As the merest hint of how many of our now established hymns came into use after 1834, I select a few samples:—

Montgomery — For ever with the Lord,	1835
Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts,	1836
Come, let us sing the song of songs,	1853

Grant —	Lord of earth, Thy forming hand,	1835
Miss Elliott —	My God and Father, while I stray,	1834
	O Holy Saviour, Friend unseen,	1834
	Just as I am, without one plea,	1836
	My God, is any hour so sweet,	1836
	Christian, seek not yet repose,	1839
Lyte —	Pleasant are Thy courts above,	1834
	(and perhaps a dozen other Psalm versions)	
	Saviour, like a shepherd lead us,	1836
	Abide with me, fast falls the eventide,	1847
Alford —	Come, ye thankful people, come,	1844
Newman —	Lead, kindly light,	1834
Taylor —	I'm but a stranger here,	1836
Mrs. Adams —	Nearer, my God, to Thee,	1841
Palmer —	My faith looks up to Thee,	1830
	We stand in deep repentance,	1834
	Jesus, these eyes have never seen,	1858
Bacon —	O God, beneath Thy guiding hand,	(1833) 1845
	Hail, tranquil hour of closing day,	1845

In this connection it is instructive to note the dates at which certain hymnists, by whom our present hymnals have been specially enriched, first made themselves known:—

In England: in 1837 appeared Chandler, Deck, Denny, Monsell; in 1838, Gurney; in 1841, Miss Cox; in 1842, Neale; in 1843, Bonar; in 1846, Mrs. Alexander, Miss Borthwick, Gill; in 1848, Bridges, Faber, Russell; in 1849, Caswall, the younger Bickersteth; in 1850, Miss Waring; in 1851, How; in 1852, Baker; in 1853, Rawson; in 1854, Burns, Tuttielt; in 1855, Lynch, Miss Winkworth; in 1858, Miss Proctor; in 1859, Ellerton; in 1860, Miss Havergal; in 1862, Thring, Wordsworth; in 1864, Baring-Gould; in 1866, Stone; etc.

The point in all such lists, of course, is that almost the whole body of hymns and hymnists that stand closest to our present feeling belong to the time after 1834, many of them a full quarter-century later.

Turning now from these statistics, which may or may not be illuminating, let us try to enumerate some of the salient features of modern Hymnody, those that distinguish it from that of the early nineteenth century or the eighteenth.

1. A striking advance has been made in literary or artistic richness and finish. Montgomery said that up to his day hymns seemed to come from almost everybody "except poets." Whether this sharp thrust was merited or not, it is plain that from about 1820 there was a general and persistent eagerness

for essential beauty in Hymnody. This one topic might be expanded and exemplified at any length. Just here was one of the sides of hymnic creation and hymnal-making where the culture of the Church of England instantly displayed itself as soon as its members, clerical and lay, awoke to the subject. In that communion — far more than in any American circle — Hymnody had been curiously disdained. But with the deepening of spirituality attending the rise of the Evangelical party, with the profound stirring of opinion and sentiment that followed the Oxford discussions, Hymnody, both as an expression of religious life and as a mighty dynamic in religious work, at length came to its own. It did this partly, no doubt, by virtue of the ideas and feelings that it chose to magnify. But no small amount of the gain lay in instinctive improvements of artistic technique, using the word in a broad sense, including not merely external points like diction, rhythms, rhymes, and the like, but also the artistic method or finesse in approaching and handling themes. So far have we moved from the situation which Montgomery stigmatized, that to-day no one can achieve permanent success in Hymnody who is not in some true sense a poet. As illustrations, take such dissimilar instances as Faber's "Hark, hark, my soul" (1854), Whittier's "I bow my forehead to the dust" (1867), and Matheson's "O Love that will not let me go" (1882) — none of which is conceivable in the period before 1834.

2. To cite but a single item in the outward form of present-day hymns, observe the great variety of meters now used. Almost any recent hymnal presents perhaps a hundred different types of verse, each with its own artistic possibilities — each, also, requiring its own type of tune. *Village Hymns*, though somewhat free for its time, shows only twenty meters, and no less than five sixths of its hymns follow the common derivatives of the old ballad-meter. This slavery to a single species of verse was one reason why the old Hymnody came to seem trite. Still more telling points of this sort might be cited, especially as regards diction and imagery.

3. The old Hymnody was prevailingly didactic, even when nominally expressive. Most of it was written by ministers, and usually all was unblushingly used as an adjunct to preaching. The new Hymnody is largely written by the laity, or, if not, spon-

taneously voices the sentiment of the worshipping assembly. Here is a clew to the extreme "theologicalness" of the old Hymnody. It came from those engrossed with the scientific and philosophical aspects of religion, in an age when those aspects were emphasized as essentially formative rather than descriptive and analytic. Modern thought has perhaps reacted too far to the opposite extreme, overexalting individual experience. Hence, in Hymnody, the great shift from the objective to the subjective, from the logical to the emotional, from the stern or austere to the sentimental and the picturesque. Hymnody to-day supplies one of the surest indices as to what popular theology is, since it arises largely from the rank and file of Christians, and depends for its permanence upon popular approval.

Here may be inserted the interesting point that a modern hymnal usually contains work of fifty or more women hymnists. Before 1834 we seldom find more than two or three. The feminine factor has now become so large and even determinative that we begin to hear complaints that religious expression is becoming "effeminate." On the whole, however, we may well rejoice that here the sympathetic woman's voice is so fully allowed its place in the sanctuary.

4. The new Hymnody has a new range of interests. Part of this is due to deserting the purely ministerial point of view, as has just been said. But much results from special movements peculiar to the nineteenth century. Let us take two or three instances.

The organized interest in missions began just before 1800 and was rapidly extended after that date. Kelly, a hymnist whose best work was done in 1802-20, is the first abundant writer of missionary hymns. With him opens really a new field for Hymnody, in which Americans were prompt to find a place. As evidence, we may cite Smith's "The morning light is breaking" (1832).

More important, because having more possible aspects, was the interest in children as a class and in the institution of the Sunday-school. Some early hymnists, notably Watts himself, had striven to write children's hymns. But substantial progress waited till a definite place in church economy and activity began to be made for the young. The pioneers were Hawker and Hill (about 1790), with many followers after 1800. By 1834 this

new hymnodic movement was fully established in England, though not yet much felt in America. From 1810 onward women hymnists contributed to this side of Hymnody with brilliant success.

To a different category belong certain other phenomena. To-day, as compared with a century ago, hymns express a far more vivid church consciousness and church patriotism. This came first from the rapid assumption of leadership after 1825 by Church of England hymnists. But these struck notes that were so true that they awoke responses even among many who would have been quick to disclaim the title "churchly." In all this we perceive the arousal of corporate and organized Christianity, with the spread of a mighty zeal for Christian action by large bodies of people as such. Hence come our many hymns of fraternity, of passionate loyalty, of militant hope, with those that magnify Christ as Prince and Captain. "Onward, Christian soldiers" (1865) and "For all the saints who from their labors rest" (1864), for example, are absolutely modern utterances.

But this movement had other consequences. There was a rapid increase of hymns for particular times in the church calendar, especially for Christmas and Easter, for Lent and Advent. This growth started, of course, in the Church of England, but has now become universal. Its magnitude would surprise, perhaps dismay, some of the fathers. Another result was the increase of hymns pertaining to the Lord's Day and its several services, viewed as foci about which the church's life revolves. These topics are not new, but they are treated with fresh zest.

I make no effort to emphasize the new ways of regarding the more characteristic topics of religious belief and conduct, certainly not because they are not significant, but because a proper treatment would require much space. We may simply note that a striking feature in modern Hymnody is the effort to express conceptions and emotions as actually experienced rather than as accommodated to a technical scheme of thought. The result, we say, is more "natural," and hence seems more genuine. But the difference is not one of sincerity. It is connected with the profound contrasts between the centuries.

5. Some of the references already given have suggested the fact that only within the past seventy-five years has the specialty

of hymnal-making become distinct. Compilation was seen to be the only suitable method as soon as the number of recognized hymnists and of desirable hymns became considerable. By 1834 "Collections" had begun to dominate usage. With them came an increasing amount of editorial expertness, and a slow accumulation of the fruits of historic and critical scholarship. This branch of knowledge has now attained vast proportions. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (1880) ranks with the great pieces of scientific publication. In 1834 both the data and the acumen for such a work were non-existent.

6. I have reserved for final mention one point of special value. We may approach it by observing that the Oxford movement gave a marked impetus to historical studies. In Hymnody, this led at once to attempts to transfer to English the hymnody of the Latin Church; then that of Germany; finally that of the Eastern Church. The whole wealth of translations from foreign hymnodies, with one small exception, has been produced since 1834. By this particular means was nourished a new sense of the continuity and unity of Christianity in all ages and lands.

But this fact belongs with a larger one. With the advance of historical knowledge and the refining of criticism, as both were required in making hymnals, came a constant interchange of hymns between communions otherwise separate, perhaps at variance. The denominations still publish and circulate their own hymnals, but none of them is at all confined to its own denominational material. What would the saints of 1834 think of a modern hymn-book, where not only every species of Dissent is represented, but every school of Episcopacy, from High Churchmen down, and Roman Catholics and Unitarians besides, the latter in large numbers! It is often astounding to students to discover how universal is the range from which modern Hymnody draws its matter—and perhaps more astounding to find how indistinguishable the several strains are. The truth is that, when we come to meditate and pray and praise, with the chief themes of experience and even of belief in mind, Christians of the most diverse names and habits are impressively alike. We may even surmise that the attainment of conscious unity among the several communions of Christendom is perhaps to come by such paths as these rather than through explicit unity of confession or uniformity of government. At least,

every important hymnal declares and confirms the substantial sympathy between an almost incredible number of diverse camps and cohorts in the vast Christian army. This consummation was but dimly visible in 1834, and even for almost two decades thereafter.

Many other matters clamor for attention in this great subject. But perhaps these brief hints will serve to indicate how true it is that English Hymnody is an art very much alive. It is often referred to yet, as it might have been in 1834, as "the art of Watts and Wesley." The truth is that, upon the foundation which they laid, there has been reared during the last seventy-five years a great and beautiful superstructure which is one of the most impressive monuments of our modern faith.

CHURCH MUSIC

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THE important features of the church music of early times in America are well known: the attitude of the Puritan toward music; the pitiful meagerness of the singing in early Colonial days; the hot discussion regarding singing by rote and by note; the gradual progress when note-singing became general, leading to the formation of singing classes and the improvement of choirs; the interest in music aroused by William Billings and others (when the habit of publishing collections of music was so indelibly fixed upon American composers that only within the last few decades has it slowly yielded to the habit of publishing octavo anthems); the gradual prevalence of better taste in music in the early part of the nineteenth century; and, finally, that powerful movement toward improved singing of which Lowell Mason was the leader.

The way had been prepared for Lowell Mason's first *Collection of Church Music*, published in Boston in 1822, by such books as the *Worcester Collection*, 1800; the *Middlesex Collection*, called Hubbard's Collection; the *Bridgewater Collection*, 1812; the *Hartford Collection*, 1812; the *Columbian Harp* (Northampton, 1812); and the *Providence Collection*, Oliver Shaw, editor, 1819. Some good books, chiefly for the Episcopal Church, had been produced outside of New England. The prestige given Dr. Mason's book by the Handel and Haydn Society, the wise selection of music it contained, but above all the personality and efficiency of the man, who from 1827 onward devoted himself under most favorable auspices to the progress of church music, have served to make memorable the year of publication of his first book.

Lowell Mason's mission was to improve church music, more especially the music of church choirs; and with this in view

he gave his time to the training of the choirs of several Boston churches, to teaching music, to lecturing, composing, and publishing. His influence was greatly extended through the Boston Academy of Music, which was organized in 1833 for the cultivation of church and general music, and existed nearly twenty years. As an illustration of Dr. Mason's methods, a service held in 1838 may be cited. Dr. Mason made an address upon hymn-singing, with examples given by the choir of Bowdoin Street Church. The hymns were announced as meditative, descriptive, didactic, hortatory, of confession, of solemn worship, of exalted praise, etc.

Dr. Mason won the valuable support of such men as Dr. Lyman Beecher and Hon. Samuel A. Eliot, for many years in charge of the music of King's Chapel; and gathered about him many competent helpers, notably George J. Webb and A. N. Johnson. Coming directly or indirectly under his instruction were a host of others, including George F. Root, William B. Bradbury, and L. O. Emerson, who spread the movement far and wide. Thomas Hastings in New York State was earlier than Lowell Mason in the field of church music, but his efforts were more circumscribed.

Seventy-five years ago singing-schools were common, a large body of singers was in fair training, and the churches as a rule, both in cities and in the country districts, had chorus choirs, numbering from a few voices to over one hundred. In many churches the leader and the organist (if there was an organ) received small salaries, and less frequently one or two others of the choir were paid. Organs were by no means universal, even in the cities, and in the country they were rare. Far more common was the use of a bass viol or a double-bass, with perhaps a violin, flute, or clarinet. The small and ineffective precursors of the cabinet organ were occasionally used, but the music was to a great extent unaccompanied.

While the large chorus choir was general, the small choir was also known, and it is probable that by 1830 there were regularly organized quartet choirs in Boston. The use of a quartet within a chorus is recorded earlier; but the earliest date so far found by the writer for a quartet choir in New England is 1836, in the First Church of New Bedford. It is known that soon after this date the choirs of Trinity Church (Episcopal) and

of some Unitarian churches in Boston were quartets.¹ The Episcopal Church, which has stood most stoutly for the churchly in its music, long ago abandoned the solo quartet, except in case of necessity, in favor either of a mixed chorus or of a choir of men and boys, and many churches of other denominations have either superseded their quartets or supplemented them by choruses either voluntary or salaried. Congregational churches seem not to have taken up with the quartet idea, with the rarest exceptions, until well past the middle of the century; and in many cases quartets have curiously alternated, period by period, with chorus choirs, or with a precentor, or with nothing at all in the way of a choir.

The importance of Musical Conventions in the progress of American church music can hardly be overestimated. Dr. Mason and his followers covered the entire northern and middle-western states. A convention, beginning with a few days of instruction, would close with a big concert in which the drilled chorus would take part, together with vocalists from a distance, often the best obtainable in America, and at times with instrumentalists. In some instances a considerable orchestra would be secured for accompaniments. The programs of the concerts were very miscellaneous in character. A convention, held in 1865, in Patten, a small village of northern Maine, may be cited as a typical case. It lasted four days, with morning, afternoon, and evening sessions for study, and closed with a public concert, which included songs, duets, quartets, glees, hymn-tunes, and anthems. The prices for course and for single tickets were extremely low. The exercises were in charge of Mr. Solon Wilder of Bangor, who earlier in that year had been one of the directors of the Worcester County Musical Convention, afterwards merged in the famous Worcester Music Festivals. In pursuance of the general custom of leaders, Mr. Wilder's latest book, *The Praise of Zion*, was used both at Worcester and at Patten. At present, the numerous choral societies, the Chautauqua choirs, the public services of the American Guild of Organists, and the choir festivals, modeled after the English choir festivals, are doing a work similar to that done by the musical conventions of a generation ago;

¹ It is generally supposed that quartet choirs existed in New York considerably before this time, but definite information is not at hand.

while the teaching of music in the public schools, introduced in Boston by Lowell Mason in 1838, and now so general, is of inestimable advantage to the church as well as to the community.

Congregational singing was by no means so general in the earlier days as it is at present. In many churches the congregation had no part whatever in the singing. In others "all who were disposed to take part" were encouraged to join in one or two hymns at each service. It was the age of the chorus choir. The congregations were but meagerly supplied with hymn-books, and these were without music. A pioneer in the agitation for congregational singing was Henry Ward Beecher, who, like his father, Dr. Lyman Beecher, was an ardent believer in the effect of church music, and who beyond doubt was greatly influenced by Lowell Mason and his superb choir in Dr. Beecher's church in Boston. *Temple Melodies*, 1851, considered the first hymn-book with tunes published in recent times in America, was probably compiled at the suggestion of Beecher. A few years later the *Plymouth Collection* was published, especially for use at Plymouth Church, and the singing by the immense congregation was said to be most inspiring. In New England, congregational singing was not at all general until after the campaign in its favor conducted by Dr. Eben Tourjée, beginning about 1870. The Presbyterian churches often made use of a precentor, and the singing of the metrical psalms was congregational. The Methodists from the beginning believed strongly in congregational singing, but were not so particular about the musical qualities of the singing as they were about general participation.

Church organs were very rare in America prior to 1800. Early in the nineteenth century Congregational churches in the cities began to install them, as for instance the Old South, Boston, in 1817; the First Church, Hartford, in 1822; and the First Church, Cambridge, in 1827. This was accomplished often against serious opposition, or with great hesitancy. The Edwards Church, Northampton, in 1834, on recommendation of a majority of one in a committee of five, voted to allow an organ to be placed in the church on trial for three years, on condition that it would be removed in case at the end of that time it was so voted. In the First Church, Northampton, the

double-bass, violin, and flute, as accompaniment to the great chorus, numbering at times one hundred and twenty-five, did not give way to an organ until 1856.

The best-known firm of organ-builders in America is that of the Hooks, which was formed in 1827, and still exists as the Hook-Hastings Company, now (March, 1909) building its twenty-two hundred and eleventh organ. In recent years the instruments built by the Roosevelts, Hutchings, the Austins, Skinner, and others have brought American-built organs into the foremost rank of the world. Formerly the organs were almost universally placed in the gallery opposite the pulpit. R. S. Willis, author of *Our Church Music*, 1856, was one of the early advocates of placing the organ and choir at the pulpit end of the church, the location which is now generally accepted.

No greater progress in church music in the past seventy-five years has been made than in the technique of organ-playing. In the early days few, except the English organists who had come to America, such as Hayter and Webb in Boston and Hodges in New York, could really play. J. K. Paine and Dudley Buck were among the earlier Americans to obtain good German training. Nowadays, while organists especially trained in church music are rare, good players are abundant. Among American church organists and organ-teachers none have stood higher than S. P. Warren, George E. Whiting, and S. B. Whitney.

The improvements made in reed organs, about 1850, made them fair substitutes for the expensive pipe organs, and these instruments were manufactured in rapidly increasing numbers, Mason & Hamlin being the foremost builders, until the annual output reached as high as eighty thousand. The small churches took up eagerly with this instrument, the best features of which are its moderate cost and its habit of staying in tune.

Turning now to the music sung at the opening of the period under consideration, we find that a fair proportion of the hymn-tunes were of English or other European origin, though not so largely as at present. The fugue tune had almost wholly disappeared from use, but tunes of American origin prior to Mason's time are found in most of the books. At this time chanting was rapidly gaining ground in the Episcopal Church, but in other denominations even its limited use is much more recent. Nearly all collections of church music contained many

good English anthems and a few standard choruses, such as "The heavens are telling" and the "Halleluiah Chorus." With these appeared anthems by American composers, chiefly by the compilers, and of varying value. There has been a notable advance in the quality of American hymnals during the past thirty years. Special mention should be made of Dr. Robinson's series of books, culminating in *Laudes Domini*; of the Tucker and Hutchins *Hymnals*, admirably meeting the high ideals of the Episcopal Church; and of recent publications by the Century Co., A. S. Barnes & Co., and Biglow & Main. In the best books of the present, Lowell Mason is the only American tune-writer at all extensively represented, so fully have Dykes, Barnby, Sullivan, Smart, Stainer, and other recent English composers occupied the field.

The American anthem has held its own somewhat better, although by far the best anthems suitable for the chorus choir are by English composers. After the Mason movement, standards were distinctly raised by the collections and compositions of Buck, Baumbach, Southard, and others, whose books were in great vogue from twenty to forty years ago. The *Church and Home*, 1857, edited by Leach, was perhaps the first of this grade of books. In these collections the influence of Mendelssohn was apparent, which in England had already considerably displaced that of Handel and Haydn. Among living composers, Parker, Foote, and Chadwick must be ranked with the better English anthem-writers, while many others are from time to time producing work similarly high in purpose and of good quality. Less severe in style but of real merit are the church compositions of Stevenson, Manney, Shelley (at his best), and a long list of other writers, although the great mass of current American compositions is of distinctly inferior quality. In the field of sacred songs, the use of which in church services has sprung up since the solo-singing of the evangelists in the seventies, the situation is much the same, except that to find the best work of the English school one must turn to the cantatas and oratorios.

A word of praise should be given the Oliver Ditson Co. of Boston, G. Schirmer of New York, the John Church Co. of Cincinnati, and other music publishers. The great London house of Novello, Ewer & Co. has, however, been of still more

service to the American churches in supplying moderate-priced editions of the best English music. There has been also an immense distribution of American reprints of English anthems.

The custom of making the second service one largely of music has grown rapidly in the last two or three decades — a custom not wholly above criticism, since the tendency is so strongly toward music for its own sake rather than for its religious effect. An interesting application of the musical service is that of the “Vespers,” prepared by the Rev. Samuel Longfellow for New Chapel, Brooklyn, in 1859. The South Church, Hartford, was one of the first Congregational churches to have special music at Christmas and Easter, commencing this custom in 1860.

Hymn-books with music for Sunday-schools were published as early as 1842, and countless books of varying quality have followed, some of the most popular being by Doane, Lowry, and Main. The first of the books known as “Gospel Hymns” was issued in England in 1873 for use in the Moody and Sankey meetings. Their first publication in America was in 1875 by Biglow & Main, who have sold over sixty millions of copies. Scores of similar books, many of them greatly inferior in quality, have been published by other firms. These books have been gotten out to meet the ravenous demand of an untutored public; they have greatly aided the efforts of evangelists, but it is to be regretted that they have become, even temporarily, the standards of taste in so many churches.

In conclusion, it must be candidly admitted that the state of music to-day in the non-liturgical churches of America leaves much to be desired. The pastors and the churches which exercise an intelligent and effective supervision over their music are all too few. The prevailing custom is to leave, not only the manner of performance, but the selection of all music, except perhaps the hymns, entirely to the organist or choirmaster. When this officer is well trained, or has shown evident fitness for such responsibility, this may result in no serious evil. But when we consider that organists, if trained at all, are as a rule trained simply as players and not as church organists, and that choirmasters, as a rule, are trained only as to their voices and not at all as to their judgment or taste in the special field of church music, we must not be surprised to find Wagner’s

“Evening Star” as the organ prelude to the morning service, or the overture to “Stradella” as the postlude for vespers, or a harvest anthem sung in March, or “Gallia” given at an Easter-Sunday praise-service.¹ At times we envy Old Trinity its list of “strickly sollem” voluntaries, drawn up nearly one hundred years ago by a conscientious musician. There is a crying need of pastors whose taste in church music has been cultivated, of church musicians who have been specially trained for their work, and of congregations which are satisfied only with the best.²

The efforts of Dr. Charles H. Richards, Rev. Charles L. Hutchins, and Dr. M. W. Stryker, to name but three among many pastors who have striven valiantly for the best in church music; the examples of the New Old South Church of Boston, the Fourth Church of Hartford, the First Church of Montclair, the First and Second Churches of Oberlin, to name a few of the churches which, in their various lines of work, have made effective use of music; the teachings of Hartford Seminary under Professor Pratt, and of Chicago Seminary under the lamented Professor Chamberlain; the activities of the American Guild of Organists; the examples of such eminently churchly organists and choirmasters as B. D. Allen, George A. Burdett, W. C. Hammond, R. H. Woodman, E. M. Bowman, and George W. Andrews — these are like the leaven hidden in the three measures of meal. God hasten the time when the whole shall be leavened!

¹ Noted comparatively recently upon printed service-lists of prominent churches.

² Statistics recently compiled by Prof. L. B. McWhood of Columbia University show that a large percentage of the Theological Seminaries of nearly all denominations in America are offering instruction in music, and a considerable proportion make music a required study. This is a most encouraging sign.

THE CITY CHURCH

REV. HENRY ALBERT STIMSON, D.D.

MANHATTAN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY

SEVENTY-FIVE years carry us back to the thirties of the nineteenth century. It was a time of prolonged and exceptional excitement. The decade covers the second presidency of General Jackson and the great commercial panic of 1837. The country was at white heat over both Slavery and Temperance. The West was opening, and every New England village street rang with doggerel songs about "going West." Lyman Beecher, preparing to remove from Boston to Cincinnati, said, "The moral destiny of our nation, and all our institutions and hopes, and the world's hopes turn on the character of the West. If we gain the West, all is safe; if we lose it, all is lost."

The whole country had been shaken to its foundations by the revivals of religion, which, following the religious apathy and the social degeneracy of the opening years of the century, had continued under Nettleton, Finney, and their colleagues, arousing and greatly enlarging the churches, but intensifying theological controversy and fanning the flames of wickedness. Dr. Beecher said in Boston, "One of two things must happen: either those people will come to our meetings and be converted, or they will attack us with fearful malignity." The bitterness of the Unitarian controversy, which was created by the decision of the courts in the famous Dedham case, was increased by the widespread religious ferment. The division between New School and Old School in theology, which culminated at this time in the trial of Albert Barnes, and split the Presbyterian Church, extended to all denominations and was only one feature of the general upheaval.

The distinction between the city and the country church was much less marked then than it is to-day. The cities were relatively far smaller and less influential. Many of the older and larger churches, and very many of the ablest ministers, were in

the country, but the city had nevertheless come to have its own characteristics, and its churches were shaped by them. It is frequently said that the city man and the city church of to-day are peculiar. The pressure of the great city fashions them both. The same was said seventy-five years ago. Dr. John Woodbridge, who, as one of the three ablest ministers in New England, had been called from Hadley, Mass., to the Bowery Presbyterian Church in New York, after a short pastorate resigned in 1831. This is what was written by his biographer to account for his ill success:—

“Merchants and men of business in our great marts of trade are trained to reason objectively rather than subjectively, and live under influences at variance with profound discriminating apprehensions of Gospel truths. This disrelish and inaptitude becomes stronger among the gay and disreputable. Living in the whirl of rapidly succeeding events, new subjects of thought and interest every hour occurring, they seldom form habits of protracted reflection. Floating in a sea of novelties, their minds become as volatile as the element on which they ride. The fugitive and flashy pages of the newspaper both mold their capacities of thought and furnish their requisite of food. The love of novelty becomes a passion. They hanker for the new as the miser for fresh acquisitions. Their objects of thought and interest, changing as the hours fly, create not only the expectancy of events and circumstances the next hour and to-morrow as exciting as the present, but superinduce a frivolous cast of mind extremely unpropitious to that mental labor which demands fixedness of attention. They know little about laying up thoughts for future reflection. The Sabbath as well as the weekday must have its object of interest. This is sought in church attendance, in the entertainment of music, and other excitabilities of the hour. The sermon must be striking, out of the ordinary range, novel in its statements, fresh in its language, replete with startling incidents or abounding with exuberance of fancy—all of which become the objects of pleasure for the day. People do not *think* and few come to *learn*, certainly nothing as old as the Gospel.”

From all this it will be recognized that the city church of seventy-five years ago did not differ greatly from its descendant of to-day either in the difficulties of its position or the nature of the work it was called to do. It is not in this direction that we find the change. It is well to point this out because we are continually told that in these things, the pressure of city life, the diversity of its interests and the breadth and extent of its thoughts, is to be sought the explanation of the peculiar problems of the church to-day.

That explanation is in fact to be found in quite other changed conditions. Thirty years ago, that is, close to the middle of the

period that we have under consideration, Dr. Marcus Dods said that it would be "difficult to pick out any term of twenty years in the world's history which had seen so little outward change and such enormous inward changes as these last twenty-five years." That is perhaps not true of the period upon which we have now entered. The twentieth century has opened with outward changes of the first magnitude. The fall of Port Arthur, the treaty of Portsmouth, and the entrance of the American fleet into the Pacific, are events from which the world's history hereafter may well date. But their significance is as yet little felt, and the statement remains practically true of our whole period, that the changes which have occurred may be characterized as in the main inward; and they are enormous. In every form of external life the indications of these inward changes are ample. Science, in every department, business of every kind, manufacturing industries, economics social and political, philanthropy, pedagogics, all have undergone changes so great as in many cases to amount to a re-creation. Men may be pardoned for thinking that the world never since its creation was so new; and all the result of these inward and reconstructing changes is recorded in the thoughts and judgments of men. Here is where the difference between the church of to-day and the church of seventy-five years ago is, if anywhere, to be found; and it is sufficiently great.

Seventy-five years ago, the church, even the city church, was still the child of the Reformation, the ark of the men who sailed the bloody seas of early Protestantism, the venerated home and the strong tower of the children of the Puritan and the Pilgrim. The conception was still that of an elect company gathered out of the world, as sheep within a fold, to be protected and nourished until the day of the Over-Shepherd's coming. There had been abundant reason for this view of the church. The fathers had fought for their faith. They had been harried out of the land. Far across the sea, braving the wilderness and the savage, they had sought freedom to worship God, and the salvation of their own and their children's souls. Though the day of the fathers now lay far behind them, and the circumstances of their life were so ample that they envied none, the church, seventy-five years ago, bore the stamp of its earlier history. If it had lost something of its significance as a refuge, it had not

ceased to be a Canaan. It belonged to the Children of the Covenant, the seed of Abraham after the Spirit. It represented a spiritual aristocracy. Its end was in itself. It welcomed to itself, at times it sought eagerly to gather into itself, as many as could be won, as the Hebrew of old received the proselyte; but this was for his sake, not for its own. Men might bear or forbear; its position was assured; all within its fold were safe. It fought only to keep itself pure in doctrine and in life. It contended eagerly for the faith. It held itself and its neighbors strictly to orthodoxy and to discipline. In its best estate it did not make the path of the saint an easy one; but it carefully fed the flock and nourished the lambs, while it had always an open door for the prodigal and the penitent. Its prayer-meeting was a place of prayer; its Sunday-school had hardly grown out of the Ragged-School period, though it was developing Bible classes in which its young people were personally led to Christ; it had young men's and young women's societies for various good purposes; but there were no Young Men's Christian Associations reaching the young people outside the church. It felt that it was looking after the Lord's people, when, for them, scattered "in a large place, as sheep without a shepherd," it was helping to build churches in newer parts of the country, and planting them in growing sections of the cities. The Hanover Street Church in Boston sent out no less than three colonies to start churches in Boston within eighteen months, in 1827-28; but beyond here and there some "City Mission" work, the churches of that day did little or no permanent work among the neglected classes. The history of the "Old South," the wealthiest and most important church in Boston, for example, records that its "first outside field of usefulness" was sought in 1856, when, as its available funds were increasing, it opened a Sunday-school in Lowell Street and began services which eventually became the Chambers Street Chapel and Church. Before this it had been content to aid other churches with occasional gifts of money, and to maintain an ample poor-fund for the needy of its own company, or such as were brought to its notice. It was at a much later day that a pastor of the Old School in a New England city replied to an application that he would speak at a special service in the square before his own church doors, that if any one cared to hear him, he could always find him preaching

the Gospel in his own pulpit on Sabbath mornings at the usual hour. He was a good man, and did his whole duty as he knew it in that church for many years. But even when his church became half empty, he did not realize that either he or it had any further duty, or indeed could find any closer access to the world outside.

Just here then, is where the great change has taken place in the Modern Church. If it is more apparent in the city than in the country church, it is not the less real everywhere. It is a change, and indeed we may call it a progress, which outweighs all others. In comparison with it, changes in method, or organization, or management, or make-up, are all relative and secondary. The Church has become possessed with the new and revolutionary conception that it is a phase in the development of the world's life. The Church belongs to God. But so does the world. Christ died for the world; and only in a secondary and dependent sense is it written that "Christ loved the Church and gave himself for it." The Kingdom of God is coming in the world. The Lord established it and proclaimed it before there was any Church. The Church is the chief instrument for introducing it, and the permanent witness of its presence, as it provides the machinery for its development.

From the beginning the Church felt itself free to take for its own uses whatever it found available in the world about it — official titles, methods of organization, buildings, music, art, philosophies. Every department of its life is infinitely composite, because it bears in all, its worship, its charities, its creeds, its theology, the impress of these borrowings. With these helps, and in all ways suitable to the exigencies of the existing situation, it has sought to adapt itself to the work in hand. It is, and always has been, a living Church. It is plastic, it grows, it ejects its worn tissues as it appropriates new material. It is influenced by its environment; and, what is more important, true to the last word of the evolutionary process in nature, it influences its environment to make it more congenial to itself. It has life within itself; and the presence of that life, in its fullness and infinite variety, is always of far more consequence than anything either in the methods of its activity or the conditions which surround it.

The change lies in this, that the Church now knows that all

this material that it has gathered out of the world, and all that belongs peculiarly to itself — its revelation, its fellowships, its gospel, its hopes and promises — in short, itself, exist for the sake of the world. They are the message and the life given to it for the saving of that world for which its Lord and Master died. It now knows that no Church can live unto itself and be a true church of Jesus Christ.

The one problem of the Church has come to be this, how to fulfill this, its mission, namely, to win the world for Christ; not merely to save men out of the world but to transform and renew the world itself, until in all its life it is fit for God, and becomes in truth the Kingdom of God. The Church is now contending for the privilege of leavening the whole lump. It interprets its very doctrines in the light of this obligation. Witness the saying of Principal Lang of Aberdeen. "Let us settle it that election does not mean that some are exclusive recipients of the divine favor, but that those who freely receive, receive in order that they may freely give. What they have they hold for the good of others. When a will bequeathing an estate is made, the first part of the instrument is the nomination of trustees, the constitution of a trustee body. That body is elected. The estate is confided to it. But is it merely for the benefit of the trustees? Certainly not, but in order that the intentions of the one whose will is declared may be realized. The Visible Church of Jesus Christ is the trustee body which He has constituted, not to monopolize His love, but to be His executive in carrying out the desire of His love to the uttermost, in the redemption of the world!"¹

The Church to-day has to justify its right to be; not in view of what it may be in itself, but of what it is doing in and for the world, and that in competition with a thousand other agencies — schools, hospitals, philanthropies, settlements, organizations of every conceivable form — many of which the Church inspires and helps to support.

The problem is, how to do the work which to-day all have come to see it is the purpose of God shall be done. In the language of the Staffordshire iron-worker, the problem of the Church has come to be simply this, has she "heat enough to run" the world's "metal"? Can she transform this raw

¹ *The Church and its Social Mission*, p. 37.

material into the thing of use and beauty that God wants it to be? This is what makes so vital in the Church the Spirit of God, which was the Saviour's final gift.

To fail of this is ruin for the Church and despair for the world. "No calamity to a town," said Lyman Beecher, eighty years ago, "is greater than the existence of a Church in a low state of religious feeling, lax in discipline, lax in morals, few in numbers, and inefficient in religious enterprise. In such a state everything that is good runs down and everything that is wicked rises. The light in such a Church is darkness, and great is that darkness."

Because the Church has come into the full consciousness of this larger human communion, this want which Christ came to satisfy, we believe that, despite all the difficulties in the way, the fears within and the foes without, the Church of Jesus Christ is, and is to be, the light of the world. It has the call, it has received the vision, it will surely receive the spiritual power needed for its great task. We are justified in believing that the Church of the twentieth century has a truer apprehension of its mission, a wider horizon, a clearer course, and a firmer hold upon its task than any that has preceded it.

THE COUNTRY CHURCH

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“PROGRESS” is not the word that men are using in connection with the “country church.” Retrogression, decadence, rural degeneration, impending paganism, and “a barbarism differing from the city slums only in its stagnant inertia and touched as little by church influence as if in the heart of Africa”¹ — such are the terms that one finds coupled with any discussion of the country church in these days. In face of many articles and speeches of this type, filled with lurid word-pictures and startling statistics, is there nothing which can be said on the brighter side? Admitting the truth of many of these indictments, there is a brighter and better side to the country church problem.

In the first place, these decadent conditions are not new, neither is the anxiety felt about them modern. Lyman Beecher in 1814 preached a sermon on “The Building of Waste Places.” While the sermon had particular reference to conditions in Connecticut, Dr. Beecher said the remarks were, “with slight modification, applicable to New England generally.”

Here are sample passages from the sermon: “There are grievous desolations in this state, societies might be named where the church is extinct and the house of God in ruins; the blasts of winter rave through it, the flocks of summer shelter in it, the Sabbath is a holiday. . . . There are districts as far from heaven, and, without help, as hopeless of heaven, as the pagans of Hindustan or China. Will the churches sleep over such ruins?” This sermon was published in 1828, with only additional footnotes—just six years before the Theological Institute of Connecticut was founded.

Halfway between then and now, in 1859, Henry Clay Trumbull, State Missionary and Sunday-school Secretary for Connecticut, paints just as depressing a picture—scores of unused

¹ Henry L. Hutchins, *Rural Town Decadence*.

country churches going to ruin and decay — fifteen in a single county. “In one settlement the Roman Catholics were rejoicing that the influence of the revival (1857) had penetrated to that locality, and had humanized and elevated the vile, degraded descendants of the Puritans.”

In the year 1847 Horace Bushnell delivered an address in Boston, New York and various other places under the auspices of the Home Missionary Society on “Barbarism the First Danger.” In the early part of the nineteenth century, of thirty-five towns in Strafford County, New Hampshire, only three gave “adequate support to the gospel”; and in 1823 an appeal was made to the Home Missionary Society because the churches in eighteen towns in the same county “were all broken to pieces.” All these things have a strangely modern sound, yet they belong to “the good old times.” Our times afford no more striking examples of moral and spiritual degeneracy.

In the second place, though there has been a decline in quantity and quality of the population in many of our country towns, and a consequent and commensurate decline in many rural churches, the churches have fared well in comparison with the population. Take the figures of the United States Census, and we find that, while in 1800 the ratio of communicants in the churches was one among 14.50 inhabitants, it had risen to one communicant among 6.57 inhabitants in 1850; and in 1900 was one among 4.28 inhabitants.

To bring the matter closer home, Rev. William F. English has made an exhaustive study of the town of East Windsor, Conn. In one hundred years the town has gained in population one hundred per cent., about two thirds of this increase being Roman Catholics. The one Protestant church (Congregational) has increased to six Protestant churches (two Congregational, two Methodist, and two Episcopal) and one Roman Catholic church. The Protestant population has increased thirty-three per cent., while there has been a gain in the Protestant church membership of five hundred and thirty-five per cent.; and the membership of the original church has doubled in this hundred years. Within the last thirty-six years this First Congregational Church has lost twenty-nine per cent. of its families, while its membership is the same; and the proportion of males in its membership has risen from thirty-one per cent. to thirty-eight per

cent. At the beginning of this period thirty-three per cent. of the families lived more than two miles from the church, while now there are only nineteen per cent.; then twenty-seven per cent. were within a mile, now thirty-two per cent.; then sixty-five per cent. within two miles, now seventy-three per cent. This geographical change, produced by the growth of new parishes, explains the loss of constituency. At the present time sixty-five per cent. of its families are made up entirely of professing Christians, except the younger children.

Further, Mr. English speaks of the twelve churches composing the Conference of Churches to which his church belongs. In six of these churches rural conditions prevail, while six would be classed as urban or manufacturing. During the last twenty years the rural group has lost in families twenty-eight per cent., and has lost six per cent. in resident membership. The other, urban group, has gained in the same time seventy-four per cent. in constituency, and gained only twenty-two per cent. in resident membership. So much for intensive cultivation in the rural parish.

Let us go to another part of Connecticut, Litchfield County, where Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Bushnell, and Charles G. Finney were born, and where Lyman Beecher and Edward Dorr Griffin preached. In one country church, whose constituency is purely agricultural, one man has ministered for thirty-eight years. This man is Rev. Arthur Goodenough, of the First Congregational Church, Winchester. In the original parish were one hundred and fifty families, and in that area are now only one hundred and ten families, but the pastor has annexed one hundred and forty families from outlying and otherwise neglected corners. In the last twenty-five years, with a stationary population, he has seen the membership of his church doubled. Nearly one third of the resident membership can be called upon to lead in public prayer. A Methodist class-leader, an Episcopal vestryman, a number of Congregational deacons and Sunday-school superintendents, have gone out from its membership.

Mr. Goodenough has summed up conditions and changes in Litchfield County during the past seventy-five years, and the writer is indebted to him for the following analysis. There is no city within the limits of the county. At the beginning of this

period all the churches would have been classed as country churches. Winsted, Torrington, and Thomaston have become large manufacturing centers and have increased by great strides in wealth and population. Their churches have grown by influx from the surrounding parishes. Other railroad villages, with varied and less successful industries, have held their own or made slight gains, viz., New Hartford, Canaan, East Canaan, Kent, Falls Village, and West Cornwall. Other towns, where wealthy old families have lived (whose business has been in the city) have made a nucleus for permanent summer colonies, have prospered financially and socially, and their churches have grown. Such are Norfolk, Sharon, Salisbury, Cornwall, Litchfield, Washington, and New Milford. The communities wholly or mainly dependent on farming show us churches depleted to one half and one third their former size, weaker in every way, and no longer served by doctors of divinity. Such are Colebrook, Barkhamsted, Nepaug, Riverton, Torrington, Harwinton, Morris, Milton, Bethlehem, Roxbury, Bridgewater, Ellsworth, Warren, and South Canaan. Goshen and Winchester are the only churches of this type which have grown, and they are contiguous to good markets. Mr. Goodenough says that in his opinion most of the rural churches are "beginning to rally under the influence of endowments, or summer residents, or the grange."

An economist of the present time, Professor Commons, says that "the two great faults of our Protestantism are overlapping and overlooking." There is no question that these two evils are accentuated in the rural fields. But even in these there is improvement. Dr. Beecher, in the sermon already quoted, under his first heading, "The Cause of these Desolations," says that there is no parish where the Gospel could not be supported if the people were only united. "But the property, in many societies, is divided between three or four denominations, besides a part which the love of money and indifference wholly withdraw from the support of divine institutions. The consequence is the decline, and in some cases the entire subversion, of that religious order which our fathers established." This crowding of two or three churches where one will do better work needs, as Dr. Beecher says, an investigation "conducted with the verity of an historian and the fidelity of a surgeon."

Such investigation has been and is being made by the Maine Interdenominational Commission and the Church Federations of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Comity and fraternity are attained, and the union or elimination of superfluous churches is making good progress. The reduplication of organizations and buildings is discouraged, and this will render possible a living salary to the country minister.

Prevention of overlapping immediately sets the men and money free to minister to neglected corners and out-of-the-way and overlooked districts, which, after all, are the places of the rural slum and degeneration. There is much being done in this regard by laymen and ministers organizing Sunday-schools, Christian Endeavor societies, and prayer-meetings, in school-houses, halls, private homes, and small chapels, in districts removed from the center. In Litchfield County the Norfolk church has built and maintained a chapel at North Norfolk, while churches like Goshen, Salisbury, and Winchester use schoolhouses and abandoned Methodist churches for this purpose. The further development of this district plan will remove these centers of moral and religious lapse.

Lyman Beecher felt that one great need of his time was some form of religious instruction and training "suited to the age and altered circumstances of youth," though in a footnote he expresses great hope and satisfaction in the Sunday-school, which had come into its place between the preaching of his sermon (1814) and its publishing (1828). Certain it is that the Sunday-school, and notably the Christian Endeavor Society, have made the condition and position of children and young people in the rural church altogether in advance of what it was seventy-five years ago. The home department of the Sunday-school in particular brings the church into direct connection in religious instruction and in social helpfulness with many at a distance from the center; while the Christian Endeavor Society has attained a stronger position in the country churches, especially in those churches, which are many, where its meeting is the only Sunday evening service. As a direct result of this the country churches are sending a steady stream of trained young people into our city churches. The country church receives few into its membership by letter, while the city church is constantly growing at its expense.

The country church from the time of Samuel J. Mills and Gordon Hall to this present has supplied the bulk of the foreign missionaries. Dr. James L. Barton says that of the one hundred and seventy-one missionaries supplied by New Hampshire to the American Board only three came from the cities, and practically all of Vermont's two hundred and seventeen missionaries were from the country, of which the little church of Randolph, with forty-one resident members, has sent seven.

One distinct advance of the country church has been in institutional work, or rather in making the church the social and intellectual, as well as the moral and spiritual, center of the community. Study-clubs, Chautauqua circles, mission-classes, reading-circles, boys' clubs, men's clubs, libraries, and parish houses are making the church more the center of the community than when the old white meeting-house was the center of the town, because it stood geographically at the crossroads. More coöperation of the country church with other forces of the community which are making for brotherhood and righteousness, like the grange, farmers' clubs, village-improvement societies, and lecture courses, will mark the way of further progress, and make it even a mightier factor in rural improvement.

There is much in the present trend of things which augurs well for rural progress. The trolley car, the telephone, and the movement for good roads are bringing the country folk into closer touch, because of easier communication with each other. Rural free delivery and parcels-post will keep them in closer touch, with the outside world. Forestry is to change worthless hillsides into savings-banks. Agitation and legislation — not forgetting President Roosevelt's Commission on Rural Improvement — are looking largely to the welfare of country people and to rural progress. In that progress the country church will share and, what is more essential, do its share. We read of "the passing of the country church." So men have written about "The Passing of Christ,"¹ but the poet replies:—

"Not till the leaven of God
Shall lighten each human clod;
Not till the world shall climb
To thy height serene, sublime,
Shall the Christ who enters our door
Pass to return no more."

¹ R. W. Gilder.

The church which is trying to do Christ's work in Christ's way will not pass, but in the future, more than in the past, will "impart courage, inspire kindness, develop brotherhood, and create character." As one says who has done so much for *The Country Town* as well as the country church:¹ "The community needs nothing so much as a church to interpret life; to diffuse a common standard of morals; to plead for the public interest; to inculcate unselfishness, neighborliness, coöperation; to uphold ideals. In the depleted town with shattered institutions and broken hopes, in the perplexity of changing times, in the perils of degeneracy, the church is the vital center which is to be saved at any cost. In the readjustments of the times the country church has suffered; but, if in its sacrifices it has learned to serve the community, it lives and will live."

¹ Rev. W. L. Anderson.

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL

REV. HENRY PARK SCHAUFFLER

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IN even the briefest survey of the history of the Sunday-school in the United States during the last seventy-five years, the three-fold genius of this great movement is strikingly apparent. It has had vitality enough to *expand*, until it has reached astounding proportions. It has been plastic enough to *change*, with a self-sought evolution meeting the need and temper of the times. It has had power enough to *inspire* and foster other effective movements — movements that are now molding public opinion and making history.

I. *Growth and Expansion.* — At the beginning of the period which we are to study, the condition of the churches of this land was deplorable. Some power was needed to awake them from their torpor, some movement must arise and stir them to a new life, the Bible must be rediscovered. This deep-seated conviction in the minds of many earnest Christians opened the way for the rapid and remarkable rise of the Sunday-school movement. The American Sunday School Union, whose object was “To establish and maintain Sunday-schools, and to publish and circulate moral and religious publications,” was then pushing its work with great vigor. Every community in the newly-opened Mississippi Valley, every district in the South, every town, village, and hamlet throughout the land was to be provided with a Sunday-school — this was the ideal kept ever in view.

Since that time the American Sunday School Union has been planting on the average from three to four new Sunday-schools every day. Seventy-five years ago there were about 600,000 children in the Sunday-schools of this land. To-day the latest figures give us a total enrolment of 13,732,192 scholars connected with the 151,476 Sunday-schools in the United States. The original small band of teachers has grown to a teaching force of almost a million and a half.

Formerly a few scattered publishing houses issued Sunday-school leaflets in a haphazard way. Now twenty-five publishing houses make a business of bringing out the enormous mass of literature connected with the various systems of Sunday-school instruction.

It would be difficult to name all the forces that have contributed to this enormous expansion. It is sufficient to say that the vitality of the movement from the very first made growth imperative. Furthermore, the movement was most fortunate in having, especially during the latter portion of the period under consideration, remarkably able and forceful leaders, such as B. F. Jacobs, Henry Clay Trumbull, A. F. Schauffler, Marion Lawrence, W. N. Hartshorn, and many others, who have left the stamp of their personality and the influence of their consecration upon tens of thousands whom they have reached through the spoken word at conventions, or through the written message scattered broadcast over the Sunday-school world by such able publications as the *Sunday School Times*.

II. *Changes in Conception and Form.* — During the last seventy-five years the Sunday-school has been molded and changed by its remarkable genius for adapting itself to the needs of every rising generation, and by its eagerness to adopt the best methods and results of the wisest scholarship. One change after another has followed as the need has presented itself and as the means for meeting that need were realized.

1. *Spiritual Aim.* — At the beginning of the period under consideration very little heed was given to the question of the spiritual fitness of the teacher. It was most difficult, even in the larger centers, to get people who were professed followers of Christ to take upon themselves the new and somewhat strange task of teaching in a Sunday-school. The result was that only four per cent. of the teachers in the Sunday-schools at that time were professing Christians. All this has now been changed. At present almost all of the million and a half Sunday-school teachers in this land are not only professing Christians and members of the churches where they are serving, but are also the real spiritual leaders of the communities in which they live.

With such a change in the teaching force, the emphasis naturally came to be taken from the mere memorizing of Bible texts and the casual telling of Bible stories, and to be placed on the

winning of the child to a definite acceptance of Christ as his Master, and the Christlike life as the only one to be chosen and followed. With this as the paramount purpose of the teacher, the record of the past three years is noteworthy, for during this time 832,736 persons have been won to a public confession of Christ.

2. *Apparatus.* — Realizing the vital importance of its work, the Sunday-school has persistently sought to solve the problem of how and where it could do its best work. Seventy-five years ago schools were usually gathered in the galleries of the churches, in forlorn-looking, ill-ventilated chapels, and sometimes in the stiff-backed, uncomfortable pews of the church proper. To-day no church building is considered adequate unless it has a carefully-planned and well-appointed Sunday-school room. Usually this can be divided into a number of class-rooms, where, during the teaching of the lesson, the teacher and the class are alone and undisturbed.

Formerly the use of a blackboard was revolutionary and provoked severe criticism. Now every class-room expects its own blackboard; and all manner of helpful apparatus, maps, charts, tables, notebooks, pictures, and sand-boards are often employed. In these ways the truth of the lesson taught reaches the mind and heart of the scholar through the eye-gate as well as through the ear-gate, and the teacher by various manual methods seeks to give the child the opportunity of expressing with his own hand and in his own way the lesson which he has just been learning.

3. *Lesson Systems.* — Shortly before the beginning of the period under consideration an attempt was made by the American Sunday School Union to unite the various scattered Sunday-school organizations in the study of a system of uniform lessons. At first the success of this effort was very limited. Sunday-schools went on in the old way, choosing their own lessons, sometimes many different lessons being taught in the same school at the same time. Hence, with no unity or continuity in the teaching, the scholar, however long he might be a member of the school, never even approximately covered the whole Bible in his study. Furthermore, without a uniform lesson system, the publishers could not afford to print any considerable amount of literature bearing on any one of the haphazard lesson courses then in use.

It was not until 1872 that a uniform lesson system was definitely proposed, later to be enthusiastically adopted by the First International Convention held at Baltimore in 1875. Thus the International Lesson System, now used all over the world, sprang into being. The publishers could now do what they had been waiting to do, and the ripest Christian scholarship was at once called upon to assist in producing a body of literature bearing upon the lessons chosen by the International Sunday School Association.

Other lesson systems have from time to time been proposed, and have met with more or less favor. Chief among these is the excellent system formulated by the Rev. Erastus Blakeslee and promoted by the Bible Study Union, a system almost entirely dependent for its success on its careful grading and the painstaking detail-work required of teacher and scholar. Other systems, based on the principle of a preview, as well as a review, such as the one suggested by Professor C. S. Beardslee of the Hartford Theological Seminary, have not only been interesting experiments, but have indirectly been instrumental in stimulating to an increasingly high degree of perfection the system of lessons suggested by the scholarly and hard-working International Lesson Committee, a committee charged with the enormously difficult and important task of choosing the lessons and thus directing the Bible study of over twenty-five million people.

4. *Pedology.* — One of the most striking changes in the Sunday-school during these last seventy-five years has been the attention paid to the child. With the whole wonderful development of the movement that sprang from the life and study of Froebel, there followed a keen interest in the child, and a scientific investigation of the mind of the child, of the food suitable for that mind at its various stages of development, and of the right and most effective way in which that food should be administered.

Child-Psychology through its study and conclusions has not only led to radical changes in public-school teaching, but has also at length entered actively into the consideration of those intrusted with the spiritual training of the child. From this scientific study the new graded lesson system of the International Sunday School Association has sprung. As yet the whole

question of the minuteness with which the lessons are to be graded, in order to adapt them to the age and the receptiveness of the child, is under serious debate. Experiments along these lines, especially with younger children, are daily throwing more light on the subject, and the discussions held at the meetings of the primary unions, of which there are now almost four hundred in this country, are bound to produce practical results.

5. *Pedagogy.* — Following the earnest effort made to exalt the spiritual aim and to deepen the consecration of the teacher, a great deal of thought and labor has been expended in seeking to raise his mental standard, and to increase his teaching power. Formerly, teachers' meetings were unheard of. Now, although the statistics are not complete, we know that between eight and nine thousand teachers' meetings are held regularly throughout the land. In the majority of these meetings the lesson for the coming Sunday is taught.

Besides this, teachers' training classes have sprung up rapidly, until the attendance on these classes has reached 70,427. Many teachers go through an entire course of training and receive diplomas.

The theological seminaries of the land, seeking to keep abreast of the need for trained teachers, and realizing that in most cases the pastor should be the teacher of his teachers, have sought to meet the need by giving courses on Child-Psychology and Teacher-Training. Some have even gone as far as to create professorships whose sole purpose is to bring the latest research and best method along these lines into the regular training of the theologian. Further than this, some seminaries have had the wisdom to ally themselves with schools of pedagogy, as, for example, the Hartford Theological Seminary, whose honored president, William Douglas Mackenzie, is also the president of the Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy.

6. *Adult Work.* — Seventy-five years ago the thought of large classes of adults studying the Bible in the Sunday-school would not only have been deemed impracticable, but would have been pronounced impossible. During the last few years a widespread attempt to bring adults into the Sunday-school has been amazingly successful. The scheme of an organized class, electing its own president and other officers, ordering its own business, seeking by committees to increase its membership,

and above all choosing its own teacher, is a plan that is now very widely adopted.

Besides those who are able to attend the Sunday-school sessions, there are thousands who are now enrolled as members of the school, because of their desire and promise to study the same lessons at home. The Home Department, unknown comparatively few years ago, has now grown to number 525,242.

These facts lead to the conclusion that the ideal of the Sunday-school seventy-five years ago has undergone a striking change. At that time the dominating thought was: The child must be taught the Bible. Now the ideal, as expressed in recent Conventions, is this: Every member of the Church, adult as well as juvenile, must study the Word of God in order that he may more perfectly know the way of life.

III. *Inspiration of Other Movements.* — The third notable factor in the Sunday-school movement of the last seventy-five years has been its power to inspire and foster other movements that have made for the uplift of the citizen in general and for the Christian nurture of the child in particular.

1. *Juvenile Literature.* — The Sunday-school movement has forced every generation to consider the welfare of the coming generation. The study of Child-Psychology has led to dissatisfaction with the former children's literature. As a result, juvenile literature has undergone a tremendous change. The few trite, amusingly pious books, written for the long-suffering child, have been discarded; and, at the imperative call of this new movement for the education of the child in morals and religion, the well-written and interesting story has taken its place.

2. *Widespread Bible Study.* — From the increased interest in modern methods of studying the Bible in the Sunday-school has sprung the desire on the part of the leaders of the Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association to form classes in Bible study. Some of the best scholars in the country have prepared courses, which are now in use in these institutions, and from the study of these thousands are gaining definite knowledge of the Bible.

The whole great Chautauqua movement originated in the desire for a better knowledge of the Bible among the teachers of the Sunday-school. Some of those who were deeply inter-

ested banded themselves together in this study. The result to-day is the central Chautauqua, with its 250,000 scholars pursuing various courses, secular and religious, and the other Chautauquas, scattered all over the country, with their thousands of students.

3. *Religious Education.* — During the latter part of the period under discussion the increasing interest in Sunday-school problems led a number of educators, among whom President Harper of Chicago University was preëminent, to the formation of the Religious Education Association. The three main objects of this Association were, to inspire the educational forces of our country with the religious ideal, to inspire the religious forces of the land with the educational ideal, and to keep before the public mind the ideal religious education and the sense of its need and value. With millions upon millions of dollars spent on our public school system, it was felt that the moral and religious education of the child was sadly neglected. Although the Sunday-school was doing magnificent work, the broader work of reaching the educational forces of the country with the religious ideal must be carried on by a great campaign of education along these three lines. As a result, some cities are already beginning to wake up, to ask questions, and to propose plans by which they hope to give their children better opportunities for moral and religious training.

4. *Church Unity.* — Out of the Sunday-school of these last seventy-five years has grown a vigorous movement towards the breaking down of the barriers between various Protestant denominations. The united work on a uniform lesson system; the frequent state, national, and international conventions, all of which are interdenominational; the confessed urgency of the child problem, an urgency impatient of any denominational differences or disputes; the united efforts of the ripest scholarship of all denominations in the production and publication of a body of literature bearing on the Sunday-school lessons — all this active and effective coöperation has helped to link the denominations together and to reveal their intrinsic and essential unity.

5. *The Banishing of the Saloon.* — Without question the Sunday-school has been one of the great contributing forces to the temperance wave that with such irresistible momentum has

been sweeping over this country. The constant warning against the evils of strong drink, and the faithful teaching of Christian self-mastery in the Sunday-schools of the land, have had this effect. Just how far the Sunday-school has helped in making the saloon illegal in more than one-half of the territory of the United States, no one will ever know. But the frequent teaching of temperance lessons, although difficult for the teacher and sometimes distasteful to the scholar, has been, and will continue to be, a potent influence for righteousness in the education and molding of public opinion.

6. *Foreign Missions.* — The Sunday school is largely responsible for the growing interest of this generation in foreign missions. Through these seventy-five years, with a crescendo of enthusiasm, not only has the story of missions been rehearsed; but "Morning Stars," paid for by children, have been sent across the seas; Sunday-schools have supported their own missionaries in China, Africa, India, and other lands, until the farthest islands of the sea have become friends and neighbors. Thus, just as this nation suddenly finds itself forced into a position of international leadership, the Sunday-school population of this land, educated to a new sense of world-responsibility, is ready to have a large share in the molding of the thought and the solving of the problems of the world. The growing movement towards international peace promises in the near future to derive its most effective backing and its staunchest support from those who in the Sunday-schools of this land have been trained to a world-wide interest.

It has been impossible in this brief survey of seventy-five years of Sunday-school development in the United States to do more than point out a few of the great changes that have been taking place, as well as the splendid proportions to which this movement has grown. The record of the past is remarkable, but the promise of the future, based upon a study of that record, is bound to stimulate the energy and to arouse the enthusiasm, not only of the man who at present is engaged in this great movement, but of every one who has the welfare of this nation at heart and who acknowledges Christ as his Master.

THE RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE WITHIN THE CHURCH

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“THE greatest discovery of the nineteenth century has been the rediscovery of the child. In the first century of our era Jesus took a child and set him in the midst, and he has done it again at the close of the last.”

So said Dr. Jefferson at the second meeting of the International Congregational Council, speaking of the three great movements for and by the young people, which are generally recognized as the most notable development of organized religion in modern times — the Sunday-school, the Young Men’s Christian Association, and the Societies of Christian Endeavor. Our thought is confined in this paper to the organizations of young people within the Church.

It is hard to trace the human development of this movement, for its genesis is hidden in the wise purpose of the Creating Spirit who constantly broods over, and moves within the life of the Church, to will and to do of His own good pleasure. For however imperfectly this movement may have been wrought out by man, it was certainly inwrought of God.

Dr. Clark thinks he finds a prototype of the Christian Endeavor Society in Cotton Mather’s time. But I think we are more likely to find the inducing influence in the class-meetings of the Methodist Church; while the development of problems and limitations in the Sunday-school probably turned the thoughts of the Church to the need of some training of the young in preparation for church-membership and activity. Bushnell’s *Christian Nurture* convinced thoughtful pastors that there was something wrong in the Church’s attitude toward her children; that a place must be made for them in the organic life of the Church, and that it must be a place where they could grow.

LEND-A-HAND SOCIETIES

One of the earliest, simplest, and most effective attempts to stir younger Christians to Christlike activity was made by that wonderful impersonation and teacher of practical idealism, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, who in the year 1870 published his stimulating story entitled *Ten Times One is Ten*. The story has been called "a translation of the Acts of the Apostles into the dialect of nineteenth-century America." It told how, through the inspiration and ideals of a short but noble life, ten of Harry Wadsworth's friends were led to unite in an aspiring purpose of loving service, cherishing his optimistic mottoes: "Look up and not down; Look forward and not back; Look out and not in; and Lend a hand." In the story the first ten were scattered, and each became the nucleus of another ten, and the groups multiplying by ten every few years, at the end of little more than a quarter of a century, the whole race had accepted the Christian motive of faith, hope, and love.

As the result of this little book, the first Lend-a-Hand Society was founded in 1870, and it really did spread so rapidly that twenty-five years later the secretary of "The Ten Times One Corporation" said: "It is simply impossible to know the number of the persons who have chosen these mottoes for their own. Orders have been formed that have multiplied with vigor. Clubs are reported of which the central office knew nothing. New clubs are forming, and old ones are disbanding. Though they do disband, often single members, cherishing the mottoes, wait until the time shall come when, in far away towns or countries, they may form a new ten."

From this root have also grown more than half a dozen other orders, including that of the King's Sons and King's Daughters, which alone at the end of the first ten years numbered over 400,000. These societies base their unity not so much upon a constitution or special form, as upon loyalty to a common principle, and rely almost wholly upon personal influence, rather than upon organized effort, to foster and propagate them; they emphasize coöperation, personality, and optimism. "In the development of the idea," they say, "the direction specially pointed out is first the heart, next the home, then the church, and after that the great outside." These organizations have been only indirectly associated with the churches.

THE SOCIETIES OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR

In 1881 Rev. Francis E. Clark, pastor of the Williston Church in Portland, Me., wrought out with his young people a form of organization which they entitled "A Society of Christian Endeavor."

Its object was to encourage loyalty to Christ and the Church, and it became the mother of a long list of societies which have for their end the association of the young people of the individual church for Christian nurture and Christian culture. To be sure, the Chautauqua circles, beginning about the same time as the "Ten Times One" movement, had been devoted to Christian culture, but, in its close alliance with the church and its direct appeal for loyalty to worship and work, the Christian Endeavor Society was unique. Its rapid and stupendous growth is a matter of familiar knowledge, and is phenomenal in the history of Protestantism. In 1909 it numbered 71,224 societies with a membership of over 3,500,000.

In some form or another its essential principles have been adopted in almost every Protestant denomination of America. It has a strong hold in England and on the Continent, and has gone around the world in mission lands.

The secret of its success, from the human side, may be found in the simplicity of its organization, the directness of its aim, and its immediate appeal to the loyalty and enthusiasm of young Christian hearts. It has sounded in their ears the trump of duty, and at the same time given them a recognized place in the life of the church.

Its pledge calls its active membership to loyalty to Christ and the Church, expressed in a promise to do whatsoever Christ would like to have them do. To be faithful in attendance at church services, and specially, to be present and take some active part in the devotional meeting of the Society.

This devotional service it makes the center of the society's life; all the activities of the various committees radiate from this. In this, Christian Endeavor is in contrast to the "Lend-a-Hand" Societies; for they approached the personal religious life as a requisite to sustain and direct them in their purpose of unselfish service, while the Christian Endeavor Societies approach the unselfish service of the church and the community as an ex-

pression and natural consequence of their contemplation of and fellowship with Christ in their devotional life. Certainly both elements are essential in the Christian life; as to which is the most natural approach for the average adolescent, there may be a difference of opinion. But psychologists tell us that, as a matter of fact, both methods of approach are common in experience. The prayer-meeting pledge, which is the central point of attack for critics of Christian Endeavor, has the great merit of requiring regularity until the habit of spiritual thinking and devotion is established, and self-expression becomes comparatively free.

The Christian Endeavor movement has done a great deal for the Church. It has helped to develop her lay membership in spiritual thought and activity. It has kept alive the embers of social religion in many communities unable to support a church. It has done much to make practical the hope of Church unity, or at least Church federation; for the great host of the Church of the future, trained in societies of this nature, though under their own denominational names, will have learned that the essentials of fellowship in worship and service may be preserved under a very simple organization. And when the time comes for them to get together as Churches, it will not seem to be such an impossible task after all.

But, best of all, it has focussed the thought of the Church upon the young, and helped her to realize the vital importance and present weakness of her religious training.

The Christian Endeavor Societies were at first established for and maintained by the older adolescents and young men and women of the churches. They gradually began to realize the need of religious training for younger adolescents and children. They thereupon established Junior Societies of a similar nature to the senior. Wise leaders could not always be found for these, and the young people themselves undertook to maintain them, and being untrained and undisciplined themselves, they could not always control or profitably conduct them.

Moreover, though spiritual thought, and self-expression of the same, may be most important and necessary for the development of character toward the end of its adolescent period, at its beginning and during childhood, almost all psychologists and practical educators agree that they are out of place. Religion

appeals to children, and finds its natural expression in action rather than devotion, and the attempt to force the devotional attitude under the pressure of duty, produces in their piety only the unsatisfactory flavor of prematurely ripened fruit.

The observation and appreciation of this fact, together with the recent psychological investigation of the child mind, led to an effort to prepare some kind of an organization for the younger children, boys especially, which would bring religion to them in a form which would appeal to the natural instincts of adolescents in the first stages of their transition to manhood.

THE KNIGHTS OF KING ARTHUR

Dr. William B. Forbush, then a pastor in Massachusetts, and studying in Clark University, published a valuable little book entitled *The Boy Problem*, which embodied the results of his investigation into the psychology of boyhood. In it he presented a careful analysis of the elements in different organizations for young people which would be most likely to awaken a natural response from the boy. And, among others, he suggested a plan of organization called the Knights of King Arthur, which he himself had used, and which had been specially planned to appeal to the religious instincts of boys from twelve to seventeen. It may well serve as an example of the more recent efforts to make use of the psychological discoveries concerning child nature in the Church's attempt to meet the religious needs of her young people.

This characteristic order of the Knights of King Arthur is modeled after the college fraternity. It presents the boys with the chivalric type of Christian manhood. It makes Christian knighthood our ideal, and glorifies it as representing the highest type of service — a service rendered neither from compulsion, nor for the sake of reward, but from the joyous instincts of love and chivalry. It presents the Christian life as service, self-mastery, and self-sacrifice, and leads the boy into it through three degrees: first, that of the Page, whose motto is "I serve"; then that of the Esquire, whose virtues are "Purity, Temperance, and Reverence"; and third, Knighthood, which follows only an open confession of Jesus Christ, whose virtues are Faith, Hope, and Love, and whose quest is self-forgetting service for Christ and the

Church. The individual group of boys is called a Castle, and is under the direction of a Merlin who in an advisory capacity directs the interests and conduct of the Castle.

The psychologic merit of the order is that it brings to the boy, when he is passing through that stage of development which in the history of mankind was called the age of chivalry, just that type of religious motive which appealed to the race most strongly when it had reached that period.

Many pastors and leaders of boys, who have made a practical use of this organization, have found these theories quite astonishingly confirmed by experience. There are at present over thirteen hundred Castles in churches of different denominations, in Young Men's Christian Associations, and in public and private schools, but it is peculiarly adapted for work in the individual church.

The general development of the young people's movement at present seems to the writer to point to a most hopeful era in the history of the Church, to which this period of large organizations for young people is only the introductory chapter. The ideals of a noble type of religious education are coming to the front in the thought of all progressive Protestant churches, and they will mold the young people's organizations, so that they will be better adapted to develop symmetrically the unfolding religious and spiritual characters of their members. I think, also, that in the future there will be a closer guidance of, and coördination with, the young people's societies on the part of the local church. She will accept, as her most vital and hopeful line of spiritual activity, the education of the young people, not only in the knowledge of the Scripture, but also in the theory and practice of public worship. Further, if the present trend of pedagogical thought continues, there will be in the future a larger recognition of the play instinct of childhood as a part of their moral training, and as much serious, prayerful supervision will be given to the playgrounds, and the developing social interests of the boys and girls, as to their training in Sunday-school or prayer-meeting.

VIII. ALLIED AGENCIES

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

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THE Young Men's Christian Association is fifty-five years old. It was born on June 6, 1844, as a result of the prayers of two young men, in an upper room in London, where George Williams, then a draper's assistant, slept and prayed. The original number of those disciples of the Master, whose prayers and zeal laid the foundation of a work of such magnitude, was twelve. Commencing in that upper room, in St. Paul's Churchyard, among fellow-employees of one establishment, it spread rapidly through other drapery concerns, and then into different trades throughout the city. Beginning thus, it has stretched out, in widening circles, through all England, America, and Europe, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth. At its inception a movement designed to meet the neglected spiritual needs of young men in business employment, it has ramified into all classes of workingmen, and has found a threefold sphere of usefulness in serving the minds and the bodies, as well as the souls, of men. Within the scope of this brief paper the most that can be done is to trace the beginnings and barely to indicate the main lines of the development of the Young Men's Christian Association, as it has reached out, extensively, into all lands, and, intensively, along the entire range of the needs of every class of young men.

The home of the Association was Radley's Hotel in Bridge Street, Blackfriars, until 1849, when it moved into more commodious quarters in Gresham Street. From the start the movement gained rapidly in dignity and numbers, owing to the wise policy of George Williams in identifying with its activities men of national repute such as Lord Shaftesbury, the Lord Mayor of London, and Hon. Arthur F. Kinnaid. At the first anniversary,

Nov. 6, 1845, three hundred and thirty-five persons, numbering among them many noted clergymen and prominent business men, sat down to tea at Radley's Hotel. At this time the Association included in its membership one hundred and sixty young men from eighteen commercial houses of London, branch Associations had been established in different sections of London, and a paid secretary, Mr. T. H. Tarleton, had been elected to supervise the movement. Under the lead of Mr. Tarleton, in 1846, deputations were sent to Manchester, Liverpool, Taunton, Exeter, and Leeds, where Associations were organized, and thus the movement, which up to this time had been metropolitan, became national. By the close of the year 1848 branches had been established also in seven other cities, and the membership of the London Association had increased to four hundred and eighty.

Three years later, in 1851, the year which has been considered as marking the end of the formative period of the British work, there were enrolled in the eight London Associations and the sixteen provincial branches twenty-seven hundred men, including, at this time, associate members. In 1858 the number had swelled to eighty-five hundred.

The year 1851 is important in another direction as marking the emergence of the Association into the arena of the wider world. In that year the first "World's Fair" was held in London, drawing to that capital strangers from all parts of the civilized globe. Among these visitors, as well as among the young men of the United Kingdom in attendance, 352,000 tracts were distributed containing "direct and affectionate statements of the Gospel," as well as an invitation, which was largely accepted, to visit the rooms of the Association. Thus was the seed of the Association-idea sown broadcast. In this year, likewise, the Association crossed the Atlantic and established itself, first in Montreal, then in Boston. The genesis of the Boston Association was a letter, written to the *Watchman and Reflector* by a Columbia post-graduate student in Edinburgh University, which came to the attention of Mr. J. V. Sullivan, a retired sea-captain. Through his efforts, following a visit to the Association in London, the Boston Young Men's Christian Association was founded, having for its object "the improvement of the spiritual and mental condition of young men." An Evangelical basis of

membership was finally resolved upon, despite the prevalence of Unitarianism and Universalism in Boston at that time. The new Association grew with mushroom-like rapidity. In five months it had enrolled twelve hundred members, and in eighteen months, in 1853, it was housed in handsome quarters in Tremont Temple, which it occupied for many years. Already in that year the Association had spread to twenty-two American cities, and had reached a total of two hundred and thirty societies throughout the world. On June 7, 1854, at "the first convention of leaders in specific work for young men in an English-speaking country which ever assembled," convened at Buffalo and attended by thirty-seven delegates from nineteen Associations in the United States and Canada, a North American Confederation was formed for mutual encouragement, coöperation, and usefulness.

Meanwhile the movement among young men had crossed the Channel from England into Europe. In 1848 in Elberfeld, Germany, the *Westfälischer Jünglingsvereins-Bund* was formed, an Alliance whose roots stretched back, through the Young Men's Union, founded in Bremen in 1834, to a religious association for the young men of his congregation organized by a Swiss minister, Pastor Mayennoek, at Basle, in 1708. In March, 1852, through the direct agency of George Williams, a Young Men's Christian Association was founded in Paris, and this was followed in December of that year by an Association in Geneva. By 1855, at nearly two hundred points on the Continent, there were Associations with a total enrollment of seventy-eight hundred and sixty; and in addition, there were Associations in Algiers, at Constantinople, at Beirut, and three in Australia. The total number of Associations in the world was now three hundred and twenty-nine, with a membership of thirty thousand. During the year 1855, at a representative gathering in Paris, a great forward step was taken in the formation of the World's Alliance of the Young Men's Christian Associations, the suggestion for the Alliance emanating from Rev. Abel Stevens of the vigorous New York Association. The celebrated "Paris Basis," there drawn up, which was destined to be adopted by other Associations the world over, and to exert a remarkable steadying and solidifying influence, was in part as follows: "The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour, according to the

Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men."

From this time forth the radiating center of the Association-movement was New York City, the home of the International Committee after the year 1866; and in America, where its activities have been most comprehensive and most extraordinary, the work and progress of the movement can best be studied. Its larger possibilities were here recognized from the first. As early as 1852, in the Constitution of the New York branch, the movement was declared to concern "the spiritual, mental, and social condition of young men." In 1854, in the reports of the Brooklyn Association, attention was called to the importance of physical exercise on the part of young men, and in 1869 the first well-equipped gymnasium under Association control was opened in New York City. The movement in America thus became, almost from its inception, even more of a factor in the nation's life than in England, where its methods were primarily spiritual, and only to a limited extent educational and social. In 1869 we find the young American Association, eighteen years old, with over five hundred metropolitan branches, with the work centering in New York, where the Association in that year moved into its fine new quarters on Twenty-third Street, with such prominent and powerful men as William E. Dodge, George H. Stewart, Cephas Brainerd, and the young secretaries, R. R. McBurney and R. C. Morse, as leaders, and with the accent already placed upon the fourfold activities of the Association propaganda—spiritual, mental, physical, and social. The succeeding period, lasting until 1890, was one which combined constructive effort with pioneering in unexploited fields, and produced an amazing expansion. Up to this time the unit had been the individual city Association. In 1869 the Field Department of the International Committee was organized with Robert Weidensall and Richard C. Morse (still living and active in the Association-movement) as the first two employed officers. This central unifying department was to take charge of the city and town, the state, provincial, and county organizations, and it marked the beginning of work for special classes of young men.

With the Association thoroughly organized for effective service, and with its fourfold gospel defined, it is now necessary

for us to leave the trunk-line of the movement's advance and follow the progress and expansion of work along a few of the more important branches. There are given in the Year-Book to-day fifteen departments of Association work, as follows: Office and Publication, Business and Finance, Association Men, Field, County, Railroad, Industrial, Student, Army and Navy, Colored, Religious, Educational, Physical, Boys, Secretarial. The skilled management of such an array of departments obviously calls for capable leadership and thorough organization, and for these the Association has been noted. Wherever men's needs have been greatest and their temptations fiercest, the Young Men's Christian Association has pressed in with its adaptable, virile service, and its growth has therefore been both natural and inevitable. A few representative instances of beginnings and developments must suffice.

The Army and Navy Department was created out of the exigencies of the war with Spain. In the earlier Civil War the Association had acted through its organ, the United States Christian Commission, whose chairman was Mr. George H. Stewart. Bibles, hymn-books, tracts, and magazines were distributed by the hundreds of thousands, and fifty-eight thousand sermons were preached to the soldiers. But it was with the outbreak of the Spanish War that the permanent work of the Association for army and navy commenced. Ninety large and thoroughly equipped tents were maintained, and eight thousand soldiers publicly professed Christ during the summer of 1898. The beneficent work of the Association is now going forward in army stations, and on transports and battleships the world over. The work of the courageous, resourceful secretaries for Japan on the fields of Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War proved one of the most telling blows ever struck for missions in the Far East.

The Railroad Department of the Association has been characterized by President Roosevelt as exemplifying in practice what he likes to preach — "the combination of efficiency with decent living and high ideals." Formed in Cleveland in 1872, engaging its first permanent secretary in 1877, it now numbers two hundred and forty-two branches, with eighty-six thousand members and nine supervising secretaries. In the larger terminal cities the Association occupies substantial buildings with

baths, restaurants, libraries, correspondence-rooms, pool-rooms, and bowling alleys — open day and night. Slowly the Association railway club is driving out its arch-enemy, the saloon, and is establishing itself in the hearts of employers and employees.

The Colored Department comprises ninety-one Associations with nearly five thousand members, including both city and student work. That the Association, drawing together the best in both races, is proving to be a real factor in the solution of the race problem was shown by the fact that when Atlanta, Ga., was mob-ridden, two years ago, leading Christians of both races met in the building of the colored men's department of the Association, and formulated plans which speedily brought concord and confidence out of the mutually disgraceful disorder.

The work and spread of the Young Men's Christian Association among students has been almost phenomenal. Initiated as an intercollegiate movement in 1877 with twenty-six Associations and thirteen hundred members, there were last year in North America seven hundred and sixty-three student Associations with a reported membership of fifty-seven thousand. In addition to the work for students carried on in the colleges and professional schools, and now in preparatory schools and even high schools, summer conferences are held at various central points to train and develop leaders, and the Publication Department issues a paper dealing with the college work. Within the bounds of the Association, under its inspiring leadership, have sprung into life two great, world-encircling movements; the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, born at Mt. Hermon, Massachusetts, in 1886, as a direct result of the efforts of Robert Wilder of Princeton, and the World's Student Christian Federation, founded in 1895 at Vadstena, Sweden, one of the numerous significant incidents with which the first world-tour of student-centers by Mr. John R. Mott teemed. It was my good fortune, within the space of two years, to attend as a delegate the latest gatherings of all three of those great movements — the Student Volunteers at Nashville in March, 1906, the Student Federation at Tokyo in April, 1907, and the International Association proper at Washington in November, 1907. At each of these, as I saw upon the platform many of the same leaders and speakers, and joined in singing the same militant battle-hymns of the Church, and felt the same tonic atmosphere of the blended love and en-

thusiasm of youth, I realized increasingly the significance of this comprehensive, united movement among the young people of all lands.

To give an idea of the present size of the movement, a few statistics are culled from the latest Year-Book. There are in North America, according to the latest reports sent in, nineteen hundred and thirty-nine Associations, with twenty-five hundred and forty-four secretaries, and an aggregate membership of four hundred and forty-six thousand. There are eighty-eight thousand men enrolled in Bible classes, forty-five thousand in educational classes, and one hundred and nine thousand in gymnasium classes. Thus ideals of spiritual, mental, and physical soundness are preached by the Association and practised by its members, who through its efforts are becoming constantly more useful citizens of the nation whose flag they own. The grand total of Associations in all forty-five lands numbers seventy-nine hundred and forty-two, with a membership of eight hundred eleven thousand, a little less than double the membership in North America alone. Twenty-three countries outside of the United States have national committees.

This, in brief, is the story of the Young Men's Christian Association, a story of enlarging work and cumulative success, through profiting by past mistakes and facing each fresh situation with tact and courage. Are the students of Japan overborne by temptation in the ill-kept native lodging-houses? Clean Christian hostels are erected by the Association. Are the men employed in the Canal Zone cut off from all customary opportunities for spiritual and social culture? Secretaries and clubhouses are provided by the Association. Is this country threatened with a grave problem in Christianizing the immigrants who come among us speaking in alien tongues? The Association scatters its young men over all Europe among those races to learn their language, and return to work among them here. Is there a call for some place where health-seekers may go to enjoy open-air life under Christian auspices and in a sanitary environment? An Association Health Farm is organized in Colorado to care for such. The program of the Association is as broad as Christian opportunity, and its message is as vital as human need. Its work has but begun.

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

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THE Young Women's Christian Association idea is hardly a half-century old, for it was in 1858 in New York that the first organization of the kind was formed under the name "Ladies' Christian Association" with the avowed object "to labor for the temporal, moral, and religious welfare of young self-supporting women." It was this fact, that young women were entering more and more into the ranks of the self-supporting members of society, which was the occasion for the birth of the idea of Young Women's Christian Associations. The thought itself was born in the mind of that great originator of Young Men's Christian Associations, Sir George Williams of England, for we find that so early as 1845 his attention had been called to the needs of the young women of London, and he had been led to circulate a paper suggesting a "Young Ladies' Christian Association." In 1856 Lady Kinnaird, who had taken hold of a home for nurses, opened it to "matrons of public institutions, schoolmistresses, public and private nurses, and persons wishing to perfect themselves in any branch of their profession." In 1866 the Young Women's Christian Association of Boston was started with the same object as that of New York, and rooms were taken in the Congregational Building which were used for an employment and boarding-house directory, for reading and recreation, and for religious meetings.

Such was the beginning of the movement in our larger cities, to provide protection and help for the increasing numbers of bread-earning women. As a larger number of occupations have opened to them with greater demands upon their skill and training, the Young Women's Christian Associations have found an ever-enlarging field. At first the thought seemed to crystallize about a boarding home, as affording a much needed protection

to young women away from home. Gradually one department after another has been added, until in the best equipped Associations there is an educational department, with classes of all descriptions, from literature to cookery; a physical department, providing a well-equipped gymnasium and physical director; a religious work which embraces all kinds of Bible-classes and a Sunday service; and lunch rooms, serving seven or eight hundred business women a day — those who are kept down town at noon, although living in their own homes.

Among the more recent developments has been the so-called Extension Work, which aims to go to factories, holding short noon meetings, or forming clubs and classes, or providing rest-rooms, all of which shall in some way gain working girls for higher thinking and living than factory life provides. This extension work is now being carried into the high school, furnishing wholesome noon lunches, and endeavoring to keep girls at that very critical age from wrong associations and ideals. The very latest attempt is to do something for the country girl and the young woman in the small towns. Just because a town is small, often the working classes find less provision for their needs or protection than in larger places. The demand for such Christian organizations in our cities is very apparent when one sees their remarkable growth. To-day there are one hundred and sixty city Associations in our country, many of them with large, well-equipped buildings, employing a whole staff of specially trained leaders.

There is another side to the Young Women's Christian Association, as there is to the Young Men's Christian Association, and that is the college branch. This started in the Middle West in an Illinois college in 1872, and has grown till there are five hundred and fifteen Associations. This phase of the work has largely been a complement to the Young Men's Christian Association, doing practically among college women what that organization does for college men. It was natural that it should have begun in a co-educational institution and have had its most rapid growth at first in the Middle West, but this part of the work has also spread all over the land. It is very closely allied to the Student Volunteer movement, and the value of the Association in arousing interest in missionary activities is shown by the fact that during the twenty-two years of the life of that movement

over one thousand women have gone to foreign fields, many being supported by the money raised in the colleges at home.

Of no less value to the missionary cause has been the influence of the city Association in training workers and supporting them. Young women have gone to the large cities of India, China, and Japan, and now to Buenos Aires, to meet the needs of foreign young women, as the city Association of America has met the needs here. This work is under a World's Committee, with headquarters in London, but most of the trained secretaries have been supplied by America, and there is now an American Foreign Department, looking closely after the provision of secretaries and their support. It is a work which missionaries most heartily welcome, accomplishing a kind of service that they have not been able to give, laboring not only among the native women, but also among the Eurasian element, which has been grievously neglected.

In 1894 the first American worker went to Madras. To-day there are one hundred and thirty associations in India, thirty-five of them student organizations, and the remainder in the cities. There is a membership of seven thousand, one thousand or more in Calcutta alone. The government of India has shown its approval by grants given in the various presidencies amounting already to \$135,000. The opening of the field in China, Japan, and South America is most interesting, for in all those countries the problem of bread-earning women is being faced as well as in America. This year there are more official requests for trained secretaries than in all the previous fourteen years together. At the last World's Convention twenty-one countries were represented, and it was necessary to use three languages.

A word is required concerning the advance step recently taken in organization at home. Previous to 1906 the Young Women's Christian Associations of America were controlled by two national bodies, each supervising the work differently, with different requirements, and often affording occasion for friction. It was the natural result of an attempt in various local fields to meet their own needs, and of a very rapid multiplication and enlargement of those attempts. At first the city work, then the college work, soon the state work, and then again another kind of city work, all sprang up in quick succession. It is no wonder

that there was some crossing of fields and interests. But in 1906, under the leadership of Miss Grace Dodge, three hundred and ninety-eight delegates from the various Associations of the land assembled in New York and formed "The Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America," expressing their object thus: "to unite in one body the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States; to establish, develop, and unify such Associations; to advance the physical, social, intellectual, moral, and spiritual interests of young women; to participate in the work of the World's Young Women's Christian Association." The great difference of opinion has been, not so much upon methods of work, as upon what was known as "the Evangelical test of membership"; that is, allowing only members of Evangelical churches to have voting power. Many objected to the interpretation given to the word "Evangelical." The union was accomplished upon the basis of the definition adopted by the Interchurch Federation.

Since that time, as was to be expected, a more thorough supervision, with more comprehensive and permanent plans, has been inaugurated, and the outlook for efficient service is to-day more hopeful and inspiring than ever before.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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THE last seventy-five years have brought few changes in religious instruction in the public schools of the United States. The separation of Church and State has perhaps been sufficient cause for this.

One might easily paint for himself a very disheartening picture of "Godless schools," and homes from which family worship has departed. While some states require the reading of the Scriptures during the opening exercises of the public schools, such reading is usually very brief, without comment, unsystematic, and often perfunctory on the part of the reader. Moreover, the decline of family worship and the absence of systematic Bible-reading in the home have taken away from children the opportunity of religious training once common in Protestant homes. The complaint is frequently made by teachers of literature in secondary schools and colleges that many of their pupils fail to appreciate, because of their ignorance of the Bible, the most common allusions in literature, and that very few have any adequate knowledge of the Bible as a whole. The National Education Association in convention assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, July 1, 1908, made the following declaration: "It is apparent that familiarity with the English Bible as a masterpiece of literature is rapidly decreasing among the pupils in our schools. This is a direct result of a conception which regards the Bible as a theological book merely, and thereby leads to its exclusion from the schools of some states as a subject of reading and study. We hope for such a change of public sentiment in this regard as will permit and encourage the reading and study of the English Bible as a literary work of the highest and purest type, side by side with the poetry and prose which it has inspired and in large part formed."

Coincident with the decline of family worship and of familiarity with the Bible, "There is concededly a grave moral depression in our business and social atmosphere. The revelations of the financial and legislative world for the past two years denote a too general acquiescence in questionable practices and standards" (N. E. A. *Declaration*, Article 5). "There are in the minds of the children and youth to-day a tendency toward a disregard for constituted authority, a lack of respect for age and superior wisdom, a weak appreciation of the demands of duty, a disposition to follow pleasure and interest rather than obligation and order" (*Ibid.*, Article 14).

Such is the disheartening condition of things as viewed by many who have been in intimate touch with the education of children and youth. But the facts are not all disheartening. For my part, I am inclined to believe that the spirit of true religion is more widely in evidence in the public schools than ever before. On many teachers has fallen a conscious burden of the need of meeting conditions imposed by the separation of Church and State; and while theology and Biblical facts may have lost, the fruits of the Spirit, I am constrained to believe, have gained. It would be difficult in this short paper to set forth clearly the grounds for this belief, but a brief statement of a few of them may be made.

In the first place, religious instruction is not necessarily based upon or connected with debatable theological tenets. "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance." Instruction that tends to fill the hearts of children with love, joy, kindness, and goodness, must be essentially religious and cannot be called only moral. "By their fruits ye shall know them;" and if the fruits be those of the Spirit, may we not rest assured that the instruction is essentially religious?

Again, a great host of public-school teachers in the aggregate, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, engage in some kind of religious instruction in their churches, often meeting some of their own pupils there. This tends to stimulate the teacher to carry over into her daily contact with her children the true spirit

of practical religion, which counts far more with children, consciously or unconsciously, than does the mere teaching of Biblical facts or religious principles. The daily routine of school work, the incidents connected with discipline and instruction, the lessons in literature and history, are replete with opportunities for the awakening and expression of religious feelings and ideals.

Again, the intelligent and intensive study of children from the standpoint of biology, physiology, psychology, anthropology, sociology, and religion, of the last fifteen or twenty years, has opened up to the teacher new possibilities for instruction genuinely religious and Christian which not many years ago were largely neglected. The introduction of the kindergarten, which steadily rationalizes and improves, and of more natural methods of dealing with children, particularly in the primary grades, have opened the hearts of children as never before to the underlying truths of religion. Particularly has the teacher gained in knowledge of the nature and needs of boys and girls in the adolescent years, and consequently in power of appeal to high ideals of right conduct. Such ideals, awakened both consciously and unconsciously by a teacher of high moral and religious character, in his contact with his pupils in their varied interests and activities of home, school, societies, and games, tend to be referred by them to religious feelings of some sort. In the young, moral ideas, the sense of right and wrong, can hardly exist without emotion. It is Matthew Arnold who says that "religion is ethics heightened by feeling; the passage from morality to religion is made when to morality is applied emotion."

Now, some more or less successful attempts have been made to develop methods of moral training which are unsectarian, but nevertheless retain that union of morality and feeling which is essentially religion. Among these attempts may be mentioned that of the Ethical Culture Society of New York, led by Felix Adler, or that known as the Brownlee System, or that recently explained by F. H. Ellis, in *Character-Forming in School*. These methods are similar in so far as they select some topic as love, obedience, unselfishness, loyalty, truthfulness, kindness; and through story, or Bible narrative, or talk, endeavor to win the pupil's choice of action, perhaps for a definite period of time, as a week or month, in accord with the principle chosen. Some

of these methods are admirable in the close and vital connection they make between sentiment, resolve, and practice.

But, after all is said, the progress in religious instruction in the public schools during the last seventy-five years is far from reassuring. Neither perfunctory reading of the Scriptures, study of the Bible as an English classic, nor merely moral instruction can meet the need felt by every thoughtful student of public education to-day. We need a consensus of all churches upon a programme of moral and religious instruction that will, so far as possible, retain the fundamental doctrines essential to righteousness, purity, and brotherly love, in which all men believe. Teachers were never before so prepared and eager to make efficient use of such a programme. The hearts of children and youth could never before have been so skillfully reached as now. In this lies most, if not all, the progress in religious instruction in the public schools for the last seventy-five years. Great hope for the future is to be found in the organized and earnest efforts of the Religious Education Association, which during the last six years has been studying the religious needs of our educational system.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE COLLEGES

PRESIDENT ALFRED TYLER PERRY, D.D.

MARIETTA COLLEGE

THE early Puritans in America showed their love of learning in the founding of Harvard College in 1636 in order to provide an educated ministry. The children of the Puritans inherited their spirit, and, in generous rivalry with others, have become noted as college-builders. In all the colleges thus founded in the new states, as the tide of population swept westward, the religious element has always been prominent, and the relation to the churches has been close. It is not easy, however, to describe the progress of religious education in these institutions, for their development has been quite irregular. Some colleges have blossomed into universities, have broken loose from the churches, and boast of their liberal spirit. Others have retained the earlier type and are still ruled by church influence. Only in most general terms, and with recognition of many exceptions, can we speak of the progress in religious education in the higher institutions of learning in the United States.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the colleges retained most of the features common to them from the earliest time. There was a narrow and rigid curriculum, pursued by all alike, designed to prepare men for a few professions, chiefly the ministry. This emphasis was natural, since the president and most of the faculty were themselves ministers. There was close espionage upon the whole life of the students, made somewhat appropriate by their youth. Religious exercises were frequent and required, beginning with chapel before daylight, and including at least weekly Bible-lessons, together with instruction in Christian doctrine. The faculty considered itself charged with the moral welfare of the student, and constant effort was made to bring him to a Christian confession, to confirm him in Christian life, to establish him in Christian doctrine, and, if possible, to turn him into the Christian ministry.

These colleges, east and west, have grown marvelously during these seventy-five years in wealth, in equipment, in size. They have also changed in character. The modern college with its luxurious appointments, its specialized instruction, its wide range of elective studies, its great variety of student activities, its absorbing athletics, its broad inclusiveness in student character and aim, is very unlike its early type. It is not surprising to find marked change also in the religious education of the student. This change has taken place slowly, and by no means with even pace in all sections, or even in all colleges of any section. Nevertheless, as we look at the colleges in general, we can discern without difficulty the main features of the movement.

1. The most striking as well as the most fundamental feature of this change is the transfer of control of the religious education from the faculty to the students. Whereas once professors arranged Bible courses, organized revivals, and led in Christian effort, now the College Christian Association under student control is the center from which the religious life of the student is directed and inspired. No department of the Young Men's Christian Association has shown more alertness than the college department. Its Bible-study courses with specially prepared text-books, its mission-study courses, its training conferences and summer assemblies, and above all its executive force and traveling secretaries, have rendered it by far the most powerful agency ever utilized for the religious development of the college student. It is students working with and for students; it develops the worker, it disarms the one worked for. The beautiful houses erected in many places, and the paid secretaries, mark the full development of the system; but even in the smallest and poorest colleges, the suggestions from headquarters are gladly accepted, and adopted as far as possible.

This change is most apparent if we note the conditions in one of our New England colleges. In 1834 the president was entitled also "Professor of Divinity." One of its six departments was that of "Practical Theology and Personal Religion." Lectures on Theology were given each term. Freshmen had a Bible-exercise every week in the Historical Books of the Old Testament; Sophomores, in the Prophetical Books and Greek Testament; and Juniors, in the New Testament Doctrinal Books, while Seniors studied Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*

and Butler's *Analogy*. Paley's *Natural Theology* was also in the curriculum. In a sister college, besides courses similar to these, a course in Vincent's *Catechism* retained its place well through the century.

Go to-day into those colleges. The president is an executive officer, with little teaching. The curriculum indeed contains courses on Theism, the Literary Study of the Bible, etc., but all Bible-study for doctrinal or devotional purposes is left to the students themselves. On the other hand, a beautiful building houses the Young Men's Christian Association and forms a center for the religious life of the college, which is directed by a paid graduate secretary. A large number of students are enrolled in Bible-study classes under student leaders trained at summer conferences. Missionary work is being studied by a goodly number. In 1834 the college, through its faculty, was giving a large amount of formal religious instruction as well as leading in revivals and Christian work. To-day the Young Men's Christian Association is doing this work which the college has relinquished, and professors have little to do with student religious life.

This transition is, of course, only one phase of the changed attitude of the college authorities to the students. The old paternal conception has largely passed away. The students are no longer considered boys, to be carefully watched and controlled in every act of their lives; they are men, to be developed in freedom, to learn self-mastery. So student government has become a recognized feature in most colleges, although in varying degrees. It is but natural, therefore, that in this sphere of religion, the most intimate and sacred area of the human personality, a large degree of self-control should be considered most appropriate. There have been, to be sure, many causes contributing to this marked transition. Among these may be mentioned the so-called "Germanizing" of our colleges — the acceptance of the German university ideal which makes scholarship the chief concern, and which pays no attention to student character. This has undoubtedly had a potent influence. In connection with this there has been the specialization of the faculty, the necessity of securing men trained in the narrow subject, and the resulting necessity of taking the trained man irrespective of his character. While it would not be fair to say that no attention is

now given to the character of the man chosen to fill a professor's chair, yet it is true that character of a positive Christian sort is no longer deemed indispensable for a professorship in most of our larger institutions. If a well-trained scholar can be secured who is morally correct, that is sufficient.

Furthermore, the change in the student body makes it more impossible for the college to treat its students as it used to do. Not only has there been growth in numbers, often to quite unwieldy size; there have also come large numbers of those who cannot be expected to enter the ministry or any profession, who seek the training and culture the college gives, simply in order to enrich their lives. The religious complexion of the student body also has grown diverse. Not only are Protestant denominations in great variety represented, but also increasingly Romanists and Jews. It is manifestly impossible for the college to put this heterogeneous mass through identical forms of religious instruction. Bible-classes and courses on Apologetics have inevitably become elective, and then have often been dropped entirely. Even the daily chapel has been made optional, and in some cases made a weekly exercise.

The development of the state-controlled universities has compelled for them the submergence of all religious instruction as improper in an institution supported by general taxation. And, since thirty per cent. of all collegiate students are in institutions of this sort, that large section of the students of America cannot be expected to receive from their university any formal instruction in religion. The small denominational college, especially in the West, has, it is true, clung persistently to the ideal of Christian character as the primal end in education, and, for the most part, has been more solicitous regarding the Christian faith of its professors. It has maintained the prescribed chapel, and attempted something in the way of Biblical instruction, often requiring a small amount of every student. But, with this significant and important exception, the drift has been as stated, while the transfer of the control of the religious training of the student from faculty to student has been recognized even in these smaller and less Germanized institutions. In the larger universities the abdication of the faculty is complete.

2. Besides this change in the center of gravity of the religious

education of students, there has been a corresponding change in method. The study of the Bible by use of carefully prepared text-books has become a daily and vital study. The religious life is regarded as something to grow normally rather than to be forced, and a wider range of expression is allowed it. The revival of the old type is not now common in colleges, as it is less frequent among the churches. But profound stirrings of the student-body are not unknown, when large numbers make for the first time the Christian decision. The evangelistic note is not wanting in student meetings, and the appeal to devote one's life to the service of the Christ is often heard and heeded. While the churches, with their better agencies for nurture, are sending a larger proportion of professing Christians to college than formerly, yet, in spite of this, the number of conversions to-day in college bears most favorable comparison with that of seventy-five years ago.

The remarkable development of the Student Volunteer Movement is surely not to be overlooked. The presence in almost every college of a group of devoted young people openly pledged to foreign missionary work has a profound influence upon the student-body as a whole, while the systematic study of foreign missions must quicken the life and strengthen the faith and zeal of many Christians. The change of emphasis in the personal religious life from introspection to outlook is also significant. Service most certainly fits the mood of the average young person better than meditation. And is not activity as valuable for soul-growth as contemplation?

A development of recent years is worthy of mention. Just when the unconcern of the institution for the student's life reached its climax, there sprang up a new emphasis upon the Bible as a literary and ethical treasure-house. It is more fully recognized than formerly that religion as a great social factor is a legitimate subject for study, and that the institution that aims to teach everything must find a place for this. So the Bible, after being banished from the curriculum, has come back again. Professors of Biblical Literature are being very generally appointed, and elaborate courses in Hebrew and New Testament Greek, in Hebrew and Christian History, in the literary and critical study of the Bible, are offered very generally by the larger universities, even by those under state control. It is to be noted,

however, that the point of view is radically different from that of the early time. Religion is examined with a critical analysis. Christianity is approached from the direction of comparative religion. Theism is a philosophical inquiry. The Bible is dissected with minute care, and the linguistic and artistic beauties are pointed out. But the study of the Bible that its truths may become food for the soul is not now undertaken under faculty guidance; that is left to the Young Men's Christian Association. It may well be doubted whether this excessive emphasis upon critical methods and results in the study of the Bible is either appropriate for under-graduate students, or on the whole profitable. It certainly would be deplorable were it not supplemented by devotional study in the Christian Association.

3. What shall we say as to the effects of these changes? Has this transfer of leadership from faculty to student, and this accompanying change in method, been a gain or a loss? No one can help regretting the loss of interest on the part of professors in the character of their students, and the remoteness from contact with them now so common in our larger institutions. Equally deplorable is any loss of moral leadership on their part. On any theory of education, the value of Christian character in a professor is great. No enthusiasms are more fundamental or more worthy to be inspired by word or example than those of religion. The changed methods have also resulted perhaps in more shallow convictions and less intelligent faith. A grounding in the Catechism gave to the student at least a reason for the faith that was in him. His creed was fuller and better buttressed than that of the modern student. But if there have been some losses, there are ampler gains. There has been a gain in manliness and self-control on the part of the students. There has been gain in morality. The consensus of opinion, in spite of some lurid statements to the contrary, is that there has been an elevation of moral tone in the student-body. There is surely more genuine interest in Bible-study than ever. There is a profounder recognition of the value of religion for all the activities of life. Christian work is undertaken more generally under student leadership, and the gain in power by leaders and workers is beyond computation. The present organization of Christian activities in college under the Christian Association

can excite only the admiration of every thoughtful observer. If there is occasionally crudeness, there is more often genuineness. If there is sometimes unwisdom, there is usually thorough earnestness. If there is less definiteness of creedal belief, there is more breadth of love and more real unity of the spirit. Perhaps the pendulum has swung too far from professor to student. It may easily swing back a little; and, while conserving all that is good in student leadership and in the new methods, find room also for the guidance and inspiration of the older and more experienced Christian.

The colleges of the early time sent forth men who have achieved great things for the Kingdom of God. There are going forth to-day from these same colleges a larger host trained in somewhat different ways; but who shall say that there is not here as deep a consecration to lofty ideals, as loving a loyalty to the Christ, as in the former time? These seventy-five years have witnessed changes that we may interpret as progress. The Kingdom draws nearer to its consummation.

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON, PH.D.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

THE number ¹ of books published in Europe and America in 1833 or 1834 was perhaps 23,008 or 22,810, exclusive of periodicals. Of these some 3,228 were religious. In 1907 the whole number was perhaps 81,616, of which some 7,495 were religious. In 1833 thus 14% of books published were theological, in 1907 less than 10% (9.13%).

The increase in the total of books published was thus three and one-half times, while the increase in theological books was less than two and one-half times. It needs to be remembered, however, that many of the most prolific of the modern sciences had not been invented in 1834, and that the absolute increase made in these seventy-five years is greater than the increase of all the eighteen centuries preceding.

When periodicals are taken into account, the growth of theological literature in this period is still more striking. This era is the age of the periodical; and the chief characteristic of the progress of religious literature during this time, as it is the chief characteristic of the progress in all literature of the period, is the growth of this method of publication. In 1833 there

¹ The difficulty of getting uniform standards in book-statistics is notorious, as no two countries have quite the same laws of inclusion, and sometimes two or three standards are used by different compilers in the same country. While this affects the totals, so that they should be much greater if all pamphlets were included and much less if the most rigorous standards were applied for all countries, it does not so much affect the comparative figures between dates, for it is relatively possible to get the figures within a given country on the same standard for two dates. It is hard also to judge of the proportion of theology in the total, since in one system or another theological books are to be found under history, education, theosophy, mythology, philosophy, art, law, and other heads. In judging the total theological literature as between two countries this also must be taken into account, but in judging the increase or decrease, especially by percentage, the figures are sound in the same relative sense that soundness can be predicated of statistics in general. These figures are drawn or verified for the most part from the standard annual catalogues of books and periodicals of the various countries, but the best literary statement has in general been selected as basis and adapted, this giving the most consistent standards.

were, it was estimated, in the world, 3,068 newspapers and magazines; in 1907 there were 56,050 — 18 times more. Not less than 7% of those and perhaps 8 or 9% are religious — a minimum of 3,923. These figures indicate that there are more religious periodicals to-day than there were periodicals of every sort seventy-five years ago.

We turn now to some details showing the special increase in America. In 1833, or thereabouts, there were published annually in America 604 volumes, of which 105 were theological; in England 1,416, of which probably 200 were theological; in France 6,068, including 586 theological; in Germany 6,757, including 925 theological; in Italy 3,623, including 781; Sweden 715, including 121; Russia 758, including 69. Add to this the same relative fraction of the books now published in Spain (713), in Holland (1,130), in Denmark (803), in Belgium (307), in Norway (216); and it gives the before-mentioned grand total for 1833 of 22,810 and the theological total of 3,228.

In 1907 the publications, exclusive of periodicals, were: America 9,620 (876 theological), England 9,914 (950 theological), France 10,785 (800 theological), Germany 30,073 (3,180 theological), Italy 7,088 (357 theological), Spain 2,141 (100 theological), Holland 3,391 (444 theological), Denmark 2,409 (182 theological). Adding to these the figures for nearest dates at hand, Russia 3,165, Belgium 922, Sweden 1,460, and Norway 648, gives a total of 81,616; and adding 9.13% of these additions to theological works, gives the theological total of 7,495.

It appears thus that, while the general increase for all nations is $3\frac{1}{2}$ times and the theological increase $2\frac{1}{2}$ times, the increase for America is more than 15 times in all kinds, and 8 times in theological books.

The periodical figures are even more striking. These are given for 1833 as follows: Europe 2,142, America 878 (978?), Asia 27, Africa 12, Oceanica 9, a total of 3,068. The comprehensive recent estimate of the annual output as given in Nelson's Encyclopædia is: "America 24,000, Great Britain 9,800, Germany 8,000, France 4,600, Japan 2,700, Italy 1,600, Austria 1,200, Asia 900, Spain 900, Russia 850, Australia 600, Greece 600, Switzerland 450, Belgium 250, Holland 300 — a total of 56,050." This is probably a conservative statement for to-day. As a matter of fact these figures concerning peri-

odicals are in general minimum figures and represent periodicals actually known to the compilers, omitting many. There were in America in 1833 in fact, instead of 878 or even 978, some 1,265 or more. A writer of the time claimed that "America, with 13,000,000 inhabitants, has more newspapers than the whole of Europe, with 190,000,000." At all events it had more than any single nation; and while periodicals have since increased eighteen fold, American periodicals have increased 20 to 25 times, although the ratio of increase of population has not kept equal pace.

The number of religious periodicals in America, according to the census of 1905, was only 1,287, out of a total of 21,394 in all classes. The actual percentage in recent years has been: in 1880, 4.9%; in 1890, 6.9%; in 1900, 5.2%; in 1905, 6%. This is below the percentage for books in America, and below the average percentage of other countries — a fact which is due chiefly to the immense number of dailies and local weeklies in the United States. Germany, whose figures exclude political dailies, has 697 theological periodicals out of a total of 5,747, which is more than 12%. This has to be discounted by the fact that Kürschner gives a total of 10,606 in 1902 for Germany, which, although he includes political dailies, indicates a somewhat lower percentage. All together it may be estimated that the minimum average percentage among the figures for all countries here given is 7%, or a minimum total of theological periodicals to-day of 3,923, as before mentioned. America's 1,287 periodicals form, therefore, perhaps one-fourth of the world's religious periodicals.

While the percentage of theological to total periodicals in America is rather below that of books, the ratio of *circulation* as between theological and all periodicals is much greater than in the case of books. The census of 1905 shows that the 1,287 religious periodicals had a circulation of 22,383,631, out of a total circulation for all 21,394 periodicals of 139,939,229. This is nearly 16%. If the total of copies issued annually were in the same ratio, this would suggest the enormous amount of 1,400,000,000 numbers of religious periodicals annually; but since there are few religious dailies, the average annual issue of each can hardly be above 50 by any possibility. If, however, it is 40, which is not impossible, it will give a total annual issue

of nearly 900,000,000. It was estimated in 1872, that the 330 or more religious periodicals then issued published 100,000,000 copies annually, and it is safe to say that there are not less than 500,000,000 now issued annually.

As a matter of fact, both the total of copies and the average number of copies per issue of all periodicals has increased greatly in recent years. The average circulation of dailies, for example, in 1850, was about 3,000 and in 1905 10,000. In 1850 2,500 periodicals had a circulation of 5,000,000, in 1870 6,000 had a circulation of 20,000,000, in 1890 15,000 periodicals had a circulation of 68,147,619, in 1905 21,400 had a circulation of 140,000,000.

The growth of the aggregate of copies issued during a year has been in round numbers from perhaps 1,200 American periodicals in 1833, with an aggregate annual output of perhaps 110,000,000 copies, to 1,400 periodicals in 1840, with 200,000,000 copies; 1850, 2,500, with a total of 400,000,000; 1860, 4,000, with 1,000,000,000 copies; 1870, 6,000, with 1,500,000,000; 1880, 11,000, with 2,000,000,000 copies; 1890, 15,000, with 5,000,000,000; 1900, 18,000, with 8,000,000,000; and 1905, 21,000, with 10,000,000,000.

Another indication, cross-checking to some extent the result of the previous study, and suggesting that in books as well as periodicals not only the number of works has increased but the number of copies of each work, is the figure for Bible circulation. The Bibles published by the American Bible Society in 1833 were 110,332, and in 1907, 1,910,853. Those published by the British and Foreign Society about 1833 averaged not far from 500,000 annually, while in 1907 they issued 5,416,569. The increase of the British Society was about eleven fold, that of the American Society seventeen fold.

The discussion of the progress of literature as distinguished from learning or encyclopædia perhaps ends here, but a brief analysis and comparison of the classes of works produced before 1833 and at the present day, based on the German production, has its suggestiveness, and is not wholly inappropriate. The index to Kayser, which covers the years 1750 to 1832, shows roughly the following percentages: General 7.4%, Exegetical 17.3%, Historical 11.1%, Systematic 28.4%, Practical 34.6%, Jewish 1.2%. During the year 1907 the proportions were:

General (80) 2.9%, Exegetical (306) 11.2%, Historical (456) 16.8%, Systematic (361) 13.3%, Practical (1422) 52.4%, Jewish (88) 3.2%. The item of devotional works under Practical had in 1833, 8.6%; in 1907, 14.6. The figures here used for 1907 are 2,713, and do not include school books.

A decrease in the matter of Systematic Theology is not unexpected, but so extensive a decrease as from 28.4% to 13.3% seems to mark a decided tendency. The decrease from 17.3% to 11.2% in Exegetical Theology, in spite of the growth of Biblical Archæology and the vast stir about Historical and Literary Criticism, is surprising until one turns to the increases and the reasons for them, and notices too that the actual number of works produced (306) is in fact an increase of 50% in total production — 17.3% of the books published in 1833 being only 199, while 11.2% of those produced in 1907 amounts to 306.

The increase of Practical Theology from 34.6% to 52.4% is doubtless due in large measure to the development of the social and economic aspects of Church work, but the significant increase of that section of Practical Theology which is given to books of devotion, from 8.6% to 14.6%, points to a real growth on the spiritual side which possibly comes from that general revival of spiritual interest, which dates from the beginning of this period, with which Hartford Seminary was so intimately associated in its founding and earlier years, through Dr. Nettleton's preaching and his hymn-book.

The increase in Jewish Literature from 1.2% to 3.2% is not surprising when it is noted that in the matter of periodicals there was, according to the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, shortly before the beginning of this period not one regularly published Jewish periodical, in 1830 only one, and in 1834 perhaps ten, while, when the Encyclopedia was published in 1905, there were 198, of which 82 were American.

While the statistics of Germany are better adapted for precise comparison than those of other countries, the same tendencies are exhibited in the literature of other countries. In America the proportionate reaction from Systematic Theology is doubtless equal or even greater. Since 1834 the Darwinian theory of evolution has arisen, the science of Textual Criticism has been discovered, the principles of Literary and Historical Criticism have been developed, and the social, economic, and industrial ex-

pansion has had its reflex in methods of Christian social work. All these have left their traces on the literary production of the period, and may be seen mirrored in the literature of the present year.

Perhaps no better idea can be given of the progress of theological literature in America during the last seventy-five years, than to set side by side and compare the literary output of the Hartford Seminary then and now — the scanty polemico-doctrinal writings of Bennet Tyler, with the *Village Hymns* in the background on the one hand; and now, on the other hand, the *Syriac Concordance*, the *Bible Dictionary*, the writings of Paton on Old Testament History and Exegesis, of Macdonald in the field of Arabic and Islam, the monumental *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* of Hartranft, the volumes of Geer in Historical Theology, the volumes of Mackenzie, Jacobus, Mitchell, Beardslee, Simpson, Angus, the work of Gillett and others on the *Hartford Seminary Record*, and in Practical Theology the *History of Music*, the hymn-books, and other literary productions of Pratt. If it were permitted to include Graham Taylor and his "Commons" (since he began his professional sociological career in this institution), there would be a complete characterization of this later age.

It hardly pays to try to make a relative comparison of the production of the various nations in theological literature, since the figures are on such different standards. Some general facts appear, however, on the surface. It is safe to say that Germany, although her figures are padded beyond those of any other country, still holds her supremacy both in quantity and quality, looked at from the standpoint of scholarship, and that the decrease of France and Italy is due to the corresponding vicissitudes of religion in those countries. The figures being substantially valid too for increase and decrease, it appears that America has grown eightfold, while England has grown fivefold, and Germany has just kept pace with the general increase of three and a half times. France has increased by one fourth of its actual output, but has decreased its percentage in nearly the same proportion. Italy, if the figures are correct, has lost 50% in actual numbers and more in percentage. It is not surprising to find that Holland is still addicted to theology in the proportion of 13.1% where the rest of the world has 9.1%.

TABLE A
BOOKS 1833 AND 1907

	1833		1907	
	TOTAL	RELIGIOUS	TOTAL	RELIGIOUS
America	604	105	9,620	876
England	1,416	200	9,914	950
Belgium	307	42	922	83
Denmark	803	112	2,409	182
France	6,068	586	10,785	800
Germany	6,757	925	30,073	3,180
Holland	1,130	158	3,391	308
Italy	3,623	781	7,088	444
Norway	216	30	648	58
Russia	758	69	3,165	288
Spain	713	99	2,141	194
Sweden	715	121	1,460	132
	22,810	3,228	81,616	7,495

TABLE B
PERIODICALS 1833 AND 1907

	1833		1907
America	878 (978?)	America	24,000
Europe	2,142	Great Britain	9,800
Asia	27	Germany	8,000
Africa	12	France	4,600
Oceania	9	Japan	2,700
	3,068	Italy	1,600
		Austria	1,200
		Asia	900
		Spain	900
		Russia	850
		Australia	600
		Greece	600
		Switzerland	450
		Belgium	250
		Holland	300
			56,750

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS IN AMERICA

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UPON a surface-view of events the history of religious journalism in this country during the last seventy-five years may briefly be described as a rise and fall.

There can be no question about the rise, for in 1834 the religious newspaper was still in the flush of its youth. Its origin lay back in the early years of the nineteenth century, among those stirrings of evangelistic zeal and missionary interest that marked a new religious awakening. Thereupon appeared a few sporadic sheets containing sermons and other direct appeals of a fervid piety. It was not, however, till 1816, only eighteen years before the Theological Institute of Connecticut was founded, that Nathaniel Willis brought out the *Boston Recorder*, with the idea of grafting the religious element upon the ordinary news-journal, and so originated the American religious newspaper.

It made a hit. Other papers started upon the same lines; country newspapers began to provide religious columns. Soon Connecticut and New York each had a religious newspaper of its own. At first these journals were mildly, if at all, denominational, but in a few years all sects and all parts of the country had their own representatives in the field. In less than ten years from the appearance of the *Recorder* one hundred such newspapers were in existence and the number was growing. Dr. Howard Bridgman is authority for the statement that in 1833 the circulation of religious papers in the city of New York exceeded the aggregate circulation in that city of all the secular newspapers. Then the *New York Sun* started a penny daily, and the tide turned.

At the outset the aim of the religious newspaper was twofold: to provide a better treatment of public affairs than appeared in the coarse, partisan press of the day, and to use the

publication of general news as a way to introduce religious intelligence. The latter was the chief concern of Willis with his *Recorder*. For this reason he would suffer no doctrinal or sectarian controversy in its pages, which were meant to be a vehicle of news. He would recognize, so he announced, no other parties "than those two into which the Scriptures divide the whole world [meaning good and bad]. Here we take sides."

There was little that would now be regarded as attractive or interesting in one of those early papers; a four-page blanket-sheet, without illustration or adornment, containing reports of the newly-founded missionary and Bible societies, long letters of travel, records of revivals, sermons, and appeals, together with the doings of Congress or the State Legislature, political events, some rather solemn verse, extended obituaries, and a few items of foreign news.

But by 1834, as the religious life of the nation developed and differences of doctrine and polity became more sharply defined, it was inevitable that the religious press should grow more aggressively denominational and theological. And when questions of utmost moment affecting the political and social life of the nation became insistent, the religious journal was compelled to deal with them; so it enlarged its field of influence. Also new interests and activities of a religious sort, such as the Sunday-school and the Temperance Movement, came on to diversify still more the work of the religious press.

During this era there were journalistic giants in the land, whose names were household words, and who made their papers oracles in the homes where they were received. It is easy to think that the palmy days of religious journalism were in that time, when such men as Drs. Field, Prime, Gray, and Dexter were among the leaders of denominational affairs and the shapers of religious opinion. So astute an observer as Mr. James Bryce wrote in his *American Commonwealth* in 1888 that the American religious weekly was a force of immense influence in the life of the nation; it had few parallels in Europe.

Perhaps it is not possible to put the finger on any one date as marking the beginning of decline in the prosperity of the religious press. But the last thirty years have seen a significant decrease both in the number and circulation of religious newspapers; a loss also in a certain kind of authority. Denomina-

tions whose organization is worked to maintain their publications have better withstood the tendency of the period, but the tendency is unmistakable. Many of the denominational newspapers, especially state and sectional papers, have disappeared altogether; others have been consolidated or reestablished on new lines.

There are several reasons for this decline. The increased complexity of modern life has called forth the specialized religious journal. Each interest has now its own organ, to the disadvantage of the general newspaper. The slackening of denominational rivalries and the increased emphasis on a broad Christianity also have tended to undermine the denominational press. Papers and magazines without the denominational mark have thus grown into large popularity, in some cases dominating the field. Most influential of all in weakening the prestige of the religious press is the modern disposition to make no sharp distinction between things sacred and secular. *The New York Observer* was long divided into two parts, one called the religious department, the other the secular; one intended to be read on Sundays, the other on week days. One of the early religious newspapers said openly that it did not consider itself suitable for Sabbath reading. These lines of separation have now largely faded from men's thought. The distinction between the modern religious journal and the daily or weekly newspaper which is edited by high-minded men and in accordance with the standards of Christian ethics, is not always marked. Each of them regards all the fields of human thought and activity as proper objects of its survey.

Similar influences have brought similar results in the sphere of the religious review and magazine. Theological and church reviews have never found so assured a life in this country as in England and on the Continent. Yet almost every denomination and all schools of theology have maintained a quarterly or monthly review. The development of the specialized magazine for each department in the science of theology and for each of the allied sciences has multiplied the number of more technical publications, while it has tended to reduce the number of denominational reviews. Modest journals of theological seminary life and work, of which the *Hartford Seminary Record* is an early and honorable representative, are taking the place of the more bulky

and staid reviews. It is noteworthy that the latest American theological review is equipped with an endowment fund, experience having shown that in these times such a periodical can hardly sustain itself.

It is so with the missionary magazine. *The Missionary Herald*, for example, had several thousand more subscribers in the year when Hartford Seminary was founded than it has now; in the seventies its subscription-list was twice as long as at present. But in 1834 it had its field largely to itself. On its sober pages, with their detailed letters and journals, was reflected as nowhere else the romance of far-off lands and the life of strange peoples as seen by the eyes of heroic missionaries. To-day the foreign missionary society must send out its unpretentious monthly to compete with the cabled reports of the Associated Press and the "kodak" of every traveler.

It is thus unmistakable that within the latter half of this period of seventy-five years there has been a shrinkage in the field of religious journalism; but the loss has been more apparent than real. There are more religious papers and magazines in existence to-day than thirty or forty years ago; only not so many all-round religious newspapers. This is the day of the specialist rather than the general practitioner. It is important to recognize also that there is far more religious matter appearing now in the press not counted distinctively religious. The daily newspaper discusses church affairs and religious phenomena as it did not a generation ago, the popular monthly and the scientific review also include more strictly religious articles than used to be the case, and missionary news and scenes now make good copy for daily newspapers and the weekly picture-paper.

Withal, the typical religious newspaper and magazine of to-day are not decadent products. Obligated to conform to changing conditions and to adapt themselves, like all living things, to the fashion of the time, they still remain a mighty force in the land. If the religious journal is less dogmatic and trenchant than aforetime, it is quite as fair, sane, and convincing. If it has lost somewhat in prestige and dominance as a denominational organ, it has gained in the wider influence of its judgment in the world at large and in the more varied service of the Kingdom of God.

WORK FOR THE DEAF

PROFESSOR ABEL STANTON CLARK

AMERICAN SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF, HARTFORD, CONN.

1. *Development of Institutions.* — When Hartford Seminary was founded at East Windsor Hill, the American School for the Deaf, now its near neighbor in Hartford, had been in existence for seventeen years. The philanthropic impulse which found expression in this, the first permanent school in America for the deaf and dumb, quickly spread, so that before 1834 four similar schools had been established — at New York City, in 1818; at Philadelphia, in 1820; at Danville, Ky., in 1823; and at Columbus, Ohio, in 1829. Since then such schools have been opened in nearly every state, some states indeed having several; so that, counting public, private, day, and denominational, there are now one hundred and thirty-nine schools for the deaf in the United States, while Canada has seven.

The number of pupils enrolled in this country in November, 1907, was 11,648, of whom fifty-four per cent. were males. Of the 1552 instructors, 471, or about thirty per cent., were males. At first, and for a period of about forty years, no female was employed as a teacher. The aggregate value of buildings, grounds, and equipment is now over \$15,000,000; and the annual cost of maintenance is over \$3,000,000. The sixty public schools are supported by city, county, or state, with the aid in some instances of endowments and pay-pupils. In no other country is provision for the education of the deaf so liberal, the expenditure per capita so great, or the standard of expected attainment so high.

It was at first deemed proper that parents or friends of pupils should pay their board and tuition, the annual charge at the Hartford school being then \$200 each; but it soon became obvious that this necessary charge was quite beyond the means of many. Public interest was further awakened, with the result that, through the bounty of Congress, the Hartford school acquired a fund, since then greatly but necessarily diminished,

which enabled it for a while to charge only \$100 per annum. Subsequently, also, the different states voted money for the education of their indigent deaf, and finally an enlightened public opinion conceded the equal claim of the deaf with that of the hearing. The present per capita cost of educating deaf children is from \$165 to \$350 per annum.

2. *Methods of Instruction.* — When Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet went to Europe in 1815 to learn what means were there employed in educating the deaf, he found two different methods. In Great Britain and Germany speech was generally relied upon with more or less help of signs; while in France, especially at the Paris school, the sign-language, supplemented by the manual alphabet and writing, was most used. After carefully observing and comparing the two methods, Mr. Gallaudet decided that by the use of signs, finger-spelling, and writing, the largest number of the deaf and dumb could be benefited and their highest mental and moral development secured. For many years, as new schools were opened, they were mostly under men who had obtained experience at Hartford and used the same method.

In 1844 Mr. Weld, then principal at the Hartford school, went abroad under the auspices of that institution and the Philadelphia school, to ascertain what, if any, modifications might profitably be made in the American way of teaching. After an absence of eight months, during which he visited nine different countries and inspected between thirty and forty schools, Mr. Weld expressed the opinion that no considerable change was desirable. He, however, recommended that more attention should be given to the teaching of speech and lip-reading to children becoming deaf after birth and to those only partly deaf. Upon this, the Directors of the Hartford school voted "to give the teaching of articulation a full and prolonged trial and to do in this branch everything that is practically and permanently useful." A special teacher of articulation was accordingly appointed, and the use of speech encouraged. Since the application of the principle of "Visible Speech" to articulation-teaching by Dr. A. Graham Bell nearly forty years ago, special teachers, having an expert knowledge of vocal physiology, have been enabled to bring about better speech and lip-reading, and also to extend their application with benefit to a larger proportion of the deaf than was previously possible.

The question of methods has often been warmly and sometimes acrimoniously discussed among teachers themselves, and it is hardly settled yet; but a general agreement along certain definite lines is not far off. Prejudices based upon insufficient knowledge are giving way, and the deaf child's right to be taught by such methods as will best fit him for a useful and happy life is coming to be universally conceded. All persons are commendably ready to applaud what promises to confer speech upon the deaf, but few have either the time or experience required for a just opinion concerning each individual case. Few persons are able rightly to appreciate the splendid achievements of the born-deaf child who, under any system of instruction, has won a practical education.

At the present time about seventy per cent. of the pupils in American schools for the deaf are taught speech, with widely differing degrees of success. Of these a considerable number are able, after leaving school, to depend upon speech and lip-reading in communicating with those about them; while many, for various reasons, either drop them entirely or use them with intimate friends only. The persistence of speech acquired normally through the ear in childhood, and the ease with which it may slip away if acquired through the eye only, are undeniable facts.

3. *Industrial Training.* — The need of industrial training for the deaf was early recognized, and is now more thoroughly carried on than ever before. Instruction in various forms of manual art is given in all good schools. Wood-working and printing are perhaps most in favor for boys, though many other lines of work are taught according to local preference or demand; while girls are taught domestic science and dressmaking. Drawing also receives considerable attention.

4. *Helps in Teaching.* — No children are more in need of object-teaching than the deaf, and so it has come about that many schools are equipped, some quite elaborately, with collections of pictures, natural history specimens, books, and apparatus for illustration and instruction all through the course of study. In the early days of deaf-mute teaching, there were no special books suited to the needs of teacher or pupil, and it was no light task to provide lessons according to a progressive system. Of late years, however, this difficulty has been much

diminished. By means of the Ellen Lyman publication fund and the Joseph Davis illustration fund the school at Hartford has issued a number of books prepared by its teachers, some of which are extensively used not only in the United States but also in all other English-speaking countries, and have also been translated into other languages.

5. *The Length of Time at School.* — For the deaf child, as for the hearing, the standard of education has been notably raised, involving a corresponding addition to the time spent at school. At first the Directors at Hartford expressed the hope that every pupil would remain at least four years. Since then the course of study and the time allowed for it have been gradually extended to cover ten and even twelve years. In Pennsylvania a deaf child may remain at school fourteen years, and in New York seventeen.

6. *The Age of Admission.* — Children under ten years of age were at first excluded from the school at Hartford, and some of the states sending pupils here required their beneficiaries to be at least fourteen, the object being to avoid a seeming waste of public money, as it was felt that a considerable degree of physical maturity was desirable before a pupil could begin learning a trade at school. As the time allowed at school was extended, the age of admission was lowered, both these changes being effected to a considerable degree through the increased attention given in recent years to the more general teaching of speech, since it is felt that such instruction cannot be begun too early. For this reason many schools receive pupils at four or five years, and some welcome them at two years of age. In striking contrast to this is the fact that, up to the year 1844, Hartford had received 27 pupils at ten years of age, 79 at fifteen, 20 at twenty, 17 at twenty-five, 13 at thirty, 1 at forty, and 1 at fifty.

7. *The Course of Study.* — To modern teachers of the deaf it is no small surprise that the early instructors were able to accomplish so much under the then prevailing conditions, for they managed in a few years to give their pupils a vast amount of useful information, both general and religious, and also to give them a considerable facility in reading, and, what is much more difficult, the expression of thought by means of the English language. It is on record that in 1846 a class at Hartford was studying a book on Logic by Levi Hedge, a professor at

Harvard. Corresponding to the opportunity furnished by a longer time at school, the course of study has been amplified and enriched, so that the curriculum of the best schools now includes instruction in Speech and Lip-reading, Reading and Writing the English Language, Arithmetic, Geography, American and English History, Literature, Current Events, Civics, Physiology, Natural Science, and sometimes Botany and General History.

To those who have the inclination and ability for further study, Gallaudet College, founded in 1864 at Washington, D.C., sustained by the National Government, and the only college for the deaf in the world, is freely open. Over eight hundred students, coming from nearly every state and territory, have entered there, and a large number have graduated. For the training of teachers, a Normal department at the college and classes at several institutions are available.

8. *The Deaf after Leaving School.* — It may with confidence be affirmed that no expenditure of public money and of personal effort can show more satisfactory results than are seen in the education of the deaf and dumb. On leaving school, with few exceptions, they become active and productive members of the community. They are good neighbors and good citizens. They work on farms and in shops. Not a few enter some branch of business or professional life in which deafness does not constitute a bar to success. Seventeen per cent., two hundred and fifty-eight in all, of the teachers of the deaf in the United States are themselves deaf.

In many cities societies of the deaf exist for the purpose of holding social and religious meetings. Several churches also have been established for them, the oldest being St. Ann's, New York City, founded in 1853. For such as may be overtaken by misfortune or old age without means of support, homes supported by private benevolence have been established in several states.

Two organizations of principals and teachers, each of which publishes a bimonthly magazine, afford adequate opportunity for the interchange of views and experiences, while the Volta Bureau at Washington, D.C., publishes valuable statistics and other information relating to the deaf.

WORK FOR THE POOR

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SOME twelve years before the opening of the Seminary at East Windsor Hill, George Goodwin & Sons of Hartford published the sermons of Dr. Thomas Chalmers of Glasgow. Of these sermons the one of most enduring interest had for its text, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble."

Dr. Chalmers was at that time carrying on a most notable work in his Glasgow parish, in which the principles of modern charity were first clearly enunciated and exemplified. The gradual extension into Scotland of the English system of outdoor relief had given him an opportunity to study its effects upon the morale of the people; and uniting, as he did, kindly sympathy with a keen perception of spiritual values, he became an uncompromising opponent of the compulsory poor-rate. With profound respect for the humble virtues of industry, thrift, independence, filial responsibility, and neighborly kindness, which he found among the Scotch peasantry, he looked with dismay upon the encroachment of a system which appeared to develop an irresponsible pauper class expecting support from funds forced from the givers by the tax-collector.

Although the English system was strongly entrenched in Glasgow, Dr. Chalmers boldly accepted the responsibility of providing for all the poor of his parish without help from the poor-rates; and to raise money for this purpose asked only for collections at the Sunday evening services, which were attended by the poorer people. The experiment was in every way successful, and has continued to be a source of inspiration, while the form of organization and the directions given for the guidance of the helpers are still replete with valuable suggestions for the modern social worker.

The negative side of Dr. Chalmers' doctrine was soon put

into practice to a large extent in the reform of the English poor-law. The economic and moral evils of the growing pauperism had become too apparent and too burdensome to be tolerated, and drastic restrictions were applied with beneficial results.

In America the problem of poor-relief had not yet become large in its proportions. The legal responsibility for providing for the poor was vested in local overseers or selectmen who had recourse to the public taxes, but the prevailing spirit of industry and thrift, the general knowledge of and interest in neighborhood affairs, and the lack of surplus wealth, prevented any serious development of pauperism except in a few of the larger cities. Yet poor-relief appears in dual aspects from the earliest period of our national history. Upon one side we find references to the widow or the invalid aided by free neighborly service at seed-time and harvest, or by a kindly sharing of crops; while, upon the other hand, the history of our poor-laws presents recurring pictures of thrifty selectmen trying with varying success to devise means of escape from the burden of supporting a group of indolent and dissipated paupers.

As towns grew into cities of considerable size, and the more prosperous were no longer personally acquainted with the needy, the abiding source of neighborly responsibility led to the formation of relief societies for more efficient work along the lines in which the members were interested. Naturally all these societies were designed to aid the distinctively worthy poor; but even the worthy are subject to temptation, especially when dealing with strangers; and in the larger cities, where the relief societies had become numerous, it was soon discovered that improvidence, indolence, and deceit were being cultivated in the name of charity.

In the year 1843 a committee of public-spirited citizens of New York, inquiring into the work of the thirty or more relief societies operating in that city, found that there was a general lack of discrimination in giving relief, that the societies worked independently of each other, and that they failed to make adequate provision for personal intercourse with the recipient of alms. As a result of this movement "The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor" was organized. The very name of this society indicates an important forward step, in recognizing that character and social conditions are plastic and

improvable. During the subsequent decade and a half, societies of similar purpose were organized in Baltimore, Boston, and Chicago, each becoming in its respective city the leading organ for the administration of private relief.

While the announced purpose of these societies was quite in line with modern standards of social work, its actual accomplishment was hindered by the educational limitations of the time. The contributors to the societies' funds were interested in the relief of want rather than the slow and difficult work of developing thrifty habits. They wished their money to be used for supplying coal and provisions rather than for the payment of large and numerous salaries. The agents of the society, limited in number and beset by numerous importunate applicants for the bounty which was at their disposal, could hardly be blamed for reverting to the easy and practical, though socially ineffective, methods of the earlier relief societies.

It was not till the year 1869 that the positive side of Dr. Chalmers' doctrine — the reduction of pauperism by careful inquiry into the conditions of each needy family, the securing of needed aid from sources nearest to the applicant, and the development of self-help through active and persistent personal service — became permanently established as a working method in poor-relief. For several years large relief-funds had been distributed in London with results so unsatisfactory that Edward Denison, the forerunner of the social settlement movement, who took up his residence at this time in the East End of London, reported that he was beginning seriously to believe that all bodily aid to the poor was a mistake; that it was better "to let things work themselves straight; whereas, by giving alms you keep them permanently crooked." To correct the growing abuses of charity and redeem it from this unbecoming disrepute, there was formed at this time the London Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendacity. Ten years later the Buffalo Charity Organization Society was formed through the influence of a former member of the London Society, and in a few years the new movement spread to nearly all the large cities of the English-speaking world.

The charity organization movement naturally assumed somewhat varying aspects in adapting itself to local conditions in different cities. In communities already supplied with nu-

merous relief agencies, coöperation was made the leading feature. The charity organization society, refraining from giving relief from its own funds, supplied the trained service for investigation, registration, and the continued oversight of needy families, while depending upon coöperating societies for such relief as was not available from relatives or other nearer and more personal sources. In some instances the early effort of the society was largely negative, aiming to reduce the amount of public outdoor relief, and to protect private funds from the importunity of people who did not require relief, or whose conduct did not justify the grants which they asked. In some cities, where the existing relief work was inadequate, the charity organization societies started as relief-giving agencies, sometimes with wood-yards and workrooms as a prominent feature, but always at least professing to make the dispensing of relief subordinate to work for the permanent improvement of the applicant's situation. In other cities the leading feature of the charity organization society or associated charities has been the organization and training of volunteer visitors, each of whom undertakes to befriend one or more of the needy families, and to bring to bear upon them the resources of helpful friendly intercourse in a more personal and continuous way than is possible for the society's agents.

A most important source of strength to the charity organization movement has been its connection with educational work. It has always allied itself with the investigation of social problems and the teaching of social science in university and college. The teacher of social science is always to be found on the board of directors of the charity organization society, while the secretaries in charge of the work of the societies are usually graduates from the social science courses, and not infrequently are themselves teachers and lecturers in this field of study. This connection has helped to preserve a truth-seeking attitude, and has kept the charity organization societies from being swayed too much by the prejudices of their supporters. In fact, these societies have always recognized the necessity and accepted the duty of educating the public to give wisely as well as generously.

Two developments of extreme importance have resulted from this alliance of the charity organization movement with edu-

cational work — the establishment of schools of philanthropy to give training for social service, and the elevation in the standard of educational and personal equipment regarded as necessary for work in this field. Years ago it was not uncommon for the agent of a charitable society to be some one who had failed in other vocations, and whose employment was itself a measure of relief. Now some of the most capable of our university graduates are being drafted into this service, and special ability and professional training are required even in subordinate positions.

The old-time task of dealing out to the poor with some discretion whatever supplies of food, fuel, and old clothing were at hand did not seem difficult, but the agent of the present-day charitable society understands that he is dealing with pathological conditions of great variety and endless complications. He is expected in each case to make a correct diagnosis of the trouble and its cause, and then to organize, develop, and draw upon the resources of the community, economic and personal, for the appropriate and effective remedy. He must find not only food for the hungry and shelter for the homeless, but opportunity for the unfortunate, and health and efficiency for the sickly and indolent. He must restrain the self-indulgent, stimulate the inert, encourage the despondent, and strengthen the weak. One who attempts to lead the charitable forces of a community should thoroughly understand economic law. The professional services of lawyers, dentists, medical specialists, and nurses must be at command. The visiting agents must be intensely practical, able to see things as they appear from the points of view of the applicants of all nationalities, and from the most varied social environments. They must be practical psychologists — able to detect and repress the false note, and skillful in appealing to the latent desire for better things. They must be so versed in practical affairs that they can tell when an existing condition has been accounted for, and when a professed situation has been established as a fact. They should be expert in child-study, in dietetics, and practical housekeeping. They must be resourceful in adapting means to ends, forceful in execution, yet delicately sensitive to the effect of word or deed. They must thoroughly understand the social forces of their districts, both helpful and harmful, and withal be able to enlist and lead

volunteers in paths of helpful social service. It is not strange that such a task appeals to worthy young people who have an ambition to accomplish something worth while.

The effect of this new attitude toward social service is by no means confined to the charity organization societies. The older relief societies are accepting the new standards, and are calling upon the schools of philanthropy for trained workers. Humane societies, children's aid societies, and public charity boards are looking to the same sources for guidance, and the new spirit is taking possession of our police courts. The whole field of social service is becoming increasingly possessed of a spirit of youthful ambition. The fact that hopeless misery and want have persisted, and even increased, in the centers of our civilization and wealth, is no longer taken as a proof that such conditions must be accepted for the future. The discouragement resulting from the failure of doles to give relief is giving way to confidence, founded upon scientific analysis of the problem and partial attainment of results.

Undertaking work for the poor in this progressive spirit, it was to be expected that charitable societies would give increased attention to the broader questions of social reform, in which the strong arm of public opinion and governmental action can be brought into service — efforts for the improvement of the environment of the needy, the promotion of public health, the better protection and development of children, and the more efficient and economical administration of justice. Destitution and depravity are frequently manifestations of individual weakness, but no less frequently they arise from social wrongs and social neglect. It is in this field of social betterment that the greatest progress has been made in the past few years in work for the poor; and the recent endowment of the Sage Foundation for the investigation and promotion of effective methods of social advancement gives promise of accelerated progress in the near future.

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

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HARTFORD must celebrate its one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary before we can write of "Seventy-Five Years of Progress in Social Settlements." Arnold Toynbee, saving lives in the slums of London, lost his own life, and Oxford consecrated his memory by helping to erect the first settlement, Toynbee Hall, founded in 1884. Of course, as the log hut was in a way the first skyscraper, so the first man who befriended his less fortunate fellow-creature was really the first social settlement. But, as this is not a history of all good Samaritans, we can deal only with these last twenty-five years in which the fellowship-feeling has institutionalized itself — from the founding of Toynbee Hall to the seventy-fifth anniversary of Hartford Seminary.

A settlement is not merely a building squeezed into crowded quarters to make them still more crowded, from which sally forth a stream of licensed philanthropists fully determined to hunt the poor from slum to tenement. The soul of the social settlement is neighborliness, and in that transaction there must be at least two parties. The settlement must have the coöperation of the community if it would realize its ideal of "rehabilitating the neighborhood from within." Instead of, as of yore, one or two men helplessly isolated amid a mass of misery, ten or twenty now form a "resident club with a purpose," and the soul is bodied in a building.

Into this building come men and women from college, business, and profession, to share their lives in work and play with children and women from street and slum, and with men from the grimy factories. Out of this building some go to home or workshop new heartened for the fight, others to office or to college halls with a new grip upon the meaning of the life-struggle. There are three hundred such city settlements attempting "to extend democracy beyond its political expression," breaking

down the barriers of class and caste and creed. The idea is still expanding, and is now invading the country with settlements for neglected villages and the mountain-whites.

How the social settlement ministers, depends on where it ministers and who are the ministers. If it settles in the midst of foreigners, it will strive to make these suspicious and warring elements understand and respect one another. If it is in a Jewish district, there must be much literature and civics for these people who are aggressively seeking to understand our American institutions. If the district is very unhealthful, sanitative and medical work will be prominent.

There is no one type or pattern. The forms are not cast. There must be personality and plasticity in every settlement. One may specialize in children's work, and in it there is a crèche for infants. Health is inculcated, theoretically by teaching and practically by scrubbing, thrift by the Penny Savings Bank, social grace by entertainments, and real work by wood-carving and sewing. For the women there are country homes for summer escape, coal and clothing clubs in which to learn the advantage of coöperative buying. Æsthetic taste is developed by lending out pictures and by growing plants for prizes. In other settlements the open debates act as a safety-valve for society by providing a place where the revolutionists in politics and religion may explode. But the discussions are more than society's life-preservers, for, though the inflammatory speeches are often ready-made, they breathe a fine ardor of devotion and idealism. Many trade-unions now rent their rooms in a settlement instead of in a saloon; and, while chary of charity, men do go to the "Poor Man's Lawyer" for legal advice, to the lectures for instruction, and to the travel clubs, in which workmen by contributing a little week by week make tours even to foreign lands.

Does the critic ask, "Why is the social settlement necessary?" Are not the schools and libraries and parks of the state better than the private undertakings of the settlement? To belittle the works of the settlement is to disparage the pattern after we have seen the structure modeled from it. The settlement is drained by its very excess of good works. As soon as a settlement demonstrates the value of a social enterprise, the state or city bids for public favor by doing it in a grander way. The

Saturday-night concerts of England and the neighborhood-centers in the parks of Chicago are city enterprises, but they got their initiative from the settlement. An old lady told a settlement worker that her husband died of "general ability" — a rare but most fatal disease. It is the only one which can kill the settlement. When the millennium dawns and all social evils are exorcised, there will then be nothing left for the settlement to do. Until that perfect day there must be some such institution to experiment, to initiate new ideas, and to prod the slowly-plodding government into action.

The range of settlement activity is ever widening. From the individual, interest has gone to the group, and from the group to all society. The pioneers said, "Let us reform the vices of the victim of overcrowding" — the individual. Then they said, "Let us provide a room where the many victims can obtain some respite from overcrowding" — the group. To-day the settlements are saying, "Let us go to the root of the evils and abolish overcrowding." That means legislative action or "going into politics." They enforce old laws and help make new ones. While residents are still pouring tea at mothers' meetings, or giving Browning talks to the derelicts in the lodging-house annex, they are also on councils and in political clubs, demanding measures which make for better conditions, helping to evolve the new social state. They find that they can do this better by concerted action, and the latest development is the "trustification" of the settlements. All of those in northern New Jersey are in one union, and the Neighborhood Workers of New York also form one organization. The settlements thus bring a unified public sentiment to bear upon measures for the common good.

Besides its great social work of initiating legislation, instigating civic action, cleansing ward politics, creating a community spirit where formerly there was no corporate soul, and recovering to the city the idea of neighborhood, the settlement has worked directly for the individual. It has brought him into contact with the "residents," who are living testimonies to religion and morality.

So much has the settlement done for the man outside. But what has it done for the man inside? The "residents" share their lives, and they receive as they give. True, the settlements for some have been only pleasant citadels in the midst of the

underworld from which they view the havoc wrought by the sin and selfishness of to-day. They have been watch-towers rather than lighthouses. But, though the altruists inside have not always illuminated the ignorance of the masses outside, the masses have illuminated the ignorance of the altruists. What prejudices have been demolished, what enthusiasm has been roused in a man who got a first glimpse into the life and labor of the people by his visit to the settlement! One cannot estimate the indirect influence of the settlement upon our political and social life. One cause of the sympathetic response of Oxford and Cambridge to the labor-movement has been the social settlement. While this "laboratory for social facts" exists, men who talk and legislate about the poor can offer no excuse for ignorance.

Many lament the absence of religion from the settlement, but the founder, Canon Barnett, maintained that the only condition on which a settlement could be a meeting-ground for all creeds was non-sectarianism. In this neutrality some saw the settlement shorn of its real strength, and so with the "revolution of religion" to the individual came the religious social settlement. But religion in the settlement is generally emaciated. Most settlements now hold no formal religious exercises, but coöperation with the churches for social betterment was never so good as to-day. If the settlement, however, refuses to be swallowed up by its social work, and is not to resign the culture of the individual, there must come, as a more homogeneous population arises, a resurgence of the religious element.

EFFORTS TO PROMOTE TEMPERANCE

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It is possible that there are men in this twentieth century who are saying, "What is the cause that the former days were better than these?" Perhaps they agree with the sentiment expressed by that ancient writer who said, "Our fathers were worse than our grandfathers, we are worse than our fathers, and our children will be worse than we." If there are any of that class, they ought to lay aside their theories, face the facts, and see the wonderful progress which has been made here in America in the last three quarters of a century, not only in science, art, and invention, but also in missionary and philanthropic effort, and along the lines of temperance and moral reform.

It is hard for us to comprehend the conditions which prevailed in regard to temperance seventy-five or one hundred years ago; and if we were to go back to an earlier period, we should find that the conditions then were even worse. At an ordination in Hartford in 1784 one of the tavern-keepers presented his "ordination bill" for "keeping the ministers." Among other items were charges for "2 mugs tody, 1 pint wine, 18 boles punch, 11 bottles wine, 5 mugs flip, 3 boles tody, and 24 dinners." It is a significant fact that the charge for the "18 boles of punch" was just equal to the charge for the "24 dinners."

Dr. John Marsh is authority for the statement that in Connecticut, and throughout New England in the early part of the nineteenth century, the practice of serving intoxicating liquors at weddings and funerals, at ordinations and associations, at ministerial calls, and at gatherings of ministers and representatives of the churches, was almost universal. It was considered a luxury, a necessity, a universal panacea. The result was that "sottishness and drunkenness marked every village; the high-minded lawyer, the able physician, the eloquent preacher, were found filling the drunkard's grave."

Dr. Leonard Woods, who was a professor at Andover Seminary for nearly forty years, and who died in 1854, said, "I remember when I could number up among my acquaintances forty ministers who were either drunkards or immoderate drinkers." At an ordination which he attended in 1814 "two of the ministers were drunk, and a third was indecently excited." Another testified, "A great many deacons died drunkards in those days; I have a list of one hundred and twenty-three intemperate deacons in Massachusetts."

Dr. Lyman Beecher was installed at Litchfield in 1810. He says of an ordination which occurred at Plymouth soon after, "The preparation for our creature comforts, besides food, was a broad sideboard covered with decanters and bottles and sugar and pitchers of water. There we found all kinds of liquor then in vogue. The drinking was apparently universal. This preparation was made by the society as a matter of course. When the consociation arrived, they always took something to drink round, and also before the public services, and always on the return. The noise I cannot describe; it was the maximum of hilarity." He describes another similar ordination, and then he says, "I took an oath before God that I would never attend another ordination of that kind. My heart kindles at the thought of it now." The next year a committee that had been appointed by the Litchfield South Association to inquire into the growing evil and report a remedy, said that intemperance had for some time been increasing in the most alarming manner, but that they were obliged to confess that they did not perceive that anything could be done. In an instant Dr. Beecher was on his feet, and moved the discharge of the committee and the appointment of a new one. The next day this committee, of which he was chairman, brought in a report of which he himself said, "It was the most important paper I ever wrote." The report recommended that all ministers preach on the sin of intemperance, that church-members abstain from selling and drinking, that parents exclude ardent spirits from their families, that temperance literature be prepared and circulated, and that voluntary associations be organized. But the evil still continued, even among church-members; and, as late as 1825, when Dr. Leonard Bacon was installed over the First Church of New Haven, "free drinks were furnished at an adjacent bar to all

who chose to order them, and were settled for by the generous and hospitable society.”

In 1829 “The Connecticut State Temperance Society” was organized at Hartford. Rev. Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College, was elected president, Rev. Calvin Chapin was chairman of its executive committee, and Rev. John Marsh secretary. The report of the secretary, given at the annual meeting in 1830, showed that, in addition to the large annual importation of rum from the West Indies, there were in the state two rum distilleries and ten whisky and rum distilleries, all doing a large business, and three hundred smaller distilleries, chiefly of cider. There were ten hundred and twenty-six licensed retailers and four hundred licensed taverners. A population of 275,248 consumed annually, in addition to an untold amount of cider and wine, 1,238,616 gallons of spirituous liquors. Every twenty-fifth family in the state was engaged in supplying the rest with intoxicating drinks. As a result there were sixty-eight hundred and eighty-one common drunkards in the state. In nine parishes in Hartford County there were found by actual visitation five hundred and ninety-four drunkards, giving two thousand to the county. The Governor, the members of the Legislature, many of the ministers of the state, and leading citizens of New Haven were present and heard this report. It was then sent through the country and made a deep impression.

Between 1825 and 1835 a multitude of state and local temperance societies appeared in all parts of the country; and, as early as 1831, the Pennsylvania State Society adopted and recommended total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, including wine and cider. Similar action was quickly taken by many other societies. By the close of the year 1832 there were state temperance societies in twenty-one states, and the list of auxiliaries numbered nearly three thousand. In 1833 a temperance convention met in Philadelphia with four hundred delegates in attendance from twenty-one states. This convention organized a “Temperance Union” for the whole country. The next meeting of the American Temperance Union was a convention held at Saratoga in August, 1836, attended by three hundred and fifty delegates. This national convention put itself squarely on the platform of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, and from this time the movement for total abstinence went for-

ward very rapidly. In 1830 there were not far from one thousand cider-mills in Connecticut; but the report of the American Temperance Union in 1841 says, "The cider-mill has vanished from the premises of almost every reputable New England farmer, and the choicest wines are, by thousands and tens of thousands who once delighted in them, now classed with 'the drink of the drunkard.'" In 1843, only seven years after the adoption of total abstinence by the Saratoga Convention, it was estimated that there were not less than four million total abstainers in the United States.

In 1840 six men in Baltimore, who were organized into a club for "Social Tippling," reorganized their club into the "Washington Society," and took the pledge of total abstinence. "The Washingtonian Movement," as it was called, spread with wonderful rapidity, and within five years about half a million of drunkards had taken the pledge of total abstinence. The fact that many, perhaps the majority, of these afterward went back to their cups, caused thoughtful men to see that temperance work, to be successful, must be carried on by saving men from ever becoming drunkards, and by enacting laws which would remove temptation out of the pathway of those who had already fallen, or who were in special danger.

The result has been, on the one hand, the enactment of "License," "Local Option," and "Prohibitory" laws; and, on the other, the education of public sentiment, the circulation of temperance pledges, and the introduction of scientific temperance instruction into the public schools. Since the year 1882 nearly every state in the Union has put upon its statute-books a law compelling the teachers in its public schools to give the pupils instruction upon the effects of alcoholic drinks and narcotics upon the human system. Not only are churches, temperance organizations and temperance workers securing pledges against the use of strong drink, but many of the railway companies, large manufacturing concerns, and labor organizations are doing the same thing. On New Year's Day, 1908, a temperance pledge signed by twenty-five thousand employees on one of the great railway systems of this country was handed to the officers of that company.

Perhaps the most conclusive evidences of progress are to be seen in the temperance legislation of recent years. In 1842

every restrictive law on the statute-books of Connecticut was wiped out, and the future control of the traffic was left to moral suasion. The results proved conclusively that the action taken was a mistake. Twelve years later the state swung to the other extreme and enacted a state prohibitory law. For a time the law worked admirably, and within a year from the time of its enactment the Governor of the State testified that "drunkards were no longer seen on the streets, that crime had been materially diminished, that hundreds of families which had been great sufferers had been comfortably supplied, that public security had greatly increased, and that opposition to the law was scarcely heard of." The next year in his message to the legislature the Governor said, "There is scarcely an open grog-shop in the state, the jails are fast becoming tenantless, and a delightful air of security is everywhere enjoyed." The same year Dr. Bacon of New Haven said, "Never for twenty years has our city been so quiet as under its action." This law was repealed in 1873, and since that time the state has had local option, under which each city and town decides whether it will license certain places for the sale of liquor, or will exclude it altogether. Many of the states have had an experience very similar to that of Connecticut. Prohibitory laws have been enacted, and for a time enforced, then allowed to become largely a dead letter and repealed.

Within the past five years there has been an enormous reduction in the number of saloons, and in the last two years a large decrease in the amount of liquor manufactured and sold in the United States. Under the prohibitory and local-option laws the saloon has now been banished from more than half the territory of the United States, and nearly forty million of its people are now living in territory freed from the curse of the saloon. The year 1908 witnessed the closing of more than ten thousand saloons by popular vote under prohibition or local option. Massachusetts and Connecticut have at the present time the largest number of towns and cities under "no license" since the adoption of the system of local option, and the facts and figures prove conclusively that under "no license," even in the larger cities, there is a vast decrease in drunkenness and crime. The year 1908 witnessed the closing of more than fifteen hundred saloons in Illinois, more than six hundred in Indiana, and over

two thousand in Ohio, all under local option. At the beginning of the year 1909 eight states are under state prohibition; namely, Maine, North Dakota, Kansas, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina. Since Jan. 1, 1909, Tennessee has enacted a law prohibiting the sale of liquor "within four miles of a schoolhouse," and forbidding its manufacture in the state after Jan. 1, 1910.

The figures of the Internal Revenue Department for the year closing June 30, 1908, showed a decrease in the amount received for the manufacture and sale of liquor amounting to more than \$150,000,000. For the first four months of 1908 the states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania produced 1,000,000 gallons less whisky than in the corresponding months of the previous year. In Kentucky, where more than \$150,000,000 is invested in distilleries, the business has been seriously crippled by the voting out of the saloons, and the Jailers' State Association has just petitioned the Legislature for regular salaries, because under the present conditions the jails do not bring them fees enough for living expenses. Nearly every state in the Union has shown decided advance along temperance lines in the past three years, either in legislation, or in the decrease of drunkenness and crime, or in the numbers pledged to total abstinence. Some of the most prominent public officials, leaders in educational work, and champions of the labor-movement, have recently publicly declared themselves on the side of temperance and in opposition to the saloon. The churches, Protestant and Catholic alike, are almost a unit against the traffic; and, wonderful as has been the progress in the past few years, the friends of temperance look for still greater victories in the immediate future.

"He has sounded forth the trumpet
That shall never call retreat,
He is sifting out the souls of men
Before His judgment seat.
O, be swift my soul to answer Him,
Be jubilant, my feet,
For God is marching on."

THE BETTERMENT OF FAMILY LIFE IN AMERICA

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CONNECTICUT men have led in this movement. Benjamin Trumbull, nearly a century and a quarter ago, and the first President Dwight, were pioneers. Woolsey, Leonard Bacon, Leonard Woolsey Bacon, and Horace Bushnell, not to name the living, were leaders in their day. It would be difficult to name as many others from the entire country who showed a conspicuous interest in problems of the Family prior to 1880. Probably no theological seminary in the country is at present doing so much in the way of instruction upon the place of the Family in society and the work of the church as Hartford has been doing for a score of years under Professor Merriam.

The special task before me is to point to some of the particulars in which the present situation regarding the Family differs from that of seventy-five years ago. I should say in general that the present is a period of conscious effort to improve society as society, and therefore of necessity the Family has been brought to the front in most efforts at social improvement. Home missionary work, Sunday-schools, revivals, and the early stages of the temperance movement, were the chief reformatory efforts of the first third of the nineteenth century that affected American life as a whole, the anti-slavery efforts, then just beginning, being directed to a section of the country rather than to the whole people. All these appealed to people as individuals rather than as members of society.

The most fundamental and far-reaching change regarding the Family in the last seventy-five years has been the return to nature under the leadership of Horace Bushnell, the distinguished minister and citizen of Hartford. His *Christian Nurture* created an epoch on this subject. The immediate object of Bushnell was religious, in that he directed his criticism against the extreme individualism of his times, when theories concerning the entrance

upon a religious life were such that effort at conversion was put forth and was concentrated largely on the adult, as the only one who could easily be brought under the system in vogue. He did his work by showing that the method was unnatural, that it was the method of the ostrich, which leaves its offspring to the chances of the hot sand, and that it forgot the organic nature of the Family through which the entire life of the Home should be brought to bear on the child.

His book is shot through and through with this appeal to the very nature of society. So true is his insight that, though he shows no knowledge of the new science which sixty years ago had scarcely a name, yet the sociologist reads him with delight, finding his position in close accord with the teachings of Social Science. Like all such departures from the superficialities of tradition, this view met with opposition. The conception of the Family and of Society too, as in its way, though not in the way of dead matter, or even of mere biological existence, but in a spiritual, moral, organic way, is probably now accepted as a fundamental concept by most thinkers on social questions. Its practical value is, of course, but partially seen. All this is far removed from the intensely concentrated individualism of the hundred years and more of the preceding religious life of the country, especially of New England. We may say all this, and yet not do injustice to the power and blessings conferred on society by the older view.

A second change in regard to the treatment of the Family has been the resort to the scientific method. This probably did not grow out of Bushnell's course; but science and Bushnell are both of close kinship, because both fall back on nature for their data. He saw nature and to a degree treated it scientifically, yet he was a prophet, close of kin to the man of science, but not in his class. The patient collection of facts, their analysis and comparison, their relation to other social institutions and their functions, so far as regards the Family and its problems, has been the work of other men and falls within the period under consideration. Of statistics on marriage and divorce in 1834 there were practically none anywhere. Since then Woolsey's beginnings in his able book on divorce, the great *United States Report* of 1889, and its still greater successor of 1908 have put us in possession of the statistics and the laws of this and other

countries and their changes during the last forty years. The related subjects of marriage, divorce, chastity, and children are beginning to be studied together and as parts of one common problem of the Family, instead of separately, as in earlier periods. Beyond this, their study is made a part of a systematic treatment of the entire social order. It may safely be said that students of Social Science have come, within the present generation, to see that the study of the Family is as essential to a knowledge of Social Science as the study of the cell is to the biological sciences. It is true that research-work on the Family and the home as practical problems has not yet attained anything like the proportions that research into the history of domestic institutions has gained, but it is growing.

Thirdly, the place of the Home in the practical work of the Church and of Society generally is receiving renewed attention, but in a different way. Relatively the Home received more attention at the hands of the Church in the first third of the last century than it does to-day, for then the Sunday-school was in its infancy, and the societies for young people were unknown. The Home was of necessity looked to for religious training. To-day the Home shares the care of the young with these and other institutions in a way it did not seventy-five years ago. A search through the bibliography of the religious treatment of the Family shows more titles of books, addresses, and sermons on the Home of dates prior to 1834 than can be found since. The Home is probably aimed at quite as much to-day as it was then. But the method now is more indirect, for the aim now is to reach the Home through the Sunday-school and other organizations. Religious work is done *for* the Home rather than *through* it. The natural work of the Home is now turned over more than formerly to the Sunday-school and Young People's Societies. The Church is less inclined to put its hand directly on the Home itself and arouse it to its own work. That there is still much religious training in the Home is true — it may even be granted that there is more than formerly — but that does not meet the issue; for the question is, Does the Home do its own share of the work? Has it had the attention it deserves, its due proportion as compared with other agencies for training the young? To this question a negative answer must be given. Atrophy threatens the Home.

The Home Department of the Sunday-school, an institution of the last quarter of a century, is a most significant step in the right direction — not only for the half-million members it already has, but for its fundamental principle of using the Home itself for organized Bible-study. It is significant as the first device of special importance for the religious use of the Home that the Church has found in the last hundred years, and for its prophetic indication of further effort in the same direction.

The briefest reference only can be made to the growing recognition of the Home as an important factor in the problems of public education, the industrial situation, and social reform in general. Educators are now calling on us to see that the processes of education are going on in the Home as well as in the schoolroom. The almshouse has a far smaller place in dealing with poverty than it had formerly. The encouragement of the Home to self-help is made more of. The prevention of crime is now sought in the Home, as well as in other ways outside the prison. The Home and its work have become subjects of college study. The social settlement attends to the Home, and we are beginning to see that the citizen is made largely in the Home.

A fourth difference in the situation, and one that largely accounts for the one just noted, is due to the change in the organization of our churches. Early in the last century our local churches were, with the exception of the Sunday-school, without internal societies for the training of the young. To-day they are often a collection of several heterogeneous and unrelated organizations whose aim it is to train the young in religious knowledge and for Christian service. These societies work with little intelligent coöperation with each other or with the church as a whole. There is no well defined and clearly recognized division of labor between them. They rarely know the special methods of home training that affect the ideas and ideals of the children, and adjust their own work accordingly. The Sunday-school, the Young People's Society and the Home, generally work each in entire ignorance of what the other is doing and sometimes at cross-purposes. The method of seventy-five years ago, with all its crudities, did make the parent feel responsible for the religious training of the children. Crude though his effort may have been, still it was the father who taught the

catechism and the mother who prayed with the boy, and parental influence has in it something the mere teacher does not have. What is needed to-day is the recovery of the Home to its true place, whatever that may be, in the work of the Church. We shall not accomplish this until we shall have subjected our present system, or lack of system, in church organization to a careful analysis and a scientific measurement of respective values, such as is compelling readjustments in our industrial system and in education. The period of waste through lack of system in our religious organizations should be drawing to an end. The time for reconstruction and readjustment has come, and the beginnings of this work must be sought in our theological seminaries.

One other change should be noted. It is seen in the literature of the Family and its work. Prior to 1834, and for many years afterwards, there were no books that professed to treat the Family in a scientific way. Social Science then was largely confined to Politics and the Law. Everything written about the Family was along supposed Biblical lines and under the limitations which the current methods of Biblical interpretation imposed. There were a good many books on the Family with a practical aim, either sermons or sermonic in form — indeed, the titles in the bibliography in some of the great libraries show more books on subjects connected with the Family for the seventy-five years before 1834 than they do for the period since — but the warp of the treatment of this earlier literature was the theology of the times, and its woof was made up of traditional material. Even the burning question of infant-baptism was made with comparative infrequency to turn on the nature of the Family. Individualism held both parties to a discussion nearly alike in its toils. So far as I have seen, not a popular book on religion in the Family prior to Bushnell's *Christian Nurture* can be read to-day by the intelligent Christian with much satisfaction. We have discarded the old, while there is very little yet to take its place. The Church needs for its immediate use books and leaflets on the religious uses of the Home, that are at once scientifically sound, as the literature in the scientific field can now easily make them, and written in good literary style, so as to command the respect of intelligent people.

ABATEMENT OF THE SOCIAL EVIL

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AN historical sketch of the social evil that seeks to record progress in checking the advance of the "great black plague" in America during the last seventy-five years is impossible, because the social evil seems to have enlarged itself rather than to have decreased. It will, however, be possible to picture much activity against the scourge.

The opinion of many who are competent to speak is almost unanimous in the idea expressed by the following extract from the letter of a practicing physician in a suburb of Boston, Mass.: "My opinion, in fact, is not just formed, but merely strengthened by my talks with older practitioners. That things are increasing in the line of the social evil, is the opinion of nearly all. . . . My own clinical experience has shown me that youth is more advanced in the wrong direction than it was twenty years ago."

Evidence of direct effort on the part of the Church as an institution against this thing is hard to find. The Catholic Church, through its priesthood, has given some counsel and instruction in its sodalities, classes of girls and women, and at times of "retreat." The Protestant Church seems to have given little or nothing of such specific warning or instruction. However, countless persons from the Protestant Church, and the Catholic also, have, both as individuals and as members of societies, maintained noble works of rescue, and have sought to formulate plans for the prevention of the spread of this curse.

The greatest activity at present against the social evil is directed against it on the physical side by the medical profession. The social evil has a physical as well as a moral aspect. It is at the same time in a unique way a disease and a sin. It is particularly a social evil too, for it necessitates more than a single individual for its perpetration, and brings danger to more than two in its results. Illicit intercourse between the sexes, with its

fearful moral and physical results, seems to the writer to outrank tuberculosis in peril, both because of its immoral aspect, and because of its vastly greater physical extent. Moreover, it is deadly for the innocent, and brings blight on the whole life of the child, born or unborn. It is "a vast venereal peril which so seriously menaces the public health, and which, with alcohol and tuberculosis, constitutes one of the three great plagues that afflict humanity."

1. *The Fearfulness of the Social Evil.* — Outside of the medical profession very few appreciate the awfulness of the physical aspect of this sin. For the body it almost invariably means loathsome disease, and often horrid death, since fully ninety-five per cent. of prostitutes are diseased. The immediate diseases it may induce are syphilis, gonorrhœa, and chancroid. These are separate and distinct. Each works its own kind of havoc. The worst feature about the first two is that their blows fall most heavily on the innocent, *i.e.*, on the unoffending wife and the pure child. They can affect, and do endanger, every one "from the unborn babe to its grandmother." It is stated on unquestionable authority that there are more innocent wives treated for venereal disease to-day, through no fault of their own, than prostitutes that are treated. Syphilis is a most highly infectious disease. It is obtainable by a kiss, from towels, bed-linen, drinking-cups, a wetted lead-pencil, or any innocent medium which has come in contact with the mucous patches or sores of a diseased person. The virus of gonorrhœa is equally infectious. Thus not merely does illicit intercourse breed the disease, but the nurse, wife, or child in the home may be infected. In a case that is cited a syphilitic nursling infected twenty-three persons, mainly through its nurse. For three years or more, sometimes for five, or even in rare cases twelve, or until cured, the afflicted person is a source of danger. In the male the disease affects all parts of the body, including the bones, nerves, brain, and spinal cord. Even with a cure, after-effects cannot be guarded against. These may involve, in addition to the foregoing, the liver, the heart, and the arterial system. Much insanity may be traced to it, and ninety per cent. of locomotor ataxia is due to it. For the innocent wife syphilis means all that has been named for the man, and in addition monstrosities in children, many of which come into the world dead. Forty-

two per cent. of abortions and miscarriages are due to it. For the offspring it is most deadly. "The mortality of infants born of syphilitic mothers runs from sixty per cent. in private practice to more than eighty per cent. in hospital practice." Moreover, syphilis is transmitted, almost invariably, to the third generation, producing again children of unfit heritage.

Gonorrhœa does its most deadly work on the innocent wife. If she gives birth to a child, it will probably be her only one, for, owing to inflammations, she will become sterile. Indeed, she is fortunate if she escapes the surgeon's knife or does not lose her life. Neisser regards this disease as the cause of forty-five per cent. of wholly childless marriages. Nearly thirty per cent. of all venereal diseases occurring in private practice in New York City, and seventy per cent. of all women who came to the New York Hospital, during a certain period, were "respectable married women who had been infected by their husbands." "All physicians are agreed that over fifty per cent. of abdominal operations on women, and some observers place it over ninety per cent., are necessitated by this infection." For the man sterility is also the great risk and, besides this, it is very difficult to know when, if ever, the disease is cured. It invades the depths of his system, and may, escaping the most thorough medication, lie dormant for a long time and break out after ten, or even twenty, years, to smite long after it has been forgotten. About three per cent. of the cases have been found to be incurable. Eighty per cent. of the blindness of the new-born is caused by gonorrhœa. In 1890 there were 50,411 persons in this country blind in both eyes. Out of 68,000 blind persons, 15,000 innocent children lost their sight through this infection, and from fifteen per cent. to twenty-five per cent. of all blindness is due to this same cause.

Black as is its physical aspect, it must be clear that the moral aspect of the social evil is blacker. There is in it not only sin against those who should be dear, and against God's explicit command, but also against the very purpose of the Maker, who placed men in families to people the earth. It drags the marriage-relation in filthy mire. It lowers unspeakably the ideal of manhood and of womanhood. It stultifies the conscience and threatens to snuff out the moral sense entirely. It also loads the spirit with such a weight of guilt that it can scarcely look up to God or hear His call.

The extent of the social evil in our country is great. "It would be a conservative estimate to say that the morbidity from both these diseases represents sixty per cent. of the adult male population. Each year over 450,000 young men become infected with venereal disease; twenty per cent. before their twenty-first year, over sixty per cent. before their twenty-fifth year, more than eighty per cent. before they pass their thirtieth year. Each succeeding group which passes the sixteenth year furnishes its quota of victims, so that the total morbidity from this constantly cumulative growth forms an immense aggregation."

2. *Past Dealing with the Social Evil.* — Attempts to stem the tide by legislation have been many. Plans for governmental relementation have been tried or are still in force in various places, *e.g.*, in St. Louis (1872), New Orleans, France, Germany, Japan, Scandinavia, Denmark, and Great Britain.

There is a growing conviction, however, that this does more harm than good. In Scandinavia, Denmark, and Great Britain the laws have been repealed or modified. In Denmark and its sister nations a plan of registration with boards of health is in force. Physicians have to report those who are diseased as they do other contagious diseases. It seems absolutely wicked that the "medical secret" should be allowed to prevent the protection of the public or, what is worse, keep a physician from preventing a patient with uncured venereal disease from marrying a beautiful girl and ruining her happiness for life because he will not speak, or from warning a wife so that she may guard herself from an infected husband and not add bodily suffering to agony of soul. But it is true to-day that the great majority of physicians believe silence to be their duty and do not speak. Why is this not complicity in crime, if not in murder?

Society as a whole has aided, rather than hindered, this black evil because of its double standard of life, which unsparingly condemns in the guilty or unfortunate female what it overlooks in the male. It even goes further and permits the man to become a member of its best families and to possess himself of one of the sweetest daughters in the land, and dances at the wedding.

It is only since 1879 that the bacilli of venereal diseases have been recognized. In that year Neisser discovered the *gonococcus*, the germ of gonorrhœa. It was not, however, until within about five years that the active principle of syphilis was dis-

covered in the *spirochæta pallidum*. This was announced by Schaudinn and Hoffman, confirmed by Metchnikoff, and also by Simon Flexner. This new knowledge has made great strides of advance possible in treating the diseases, recognizing their most hidden manifestations, and knowing the ills which are their direct outgrowths.

In recent years also has come the writing of books, such as Dr. P. A. Morrow's *Social Diseases and Marriage*, a classic authority as well as a pioneer in its province, and the formation of societies, which contain men of all pursuits, such as The American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, a counterpart of societies in France and Germany. This seeks to be national in membership and to devise and use every means, physical, legal, educational, and moral, for stemming the flooding tide. There have also come such investigations as that of the so-called "Committee of Fifteen." Medical journals also are discussing the problem as never before. Medical societies are taking the matter up, and it is very significant that they all are regarding the problem as a moral as well as a physical one; and, further, that they seek the coöperation of educators and clergymen as well as the enlightenment and coöperation of the public. College presidents are also seeking to instruct and thus restrain their students. There is an awakening, which bids fair to become general, in the knowledge of the great need for arresting this pest. It is becoming clear that first steps downward must be prevented, as well as harm to innocent victims.

There is also a clearer understanding of the tremendous part that ignorance plays in this great social curse. Many of the young go into this damning excess with stifled consciences and no knowledge of its physical harm. "The majority of those who contract venereal diseases by illegitimate sexual intercourse are young. Of women in France twenty per cent. to forty per cent. are infected before they are nineteen, and among men fifteen per cent. of cases occur between eleven and twenty-one years of age. In Germany Erb finds that as many as eighty-five per cent. of men with gonorrhœa have contracted the disease between the age of sixteen and twenty-five. The majority of husbands who infect their wives contracted the disease before marriage." In the city of New York it was reported by a committee appointed to investigate the matter that of males between eighteen and

twenty-eight years seventy-five to ninety per cent. have had or now have gonorrhœa." The conviction of the power of instruction and enlightenment to guard and prevent is spreading, and the need of a general campaign to this end is being more and more acknowledged.

3. *Conclusion.* — The foregoing words picture something of what has recently been gained in knowledge concerning the social evil — in all cases the figures used have been the conservative ones — they have also sought to speak somewhat of the efforts to overcome this thing. These efforts seem to be sure prophecy of large results about to be accomplished. May the Church, through her ministers and membership, be aroused to the existence of this moral and physical pestilence; and, becoming instructed, help to enlighten ignorance, to restrain passion, and to spread a propaganda of moral and spiritual prophylaxis! Thus she will do work that she is most powerful to do and that can be done by no agency without her help. She must labor early and late to bring men and women to the purity of inner life and of body which comes to those who place themselves under the command and leadership of that one perfectly pure man, the holy and risen Saviour of men.

PENOLOGY AND CHILD SAVING

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It was early morning in the world of Penology when Hartford Seminary was founded. Only half a century had passed since John Howard had stirred the civilized world with his account of the state of prisons in England and on the Continent. Vilain of Ghent, contemporaneously with the work of Howard, had given to the world a model prison conducted upon the lines approved by modern penologists. In our own country our prisons were just emerging from the most shameful conditions. It was not many years since the jails in the larger cities were places for the promiscuous herding of all classes of prisoners, where every vice was practised without restraint, and crime was taught without rebuke. It was only seven years since Connecticut had given up the use, as a state prison, of the notorious copper-mine at Simsbury.

In 1827 in Boston, an investigation by the Prison Discipline Society of that city discovered thirty insane people imprisoned under the most disgraceful conditions imaginable, and these conditions were not exceptional. Imprisonment for debt was common. In 1833 it was estimated that seventy-five thousand persons were imprisoned for debt each year in the United States. Many states made no provision for the religious instruction of prisoners. In New Hampshire the state prison was paying into the state treasury from the labor of convicts from one thousand to five thousand dollars a year, and the state appropriated twenty-five dollars a year for religious work for the prisoners. Vermont expended one hundred dollars, and Massachusetts two hundred dollars a year for a like purpose.

A better day had dawned by 1834. Auburn Prison had begun its great career in 1816. The House of Refuge, on Blackwell's Island, New York, the first institution for juvenile delinquents in the United States, was opened in 1825. This was soon followed by similar institutions in Boston and Philadelphia.

Connecticut's fine new prison at Wethersfield welcomed the prisoners from the Simsbury copper-mine in 1827; and, under the able management of the Pilsburys, immediately took front rank among the penal institutions of the country. In 1829 the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania was opened. By 1830, only three years after the disclosure by the Prison Discipline Society of the facts above noted, Massachusetts had voted thirty thousand dollars for a hospital for lunatics. A spirit of greater humanity was coming to prevail toward the criminal and the unfortunate.

The outlook was, therefore, hopeful in 1834. But the penologist of to-day who should find himself suddenly transported to those times would miss most of what is best in his science. He would find no agreement as to object and methods in dealing with prisoners, no national societies for interchange of ideas, very little thought of reformation of criminals, no reformatories, no separation of first offenders from habitual criminals, no grading of prisoners, very little effort at religious instruction or education, no indeterminate sentence or parole system, no system of identification, and only the beginning of scientific and sympathetic study of the problem.

In thinking now of the progress of seventy-five years, we note first of all, as fundamental, the change that has taken place in the thought of men as to the object to be attained in dealing with criminals. In 1834 retribution and deterrence were very largely the ends aimed at in prison discipline. To-day, all intelligent prison men regard the reformation of the criminal in all possible cases as the object sought. With each decade conviction has strengthened that the criminal is a man, to be treated humanely, and, when possible, to be prepared for and restored to a good and useful life. With this end in view the harsh treatment which embittered every man subjected to it has been abandoned. Prisoners are better housed and better fed. Corporal punishment has almost wholly ceased. Religious instruction is provided. Prison schools have been established for the illiterate. Excellent libraries are furnished for the use of the prisoners. Many other helpful influences are brought to bear that the term of imprisonment may prove beneficial.

Moreover, it has been found that such treatment alone is not sufficient. It has come to be recognized that violators of the

law differ greatly. There are men who have deliberately chosen a life of crime, and there are those who in an unguarded moment have fallen. There are habitual, and there are accidental, criminals. There are men with long criminal careers, and there are first offenders. To reform the habitual criminal is a difficult undertaking. The restoration of the accidental criminal, the first offender, is largely a matter of proper treatment.

The recognition of these differences in prisoners and in the method of their treatment has brought about one of the most beneficent changes in prison management which the world has ever known, namely, the rise of the reformatory designed for younger and non-habitual criminals. The first and most famous of these in the United States was opened at Elmira, New York, in 1876.

Thirteen states now have reformatories. Into these institutions only young men who are first offenders are received. Behind all the work undertaken is the firm faith that by scientific study and proper treatment such men can be reformed, at least to the extent of causing society no further trouble. The three great agencies of reform are labor, education, and good morals. Religion is much to be desired, but a good moral character meets the end aimed at. Instead of being considered an exceptionally strong man whose will is to be broken, the prisoner is looked upon as a weak man whose will is to be made strong by systematic labor and study, that he may choose and persist in a right course. The object of labor in the reformatory is to develop the man and to teach him an occupation by which he may earn an honest living, rather than to pay the expenses of the institution.

To the success of these reformatory methods the indeterminate sentence and the parole system are indispensable, and are employed in connection with all reformatories and with many old-line prisons as well. Under the indeterminate system the prisoner is to be confined until, in the judgment of experts who have studied him, he is ready for a correct life. In practice the indeterminate sentence is at present limited by minimum and maximum sentences. The parole system gives opportunity for the prisoner to make trial of his ability to lead an honorable life outside of prison walls before his complete discharge. The methods employed in the reformatories and in other modern prisons were

to a large extent developed abroad, chiefly by four men: Captain Machonochie on Norfolk Island, New South Wales; Sir Walter Crofton in Ireland; Montesinos in Spain; and Obermaier in Bavaria.

It is of the utmost importance to have trained men at the head of penal institutions. In no branch of effort is expert knowledge more essential. Seventy-five years ago such men were almost unknown. To-day we are fortunate in having a large and constantly increasing number of expert wardens and superintendents. In the earlier period there was little agreement as to penological principles and methods; each warden did what seemed good in his own eyes. In 1870 the National Prison Congress was organized and has been instrumental in diffusing knowledge and in creating a consensus of opinion as to the best methods in prison work. The National Conference of Charities and Correction has also been of much service in the same way.

Whatever progress in dealing with criminals has been or may be made, the ideal is the prevention of crime. And the work of child-saving is the chief agency of prevention. A large percentage of crime can be traced to lack of home or to poor home influences. The work of rescuing homeless children, or children from homes worse than none, is very important. A great work of this kind has been done by the Children's Aid Society of New York, organized in 1853 by Charles Loring Brace, who for many years was its leading spirit. Among the states, Michigan stands preëminent in this good work, largely because her leaders recognized that the thing to be accomplished was not to keep children in an institution, but at the earliest possible moment to place them in good homes.

More recent years have witnessed the establishment in our cities of juvenile courts, by which young boys and girls are kept from the contaminating influences of the regular police courts and, with the aid of the probation system, are spared the stamp of criminality. By the wise but firm treatment of experts connected with these courts they are often led to see the desirability of choosing a right life. Hope for the future lies largely in prevention. The solution of the problem of crime, as of almost every moral problem, will be found in the proper treatment of the child.

IX. HOME MISSIONS

THEORY AND METHOD OF HOME MISSIONS

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SEVENTY-FIVE years of Home Missions means seventy-five years of effort on the part of the Christian people of America to build a Christian Nation.

The founders were, in their leaders, for the most part, Christian men, whether Puritan, Dutch, Quaker, Huguenot, or Cavalier churchmen. They sought one supreme good, namely, freedom to worship "as the Spirit taught and as conscience interpreted."

There was no distinctively Home Mission endeavor, aside from various attempts to evangelize the Indians, before the Revolutionary War. After that war, when settlements began to spread in Vermont and westward into New York and Ohio, the churches began to unite to send their pastors to visit and give ministrations in the Gospel to these new communities.

The first Home Missionary Society was organized in Connecticut in 1798. Soon it became evident that, instead of visits by a preacher, these new communities must have churches and settled ministers, and that they must have help to establish and maintain them. The Congregational churches of New England, then numbering more than six hundred, contributed money and furnished men for this new Kingdom enterprise.

In 1834, the beginning of the period under review, the frontier had moved from Western New York and Ohio to beyond the Mississippi. The North Western Territory had been created in 1787, and had opened up to settlement that vast keystone of the continent lying between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and the Great Lakes. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 had added another vast section. Already there were two states west of the Mississippi — Arkansas and Missouri. The stream of west-

bound emigration created a new problem and developed a new interest in Home Missions. It was a severe problem because conditions were so primitive over all this vast territory. Communication and transportation were slow and difficult. Railroad construction was only begun in 1834. The first locomotive engine was built in 1833. Mills and Schermerhorn, sent out in 1812 to ascertain conditions in the West, reported only ten churches and seven hundred and twenty members in Illinois, which then had twelve thousand population. The first sermon in the place where Chicago now stands was preached by Jeremiah Porter in 1833.

In 1834 all the larger denominations had organized to supply the need of these new fields in the West. The Protestant Episcopal Church was yet small, having only about nine thousand communicants. The Methodist Episcopal Church, especially through its itinerant ministry, had been a mighty force in this new country from the beginning of the century. These early circuit-riders were heroic men whose zeal and toil are scarcely exceeded in the annals of Christian history. It is said that the average ministerial life of these men was but eight years.

In 1826 the American Home Missionary Society was organized, in which, more effectively to meet the need of this great new country, the Congregational and Presbyterian, Reformed and Associate Reformed, Churches joined in a Plan of Union by which they should act together. In 1826 one half of the churches on the Western Reserve in Ohio had less than twenty-five members each, and most of them were without permanent ministers. In twenty-five years two hundred churches had been planted in this territory by this Society and supplied with able pastors. A similar change followed in the settlements along the Ohio River, and in Indiana and Illinois.

The work of Home Missions in 1834 and for the next fifty years was for the most part simple. One thing needed to be done, namely, to supply new communities with the Gospel ministry and Christian institutions. Its work was to establish and maintain churches. The appeal to the older churches was vivid and picturesque. Their response was quick and generous. The receipts of the American Home Missionary Society, in 1835-36 reached for the first time \$100,000.

The denominations thus federated worked in harmony, but as they grew in strength each began to undertake work independently. Thus the Plan of Union which had worked so well was gradually abandoned, till the compact was formally annulled in 1857. The receipts of the American Home Missionary Society, however, show no break at that time. Instead, they steadily increased, coming now from Congregationalists alone, till in 1885-86 they amounted to \$524,544. For the decade 1886-96 the average was over \$605,000. The gifts and work of other denominations increased in similar proportion.

The Home Missionary has been an incalculably important factor in the building of our nation. The measure of influence of such men as Manasseh Cutler in Southern Ohio, Solomon Giddings at St. Louis, and the "Iowa Band," is beyond computation. These men and their co-workers did far more than organize churches. They built and maintained academies and colleges. They laid the foundations of Christian commonwealths. These men were educators and statesmen, as well as pioneer missionaries.

When the Civil War was ended in 1865, a new field and problem was opened up and laid upon the churches of the North. A race of four millions of freed slaves must be fitted for citizenship. The South was then unable, smitten as its whole country had been by the war, to undertake that work. To this call the churches responded, sending teachers, founding and supporting schools for the freedmen, and organizing churches. This work was undertaken with vigor and soon grew to great proportions. It has since been generously sustained by the Christian people of the North without diminishing their contributions for Home Mission work in the West. The American Missionary Association took charge of this work for the Congregational churches. In 1885-86 the total receipts of this Association were \$385,704 and have since been increased to about half a million dollars yearly.

Another phase of Home Missionary work was that undertaken by the American Sunday-school Union, begun in 1824 for the purpose of organizing Sunday-schools in communities destitute of religious privileges. The work was undenominational, was supported by churches of every name, and has been pushed with vigor, with the expenditure of millions of dollars.

Centers of religious influence and education have been established in thousands of places. Similar pioneer work has been and still is maintained by each of the larger denominations.

During the last twenty-five years the work of Home Missions has taken on new aspects; its simple problem has become complex. Although there is no longer a general Western frontier line, the entire country having been practically settled up, there are yet places where all the earlier conditions prevail, so that every phase of the earlier work is still needed. Great dry regions are being occupied by homesteaders. The Government reclamation service has already changed over 3,500,000 acres from barren desert to acres of marvelous fertility. These lands are being settled quickly and thickly. Men have learned how to prosecute successfully "dry farming," and without the irrigating ditch great ranches are being transformed into farms. New territories, formerly Indian reservations, are being opened for settlement. Some of the largest states, like Montana and Texas, are in the youth of their development. The new community must yet be provided with religious privileges and institutions.

But the development of the West has drained New England and the older states of their best young life. The New England country church, which fifty years ago was strong and gave liberally to Home Missions, has in many instances become dependent upon Home Missionary aid in order to live. It must be supported, for from these hillsides young life still flows westward and to the city. This is now a very important and considerable branch of Home Missionary enterprise.

The rapid increase of the population of cities, an almost startling feature of the world's life, has made the city, east and west, as great and as crucial a problem as the New West ever was, whether viewed in its relation to Kingdom progress or the country's welfare. To evangelize our cities, to build and maintain in them churches and Christian institutions so strong that they will dominate the city's life — this is to-day the largest and most crucial problem in the enterprise of Home Missions.

Together with the city problem has come the problem of the immigrant. The two are largely bound together, since so large a proportion of these foreigners stay in the cities. The tide of

immigration rose from 1865 to 1882 and again in 1892. So long as the major part were either Roman Catholics from Ireland or Protestants from Northern Europe, to give these newcomers Christian care did not loom up as a definite or difficult problem. But when in 1900 the tide set in from Southern Europe, and increased till these new citizens of foreign language and life numbered more than a million a year, the work of teaching them what Christianity really is, of fitting them for citizenship in a free Christian country, as well as of saving their souls, began to grip the mind of the churches as a new and pressing phase of Home Missions. This is as yet a work but feebly undertaken. The public schools are doing superb work in behalf of the children, in respect of secular education and patriotism. Some churches and the Home Missionary societies have made an excellent and promising beginning at this, their now most difficult task. All they have done, however, is but a beginning.

The problem is most acute in New York City and in New England. Of 800,000 immigrants arriving at the port of New York, 14,000 went south of Mason and Dixon's Line, 44,000 went west of the Mississippi, 353,000 stayed in the city of New York. In 1902 New York was the fourth largest Italian city; in 1906 it was the second; to-day it is the largest in the world. This illustrates the situation in all the North Atlantic cities. One quarter of the population of New Haven, Conn., is Italian.

Seventy-five years ago the population of New England was homogeneous — Anglo-Saxon, Protestant. To-day Massachusetts is the most foreign state in the Union, and Connecticut is close behind. Thus Puritan New England, with about sixty per cent. of its population of foreign parentage, has become a new frontier, and therefore a field for Home Missions.

The development of the New South is also claiming the attention of the northern Puritan churches. Their democratic ideals in civic and church life are needed and wanted. It is predicted that the South will be the richest section of the country. It will unquestionably have the largest proportion of Anglo-Saxon population. Its cities will grow. Its spirit and institutions will be one with the rest of the land. Its religious needs must be considered and provided for by the churches which seek to make and keep the entire land and all its people Christian.

The problem and work of the Home Missionary societies are

now complex and difficult, both for the above reasons, and also because we have come into a new era of social service. In recent years Christian activity has broadened out into many new channels, and each new form of service, whether religious or philanthropic, claims a part of the service, energy, and money resources of the Church. How varied and numerous these forms of social service have become is witnessed by the fact that the Year-Book of the Charity Organization Society of New York City, which gives but a paragraph descriptive of each of her philanthropic, educational, and religious institutions, is a book of over eight hundred pages. A bewildering multitude of things are now being done, local, city, state, nation-wide in their scope, maintained chiefly by the people of the churches. All of them are secondary Home Missionary activities. The development of all these activities and institutions is one of the marks of the progress of seventy-five years.

But these multiplied social activities not only are distinct marks of present progress, but they also immediately affect the work of Home Missions in two ways:—

(1) They compel, in some degree, a change in its program. As expressing the outreach of the Church to win and mold the world, the program and method of Home Missions must be in accord with the spirit and need of the times. Such an adjustment of organization and method has been in part already made, as appears in the Department of Church and Labor instituted and maintained by the Presbyterian Home Missionary Society, and the plan of the Congregationalists to establish a similar department, which they have been compelled to delay for lack of income.

(2) Another very distinct effect of the new social propaganda has been to weaken the Church in the esteem of the people. Other institutions now rival her and receive support which formerly was given to her. This is one of the potent reasons why the income of the Home Missionary societies has not been increased during the last ten years. Thirty or forty years ago evangelization and the establishment of churches was felt to be the one imperative work of the Church, and the response to need and opportunity was instant and generous. Now other needs and forms of Christian service have arisen. We are in the period of adjustment to new sociological conditions, and such readjust-

ment of thought and life to new conditions on the part of large bodies of people and organizations cannot be made quickly.

The work of Home Missions is receiving a new definition. Its methods are changing, its scope widening. When the definition of the larger need is grasped, the cause will regain its place in the esteem and gifts of Christian people. In this new definition it will be seen that while social ministries are necessary in both the older and newer communities, among the native and the foreign-born, the Church is and will be the essential institution through whose teaching and life alone these social ministries can be maintained.

The specific work of Home Missions is now, as it has been from the beginning, the establishment and maintenance of churches. The very conditions which have made a manifold social service necessary have developed a new emphasis of necessity that this thing shall be done and well done. Into these churches must be gathered the resources of energy and wealth of communities, that by their use and application in Christian service a Christian citizenship shall be created and preserved.

The need of Home Missions is not passing by. The changed conditions of seventy-five years have rather created a new and greater need, as they have made the work many times more complex and difficult. Its workers have always been inspired by two motives, loyalty to Christ and to country. These still abide, with an increasing appeal to the patriotic, for if this country is ever all evangelized and all its many-tongued people made and kept Christian, the Church must do it. In this lies our nation's only security and hope.

But the necessity for the vigorous maintenance of the work of Home Missions is deeper and higher than even the welfare of our own country. America is related to the world. The possibility of her power in world evangelization is immeasurable. To save America for Christ and her own great future is an inspiring task. To save America for Christ that America may do her full share in saving the world — this is the goal that Christ sets before us. This is the end and inspiration of Home Missions.

HOME MISSION WORK AMONG THE FREEDMEN

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THE Negro in North America has always been in contact with Christian white people. He came here as a heathen, and he has been brought from heathenism to Christianity, but the process has been unlike missionary work as it has usually been conducted. For the Negro, in his relation to his Christian white neighbor, differed materially from the ordinary non-Christian man. He was the Christian's property. The Christian, then, must look at him with a divided mind. On the one hand, he remembered his black neighbor's soul; but, on the other hand, he considered his own property interests. The consequent mental struggle is interesting, as reflected in the literature, the ecclesiastical decisions, and the laws of the slavery period. We cannot follow that struggle in detail. Christian people did not mean to neglect their duty to the Negro; General "Stonewall" Jackson was not alone in teaching in a colored Sunday-school. But on the whole, as time went on, the property idea of the Negro came to dominate the idea of the Negro as entitled to the highest that God might give to him. Teaching a colored person to read the Bible, for example, became a crime in a large section of the land; religious services were restricted; legal marriage was forbidden.

Of this predominance of the property idea over the true Christian idea we give one example only, an ecclesiastical decision in 1835 of the Savannah River Baptist Association of Ministers. It was a decision intended to show that the separation of slave (hence not legal) husband and wife by sale was wholly consistent with Christian principles. The decision was: "that such separation, among persons situated as slaves are, is civilly a separation by death, and that in the sight of God it would be so

viewed. To forbid second marriages in such case would be to expose the parties to church censure for disobedience to their masters, and to the spirit of that command which regulates marriage among Christians. The slaves are not free agents, and a dissolution by death is not more entirely without their consent and beyond their control than by such separation" (Du Bois, *Negro Church*, p. 56).

We recognize fully that much was done, with earnestness and good results, by that part of the master-class which was Christian; but in the nature of the case the general mass of slaves could not receive from their masters the *whole* Gospel. The master-class, however, was not the only agency. An important influence was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, incorporated in England in 1701, one of whose objects was "the conversion of the Negroes" (*Negro Church*, p. 12). Until the War of the Revolution this society put forth earnest efforts among the Negroes, both slave and free, both directly and by way of urging the master-class to do their duty. The Moravians, or United Brethren, also worked among the Negroes. In 1795 it is supposed that there were about nineteen thousand colored Baptist and thirteen thousand colored Methodist church-members. Not far from 1835 these two great denominations paid more earnest attention to this work, and it is thought that just before the Civil War there may have been 468,000 colored church-members in the South, of whom 215,000 were Methodists and 175,000 Baptists (*Negro Church*, pp. 19, 29).

In part, in the slaveholding states, the colored and white were members of the same church, having one pastor and worshipping in the same building, either at different hours of the day or with seats in different parts of the house. In part the organizations were separate, frequently with colored preachers for the colored churches, but under the general oversight of the white people. The *Jubilee Volume* of the Baptist Home Mission Society (1882) refers to the first colored Baptist church of Savannah as organized in 1788, and as having 1200 members in 1848. A second colored Baptist church was organized in Savannah in 1803; one in Portsmouth, Va., in 1798. A colored Baptist church in Richmond, Va., had 2000 members soon after 1841. That in Lexington, Ky., was in 1846 the largest in the

city, with 1143 members. In 1845 there were 5600 colored members of churches in the Baptist Association at Augusta, Ga., one church alone, the Springfield, having 1173.

Another influence beginning before the War of Emancipation and deserving special mention is the American Missionary Association. This was an undenominational movement, organized Sept. 3, 1846, being practically a combination of several previous local movements in Connecticut and Ohio. This organization was so strongly anti-slavery that it could not in its early years have direct access to the slave. "The American Missionary Association has the distinction of having made the first decided efforts, while slavery existed, for the education and religious instruction of the white people of the South on an avowedly anti-slavery basis" (Cooper, *Sixty Years and Beyond*). Mention also should be made, because of their subsequent work, of the colored organizations formed in the North among the free Negroes; especially of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, formally organized in Philadelphia in 1816; the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, New York, 1820; and separate colored Baptist Associations, the first in Ohio in 1836.

And now comes the War. The American Missionary Association, already organized and full of fervent conviction, is the first to enter the field, its earliest missionary reaching Hampton, Va., Sept. 3, 1861. By 1864 it had 250 missionaries and teachers in the South. The first appointment by the American Baptist Home Mission Society was Jan. 30, 1862, although the distinctive work of that society among the freedmen was not fairly begun until 1864. The Methodists sent their missionaries soon after the close of the War, the first to the State of Georgia being Rev. George Sanding, who, in May, 1908, died in Atlanta. He was an Englishman, to which fact he occasionally appealed, as the Apostle Paul to his Roman citizenship, and probably thereby preserved his life for the work. He was a man of unusual earnestness and power, with a fire which fourscore years did not quench, and who did a lasting and widespread work. The Presbyterians, the Episcopalians, and others were not far behind. The impoverished white Southern churches also never wholly gave up their work for the Negro. As before the War "Stonewall" Jackson

taught in the Presbyterian Negro Sunday-school, so after the War the family of General and Senator John B. Gordon taught in a Presbyterian Sunday-school for colored children near Atlanta.

Religious work among the colored people has suffered from the inheritance of slavery. In the days when they were regarded as property, they were taught the Christian duty of obedience to man; but how could they be taught, with real effectiveness, the Christian privileges of wisdom, of liberty, and of home? Similarly, since the War they have been looked upon as inferior and destined to remain such forever. Legislation and custom are positive in their assertion that they are not the same as other people, but must stand aside. Generally — there are some exceptions — the Negro is not to attend the same church as the white man except as janitor. Even in a denomination like the Congregationalist the white and colored churches do not unite as members of the same Convention or Association even in a bare business capacity; they find real fellowship only as they meet in some great gathering in a Northern state. It is inevitable that this condition of affairs should have a certain effect upon religious work among the colored people.

In broad outline, the distinctively church-work among the Negroes is under control of their own great denominations, which rapidly covered most of the field as soon as the War opened the way. The distinctively educational work, funds for which must largely be obtained from without, has more generally remained, and naturally so, in the hands of outside organizations. It must be remembered that the colored children are not given the same opportunity as the white from the public funds. For instance, in the four largest cities in Georgia, Atlanta, Savannah, Augusta, and Macon, there are public high schools for white children, but none for colored; and the grammar-school accommodations for the colored children are wholly inadequate to the school population. Conditions like this are widespread; and as long as they last, there is need of extra funds for the support of missionary schools among the colored people.

The latest available figures at my disposal give the following statistics in regard to the churches: —

	DATE	MEMBERS	PROPERTY
Baptists	1908	1,864,877	\$14,376,372 (1905)
African M.E.	1908	858,323	9,404,675 (1903)
African M.E. Zion	1908	583,106	5,094,000 (1905)
M.E.	1906	327,000	4,566,951 (1906)
Colored M.E.	1908	214,987	1,715,566 (1906)
Others		166,828	2,519,313 (1906)
Total		4,024,834	\$37,676,877

These figures are undoubtedly larger than they ought to be. Pastors sometimes say that they have such and such a number of church-members, if they only knew where to find them. The church-property is often heavily mortgaged. But, in a general way, the figures show what the denominations are doing in church-work.

In educational work, in the early years after the War, large sums of money were spent and much good was accomplished, prior to the establishment of public-school systems in the Southern states (the credit for which establishment belongs chiefly to the so-called "carpet bag" governments), by the United States Government through the Freedmen's Bureau. In 1866 this bureau supported 975 schools, with 1405 teachers, the majority of whom were white, and 90,778 pupils. The corresponding figures in 1870 were 2677, 3300, and 149,581. Who can deny to that work, and to the early public-school work of the states, a real right to be characterized as "missionary"? But in this paper we have especially in mind what is more usually termed benevolent, and may say that school missionary work can be looked at as fourfold: that of the colored churches themselves, that of Northern missionary societies, that of Southern white churches, and of the independent schools.

1. *The Independent Schools.* — Examples of these are: The two great industrial schools, Hampton Institute (originally under the American Missionary Association) and Tuskegee Institute; Howard University, whose theological work is still aided by Congregationalists; Atlanta University and Leland University, originally fostered by the Congregational and Baptist denominations respectively; a number of institutions aided by the General Education Board, which also assists some of the institutions

just named and certain denominational schools; and the recent Jeanes Fund for common schools in the rural districts.

2. *The Southern White Churches.*—These have not done so much as the other agencies. The causes are not far to seek: their comparative poverty, the claims of their own work, the fact that the Northern churches are working among the colored people, a considerable measure of indifference, and more or less fear of friction. Yet something has been done, as may be seen in the work of the Stillman Institute in Tuscaloosa, Ala., sustained by the Southern Presbyterians; and Paine College, Augusta, Ga., largely supported by the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and with colored and white Southern teachers on the same faculty.

3. *The Colored Churches.*—In part these work in coöperation with others, notably the Baptists, who affiliate largely with the Northern Baptist Missionary Society, and the colored Methodist Episcopalians, as noted just above. In still larger measure they work independently, seeking some outside help, but also paying much themselves. The work which they do is of immense value. Those in authority are themselves educated in coöperation, finance, and management, and thousands of pupils each year are brought under instruction. Especial mention ought to be made of Wilberforce University in Ohio, established in 1856, and so the oldest Negro institution in the United States, which is under the control of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Recent figures by Vass (Du Bois, *Economic Coöperation*, p. 73) give a reasonably correct idea of what is done by the three largest colored denominations:—

	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS	PUPILS	VALUE OF PLANTS	YEARLY EXPENSES
Baptists	88	440	8,947	\$600,000	\$157,324
African M.E. . . .	24	160	6,685	750,000	125,000
African M.E. Zion	10	70	2,500	200,000	50,000
Total	122	670	18,132	\$1,550,000	\$332,324

4. *The Northern Benevolent Societies.*—A powerful agency is the General Education Board, which investigates the whole field and assists many schools. The American Missionary

Association, because of its early entrance into the field and occupation of strategic points, has been a tremendous power. Its schools of all types for Negroes, six of them chartered, in 1906 numbered sixty-one, with 13,042 pupils, of whom 172 were in college courses. The American Baptist Home Mission Society began active work in 1864, and perhaps on the whole has a work among the colored people more carefully coördinated than that of any other body of churches. At the close of forty years of work it had spent over four million dollars and was fostering eleven higher and fifteen secondary institutions, having a property valued at one and three fourths million dollars, 349 teachers and 7812 students, of whom 480 were studying for the ministry and 189 were doing college work. The Presbyterian Board of Missions, which also began work in 1864, reports in 1907 one hundred and fifteen schools of all kinds, with 334 teachers and 13,345 pupils. The Freedman's Aid Society (M.E.) reports (1908) twenty-two institutions with 7768 students. The United Presbyterians, Friends, Episcopalians, Unitarians, Catholics, all share in the work.

“None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself.” The problem is, How shall the Northern white man, the Southern white man, and the Southern colored man be brought, all together, to see the situation “eye to eye,” as the Lord himself sees it, in the Southern field. We all need to be willing to learn; no one of the three parties as yet can see perfectly. In the meantime, we who are strong should help the weaker brethren, and all should confer and labor together, that in the end we may best serve the interests of our common country and of the Kingdom of God.

HOME MISSIONS IN THE WEST

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THE Christian conquest of a continent, within the lifetime of many of its citizens, is the unparalleled achievement of American Home Missions. History has no other record of the lifting of an infant nation to the position of the world's foremost force for righteousness and peace within the brief span of a human life. So quietly has this work loomed up amid the century's crush and clatter, that many have lived in unconsciousness of its grandeur and of its relation to our national welfare, until, like some cloud-covered mountain, it has been disclosed by the parting of the mists and smoke that have shrouded it — the most massive and majestic object on our horizon. Never before in so short a time over so large an area were such tremendous issues fought out by the moral and religious forces of any nation. Recall the feeble beginnings and slender resources of the Home Missionary movement, the fearful odds it encountered, the varied problems and sudden changes it was called to face. Review its rapid advance under the stress of national expansion, and under the strain of an industrial development furiously driven by those gigantic forces that the nineteenth century threw out upon the world. How tirelessly it struggled among the race-torrents that flooded our nation, and amidst those whorls of population that swept into and around our cities! Out of vast social upheavals and national disorders, intricate, puzzling, passionate, Home Missions emerged holding aloft the Cross, bringing order out of chaos, and determining the place of leadership and power the American people have been called to take in world-wide movements for democracy and evangelization.

The preparation for this movement opens a romantic history. Twice did Rome under the Spanish and French occupations overrun and possess the New World, to all appearances hopelessly dooming the broad West to the stifling influences of a

bigoted ecclesiasticism. Strangely, and as suddenly as from a paralyzed hand, this huge domain slipped from her grasp. This repeated sweep and collapse of the Papal propaganda, followed by the dissemination throughout this wide area of the ideas and institutions of the Protestant colonies on the Atlantic seaboard — colonies that had been founded, without exception, on religious principles and from avowed missionary motives — must ever appear one of the most remarkable overrulings of history. Makers of commonwealths never had nobler missionary ancestry than the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, their Puritan brothers, and the Huguenots of the settlements in the South. Safeguarded by ocean-barriers from undue Old World interference, fused into a nationality by revolutionary struggles, tempered by the heat of great revival fires, the sturdy descendants of these colonists at the opening of the nineteenth century set themselves to the building of the world's greatest Christian republic.

The earliest Home Missionary impulses had already sprung from New England, the religious heart of the country, at a time when her churches had been cleansed by powerful spiritual awakenings. It was at first but little more than a spasmodic and somewhat futile attempt at pastoral evangelism. This had later led to the formation of State Societies in all the New England states, which for thirty years prior to a national organization, with characteristic unselfishness, sent nearly every dollar they raised and every missionary they supported into the western communities just forming beyond their own borders.

At the beginning of the period covered by this review, in spite of the quickened life of the churches, the moral conditions, particularly as one went westward, were deplorable. Intemperance was strongly entrenched behind business and social practices. Every laborer was supplied with grog. The chief bill for festive occasions, and even for such religious events as ordinations, was for rum, while church-officials engaged in the liquor traffic, and polite drunkenness was condoned.

Gambling was rife. Colleges, churches, charities, even civic and military improvements, were supported by lotteries. Dueling was the code of honor. Prize-fights were frequent. French infidelity was popular. There were few professional men or officials, we are told, who were not skeptics; in many colleges there was "scarcely a praying student"; and infidel clubs, with

their profanity, vulgarity, and tippling habits, held the place in those institutions that the Young Men's Christian Associations do to-day. To the new settlements, where they could escape the courts, flocked adventurers, criminals, desperate characters, fugitives from justice. They frequently formed the controlling elements, effectually preventing the establishment of law and order. To many an anxious watcher in that black night the dawn seemed far away. On a tour of investigation, in 1813, of the states lying between the Alleghanies, the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Gulf, Samuel J. Mills on careful estimates declared that there were 75,000 families without a copy of the Scriptures. He reported regions containing from 20,000 to 50,000 people without Christian ministers or religious services of any sort. Sunday was observed as a day of revelry and sport, of drunkenness and fighting, with games, balls, and rude theaters in full swing. With religion and law so remote, a loose observance of the marriage tie was prevalent on the frontier. There were clipped, in 1815, during one month, from one twentieth of the newspapers of the country, over one hundred different advertisements for runaway wives — a sufficient comment on the impurity, brutality, and unhappiness of family life in the wilds.

But the trouble was aggravated by the almost limitless area over which these evils could spread and establish themselves. The churches and Christian institutions of the nation formed a narrow fringe along the Atlantic border. Behind the entire stretch of these Atlantic states lay the great wilderness, traversed by hostile tribes, dotted by irreligious settlements, pushing its rough frontier life to the banks of the Mississippi. The Christian occupation of the newly opened "Northwest Territory" — the five states that lay between the Great Lakes and the Ohio — was alone a work large enough to tax to the full the religious forces of the nation. But the "Louisiana Purchase" had now doubled the national domain, adding thirteen more imperial commonwealths for exploration and occupancy, stretching west over the Rockies from the Gulf to the British line. Grave political fears were expressed lest the national government itself should break under the vast administrative burdens arising from this doubling of our possessions. The Pacific coast was, of course, not included in the nation's thought, though its beginnings were only thirty years away.

The first problem of Western Home Missions, therefore, was one of expansion. From slender resources and almost no organization must be evolved the missionary forces that could keep pace with this sudden enlargement, and in a running battle through the roughest of regions attack and vanquish gigantic evils that were racing like fire over three fourths of our national territory. It was a fierce, thrilling fight. Matters were not minced. There were excesses, of course, but the work was thoroughly done. The wild frontiersman called for the rough religion of the fighting parson and the powerful excitement of the camp-meeting; and he got them both served strong and hot. The circuit-rider, in his tireless rounds among scattered populations, revived smoldering fires, rebuked noxious practices, and laid the rugged foundations on which succeeding civilizations were reared. The Bible colporteur in the first third of the century put a copy of God's Word in every home in the land. Over the nation rode the Sunday-school missionary, establishing thousands upon thousands of schools, in which were gathered teachers by hundreds of thousands and pupils by the million.

The home missionary had to be a good deal more than a preacher. Like Nehemiah's men, he had to build as well as fight. He must help clear the forests, found the town, establish the government, and lead in all public enterprises. He must erect the home, the church, the school, the college, as well as evangelize the camps and villages. Across the prairies, the plains, over deserts and ranges, he followed the trail of the trapper and the track of the pioneer. These patriot preachers were the nation's real builders. With heroic self-sacrifice they toiled on, sternly setting aside the alluring opportunities for acquiring wealth that they encountered on every hand, devoting every energy to the spiritual welfare of their people, supporting their families and educating their children on the slenderest of salaries, putting into each community they saved manifold more of blessing than they received — "of whom the world was not worthy." The national debt to these stalwart scouts of civilization and to their home missionary wives and mothers, who with equal devotion gave themselves to this service, has not always been acknowledged. "It is such missionary work," said President Roosevelt, "that prevents the pioneers from sinking perilously near the level of the savagery against which they contend. Without it, the conquest of

this continent would have had little but an animal side. Because of it, deep beneath and through the national character there runs that power of fierce adherence to a lofty ideal upon which the safety of the nation will ultimately depend. If it were not that in our villages and towns, as they have grown up, the churches have grown with them, . . . this would not be a nation to-day, because this would not be an abode fit for civilized men."

In the midst of a civilization whose every breath draws in a Christian atmosphere, it is as hard to picture a Christless development as it is for a well-fed man to imagine himself starving to death. But let us try to get a vision of what might have been. Twenty-five or thirty states given over to the lawless men and practices that first overran them; thousands of communities godless, vicious, atheistic, criminal, without churches, ministers, Bibles, sabbaths; rural districts cursed by brawls, feuds, brutal living, and filthy speech; mining and lumber camps dominated by the saloon, the dive, the gambling den, and the six-shooter; cities such hells of social and civic debauchery that their only hope for betterment lay in vigilance-committees and lynch-law — this not only might have been, it actually was in hundreds of instances just what occurred, in spite of herculean efforts to the contrary. Suppose that, instead of the exception, it had been the rule, a condition universal and unchecked!

Over against this let us recall what was seen happening all over the land. The death-grapple between the forces of wickedness and Christianity, the church, the school, the Christian home, the reclaimed life, the cleansed town, decency, law, order, an elevated social standard, with higher education, philanthropy, and reform — in short, Christian civilization with its myriad wholesome influences, peaceful, pervasive, powerful, in place of the ravages of barbarism.

Magnificent were the transformations that resulted from this struggle: nearly 200,000 churches; an Evangelical Protestant membership that increased during the century thirty-eight-fold to the nation's twelve-fold, or more than three times as fast as the population, standing in a proportion of one church-member to fourteen citizens at the opening of the century and one to four at its close; two hundred Christian colleges founded and nurtured by home missionary pioneers, with more than fifty per cent. of their students members of Christian churches. With rare exceptions

the early presidents of these Christian colleges were home missionaries, as were also the majorities of their boards of trustees. How utterly immeasurable were the influences thus put into operation, was illustrated by a computation made nearly a quarter of a century ago, when it was shown that thirteen of these Western institutions had up to that time supplied 3000 towns with ministers and 15,000 towns with 30,000 teachers. What had the entire two hundred accomplished? It may not be generally known that our state universities also were quite largely the outcome of missionary statesmanship — the gift indirectly of religion to the West, as the public school system had been the gift of the New England Pilgrims to the nation. The first state university — the model for many a later one — was planned and shaped by home missionaries of Michigan, and many another owes its origin, or its development for important periods of its life, to similar causes. All certainly owe their high moral standards to the religious influences carefully fostered by missionary devotion in their respective states. From home missionary ranks in some instances were drawn the presidents of these institutions, and the superintendents of public instruction in their commonwealths.

In civic affairs these leaders were equally active. The *Ordinance of 1787*, declared to be the “birth of American Nationalism,” as it first outlined our form of territorial government, was chiefly a home missionary’s product. Home missions saved states like Illinois, Kansas, and California to the Union, and from mission churches in the North and West one fourth of the membership went to the front. In the Dakotas the prohibition of the liquor-traffic and the driving out of the Louisiana Lottery were distinctly home missionary victories. The unrecorded battles in scores of states, in legislatures, in conventions, in thousands of towns and communities, waged often single-handed by home missionary heroes and heroines against intemperance, vice, low ideals, corruption public and private, savagery, ignorance, and materialism, who can compute?

Varied as were the activities required in this campaign of expansion, the problem was further complicated by the widely different types and conditions of life that were encountered, calling for unwearied resourcefulness and incessant readjustments. The cultured East; the rough frontier; the fiery South; the sober North; the Middle West town; the hamlet of the Moun-

tain White; impulsive Kansas; lethargic Missouri; the isolation of the huge Dakota ranch; the cowboy civilization of Texas; the Montana range, as broad as a European state; the Mormon cancer; the great Black Belt; the savages of the West and South; the Asiatics of the coast; the neglected foreigner; the city slum; the greaser and the gringo of Arizona and New Mexico; the gambling-camps of Nevada and Idaho; the lumber-camps of Oregon and Washington; the coal-camps of the Alleghanies and the Rockies — it was like a swiftly changing kaleidoscope. Nor was there much time given for studying these conditions. Everything was tearing along at a breakneck speed. Often, as in a stampede of cattle, the missionary must ride with the crazed herd, keep from under its hoofs, while he endeavored to head and turn it in a safe direction. Situations broke with the suddenness and violence of a cloudburst, and he must struggle with the torrent and regain his footing as best he could. This fierce rush seriously aggravated the difficulties. To cover a wide area, even though it presented most diversified conditions, might not be so difficult, if the pace were a moderate one; but with unprecedented swift-ness civilization dashed on.

Contemporaneous with the Home Missionary movement, and throwing into and behind it its resistless energy, there was the astounding liberation of the modern world-forces for national progress. Not a rail nor an engine when the work began; then steam, with its thousands of uses on water and land; labor-saving machinery for farm, plantation, shop, and mill; science and her myriad inventions; coal, oil, and gas, with their revolutions; the telegraph, telephone, and electric power for locomotion, manufacture, and every social use. At a furious rate the country was overrun and subdued; twenty-nine great commonwealths were organized, "twenty-four of which are each larger than all England." Huge realms for new activities were suddenly opened in business, in agriculture, in commerce, in education, in exploration, in transportation, in government. Amidst this whirl of interests, this rush and centering of power in material forces and conquests, these gigantic changes and this swift development, Home Missions were called to work with equal haste, energy, and devotion, to establish Christian institutions, to grasp big enterprises, to shoulder huge responsibilities, and to win the attention of hurrying men and civilizations to the Gospel's message and the

nation's higher needs. The rapidity with which all this had to be done can be realized better when we remember that men are living who have seen almost the entire development of two thirds of the area of the Union. In 1829 Chicago had "half a dozen families" and northern Illinois lay an "unbroken wilderness." Des Moines in 1846 had "twenty persons," and Omaha in 1854 had "one log-house." Emigrant ox-trains gave way to longer trains of steam. In 1830 we had twenty-three miles of railway. In 1905 these had grown to over three hundred thousand miles of track, transporting double the merchandise of all the other railroads in the world, and averaging during these seventy-five years a yearly increase of trackage sufficient to cross the continent, laid at a yearly cost of one hundred and sixty millions of dollars. During the latter half of the century we added to our farms a daily average of 25,000 acres. In the settlement of the Dakotas "one thousand homesteads a day were taken up for several consecutive weeks," and congested railroad lines refused to receive further freight. Two hundred thousand home-seekers, lined up on the border, at a given signal tore madly into the Cherokee Strip, and settled a state in a night. Our telegraph wires would encircle the globe more than sixty times, and our telephone wires would go round it three times as many more. The population of the country increased during the century twelve hundred per cent. Figures like this reveal something of the stress of the work and the rapid founding of churches necessitated by the rapid development. Before the century closed four hundred millions of dollars had been spent in this Home Missionary conquest and probably half as much more for the Christian higher education it established.

These were by no means all the difficulties. In the midst of this strenuous struggle there broke out the cruel Civil War. The lines were sharply drawn, dividing Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians into antagonistic camps, and driving every Congregational missionary north of Mason and Dixon's Line. Attention was focused on the War and its exciting issues. In some churches not an able-bodied man remained. Education as well as religion suffered; colleges and churches were half emptied. For ten years these bitter differences and absorbing questions almost paralyzed the missionary movement. That a border state like Kansas, repeatedly ravaged, torn, and desperately hurt, can

show to-day three thousand Protestant churches and one fourth of her population enrolled in their membership, shows the vitality of these religious forces so roughly arrested by civil strife.

The sins and sorrows of this bloody struggle, grave as they were, were however light in comparison with the problems that the War left on our hands. Intensified by bitter antagonisms and misunderstandings, and goaded by dark fears, the passions of race-hatred and caste-prejudice, that, hitherto practically unaroused in America, had been sleeping under the mantle of slavery, woke to a frenzied life. The severest strain of expansion among a homogeneous people was nothing to this. It was the most difficult task yet encountered — in the face of a cruel ostracism on the one side, and a dense degradation on the other, to fit millions of enfranchized blacks for American citizenship and other millions of whites for the duties of Christian brotherhood. Without fear or hesitation the missionary forces faced the emergency; common schools, normal schools, industrial schools, colleges, and churches were rapidly opened. Through thousands of trained students powerful influences for industrial and moral advancement were brought into play. The results have been most remarkable. What has been done, however, is but a beginning. Long after we have solved the puzzles of Home Missions that arise among the white races that are with us, will this black tangle continue to be our Gordian knot. It is no longer exclusively a Southern concern. It has spread to every state and city in the Union.

Great as it is, the negro question is after all but a part, although a chief part, of our racial problem. In 1850 we were comparatively a homogeneous people. In 1900 we were the greatest racial amalgam on the earth, having absorbed into our national life a third of our population from foreign sources. The assimilation of twenty-five millions of people, speaking sixty or more different languages, gathering from every quarter of the world, with diverse faiths, views, training, habits, and prejudices, is alone a task sufficient for a century of Christian effort by a Christian nation. Since the great migrations, by which savage hordes in the past overran empires and swept away civilizations, no country has had to face such an invasion as the immigration, first from northern Europe, then from southern Europe and Asia, threw on our shores. Breaking from life-long associations and

restraints, bewildered by new conditions and larger freedom, alienated from a state religion with its formal rites, many of them already savages of society, hating Church and State because of smarting wrongs, these immigrants settled in great masses in our cities, forming frequently the majorities of their populations, finding there almost perfect isolation from our citizenship, furnishing three times more criminals and paupers than the native American stock, and thus suddenly opening a new and most perplexing field for Home Missions. Many were reached by the denominational life that followed them across the sea; others by the American churches from which they at first seemed to be so hopelessly separated. As rapidly as men could be trained, missions were opened in every quarter of our land. In the proclamation of the Gospel, America is the most polyglot nation on the earth. The Pentecostal hearing — “every man in his own tongue” — is repeated in this nation on a far larger scale every Lord’s Day in the year. Thousands of churches now minister to the needs of these “strangers within our gates.”

Side by side with these great movements there had been steadily growing another problem more complex than any, gathering up into itself the evils and dangers of all the others, but with corresponding possibilities of ethical power, if rightly controlled, namely the congestion of our population. In 1800 but four per cent. of our people were found in cities. In 1900 thirty-three per cent. were there. In a few years more than half of our population will be urban. Already fifteen states have a majority of their people in cities, and eight of these have increased this proportion to two thirds. In 1850 less than half the nation’s wealth was in her cities. Now three fourths of it is there. Here the rapidity of growth is greatest, the social and racial distinctions most marked; here foreigners swarm and settle; here vices, diseases, corruptions, and oppressions flourish. It seemed, therefore, that the dangers which accompanied expansion, class-feeling, emigration, and the massing of anti-Christian forces, had in the city merged themselves, with rejuvenated life and greater proportions, into the most formidable opposition the churches had encountered. Already dominant in wealth and every material influence, the city will soon excel in population, and we shall become “a nation of cities,” for it seems evident that the tendencies producing this congestion are steadily to increase

rather than decrease. It is also apparent that these tendencies are naturally materialistic, emphasizing and building the physical rather than the spiritual elements of society. Here the Home and the Church, the two great moral forces, are three times as weak as in the country, and growing weaker rather than stronger. Like Gatling guns trained on dense masses, evils work the greatest havoc amid the compact, complex life of the city. Self-government here has been "the one conspicuous failure of our American institutions." High moral standards are far more difficult of attainment in such mixed aggregations. Democratic government is based on mutual interests, and must have homogeneous elements; but the American city is one of the most heterogeneous masses imaginable, frequently having more than one half of its male population of voting age foreign by birth. Thus, the more powerful it grows, the weaker it becomes for self-mastery and self-direction.

The city with its strata of society, its congested poverty and wealth, its lack of social coherence, its heartless isolations, its intrenched evils, fascinating temptations, changing population, its pleasure-seeking selfishness, its lack of moral restraint, must, if left to itself, prove our swift destruction. The city, with its massing of energy, intelligence, resources, its possibilities of cooperation, its gigantic forces, can, if saved, become our moral power-house. So suddenly has it been evolved, and so complex is its life, that it has taken the Christian forces of the land somewhat by surprise. Men live who have seen Chicago grow from a hamlet to a city of millions. Fifty years have seen the rise of New York to her present greatness. She is said to be the greatest Irish city in the world; the greatest Italian city in the world; the greatest Jewish city in the world, with fifteen times the Jewish population of Jerusalem, and ten times the Jewish population of all Palestine; and the greatest German city in the world, with the exception of Berlin. Her tenement population, forming two thirds of the whole, is larger than the combined population of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut; larger than the population of any one of thirty-six of our states. The increase of her population last year was equal to the total increase of all the states west of the Mississippi River. If her churches were crowded any Sunday, there would still be three millions who could not get seats. While New York is not a Western city, she

is the most striking example of this problem of congestion which is confronting every state in the Union. The great problem of early Home Missions was unchurched territory; and while in large measure this still presses us in the West, the greater problem of Home Missions to-day is unchurched populations. Christianity has conquered the savage of the forest and the plains; it must now conquer a creature more degraded and defiant, the savage of the city slum, the legitimate degenerate of a materialistic civilization, as ignorant of the Gospel as a Hottentot, and requiring a like long, patient training.

As rapidly as she could re-form her forces, the Church attacked this new position. She is proving herself the most powerful and effective institution for the regeneration of the city. Large parts of the problem are still unsolved. Financial necessity compels her to reach out first for the residence sections of the city—by far the largest as well as the most stable and important regions—neighborhoods best able and willing to help themselves, and most easily served by the methods and machinery at her command. She has very efficiently supplied these with church-privileges. Her Church Extension Societies are doing a colossal and necessary defensive work. The down-town sections, however, have been her despair. Here old methods of attack have failed. A new adjustment is necessary. The message of individual salvation—long preached as the sole cure of all social and civic ills as well—is now seen to strike but one grand chord among the many rich tones that make up a true social symphony. Sectarianism, which, with all its contemptible brood of unbrotherly strifes, yet did help rapidly to plant the Church throughout the national area, now stands abashed before the new social vision, and powerless before a task that requires the united forces of Christendom. Through modest missions and ill-equipped halls, heroic attempts at personal rescue have been made. But for social betterment the equipment and the results have been meager. Successful experiments, however, are pointing to the coming solution. Social settlements and institutional churches have blazed a new trail through the thick undergrowth of the city. A great highway is to follow. The work is difficult, expensive, and baffling, dealing with transients and unfortunates, who either fall back into the old sin, or, gaining their feet, seek the better surroundings and more permanent forms of Christianity represented in the

family, suburban church. While some splendid and costly plants have been established, which are doing magnificent work, it remains generally true that no single denomination has the resources adequately to meet the huge needs of our city slums by establishing institutions strongly enough equipped to conserve these gains and gather resources for permanence and expansion. Home Missions now face the new social crisis. These experimental efforts show us that, only by the application of the social teachings and life of Jesus to disordered society, and by a union of these socialized forces in the broader Christian spirit that such union produces, can we successfully prosecute the expensive campaign for the redemption of the city — combining the church, the settlement, and the rescue mission with the law and the school in a great scale of work. The complex elements in the problem are beyond the unaided power of the Christian Church. They require the coöperation of the Christian State. Not until the State does her fair share in cleaning up the moral evils, for the existence of which she is chiefly responsible, and coöperates with the forces of righteousness, rather than the saloon, the dive, and the corrupt politician, will our slums be drained, our efforts be made effective, and the hope of a permanent and complete betterment be justified. But this the State will do only under the inspiration of a unified Christianity: she will join hands with no sect. A better day is before the great Home Missionary propaganda. From the coöperation of denominations there is yet to arise a mixture as wholesome and strong as from the intermingling of race bloods. The democratic Christian bodies that have stood for comity and union against the narrow practices of ceremonialists and the hierarchical and episcopal forms of church-life, which have “made the greatest claims to Catholicity and ever showed the least of it,” are surely winning their way. The laity have little use for sectarianism. Our young people have learned to despise it. Our various Home Missionary boards are uniting their forces for mutual counsel, for comity and combinations of service. Our churches are calling for federation. Home Missions in the future will be a broad brotherly Christianity, repudiating ecclesiastical selfishness, formalism, and arrogance, and fusing the forces for national evangelization into the only power that can lead in the cleansing of the city and the guidance of the nation in the great social transformations that are being ushered in.

The industrial revolution, with its prodigious accumulations of wealth and woe, and its wonderfully complicated social perils that have arisen from the attempt to adjust "an autocratic system of industry to a democratic system of government," has made of us a new nation. Although great beyond compare has been the work of Home Missions, this marvelous material advance has hardly been matched by an equal intellectual and spiritual progress. This inevitably dooms us, if not quickly balanced by higher ideals, to a deteriorated civilization. How to head up this material gain into moral and spiritual power is the supreme question. Our business men, accustomed to enormous outlays in industry, are yet generally content with pitifully meager expenditures in religion. Our churches are hardly awake to the meaning of this new day of brotherhood. Our greatest danger and our greatest opportunity again lie before us—a continent surging with new social forces, areas swiftly covered by new social ideals, social crises as sharp and sudden as any transformations of the past. Again do we face the problems of expansion, of acceleration, of complexity, of congestion, calling for sacrifice of life and treasure in the vastly more complex and critical social sphere. Nor is it now confined to a continent. Our fathers worked to build a new nation. We are called to make a new world. The last decade has pushed us into the front rank of Great Powers. Greater changes are coming. Europe, Asia, and Africa are heaving under industrial ferment. Hoary beliefs and customs are being swept away by new social forces. International mingling of races and thought binds the world in sympathetic touch. The socialistic movement around the earth is one. The danger is that, through lack of intelligent sympathy or through unwise opposition, the leaders of the Church may allow a movement in spirit and principle essentially Christian to be as thoroughly preoccupied by unworthy elements — by adventurers and agitators, by demagogues and criminals, by atheists and selfish materialists — as was ever this fair land by the early forces of wickedness.

The greatest work of Home Missions is plainly before us. Signs abound of the awakening of Christian laymen to its importance. Money will yet be poured forth with a generosity equal to the self-sacrifice of our Home Missionary fathers. Throughout this great western nation and around the shores of the

Pacific Sea, with her waking peoples and her untouched resources, there must be developed the Christianity of a new social order, a movement under Christ for "the civilization of the brotherly man," an order that will aim for a regenerated society as well as a renewed individual, an order that in its economic life will cease to deny every fraternal principle of the Kingdom of Heaven. And true to her past and present history will American Home Missions, through a socialized, sacrificial Church, be found meeting, in city and field, the new social obligations, thus laying broad and deep the foundations of a world-wide Kingdom of God, and helping to usher in its Millennium of peace and universal good-will.¹

¹ For larger treatment of the facts gathered for this review, the reader is referred to Clark's *Leavening the Nation*, Strong's *The Challenge of the City*, Beardsley's *Christian Achievement in America*, and Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*.

CHRISTIAN WORK AMONG IMMIGRANTS

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COMPETENT estimators place the total number of immigrants now in the United States at over nineteen millions. Besides these the ancestors of some millions more have come to America within the limits of our seventy-five-year period. The census for 1900 shows that over one third of the people in the country at large, and over one half of the dwellers in the cities, are of foreign parentage. As the recent immigration rate of over a million a year is likely to grow rather than diminish in the immediate future, it is clear not only that all our domestic missionary agencies have had tremendous tasks and opportunities thrust upon them in this on-coming army of aliens, but also that the immigrants and their children will make even more exacting demands in the future.

Up to 1840 the total immigration had not been over 500,000. The country's population was substantially of one blood, with homogeneous institutions and religious ideals. But during the period from 1840 to 1870 we received not less than 600,000, mostly from Ireland and Germany, of different ideals and blood. The Irish were generally Roman Catholics, and the American Catholic Church was so unequal to the task of caring for such overwhelming numbers that a Catholic authority estimates that his Church lost its hold on twenty million people through its unreadiness. The Germans were largely Lutheran, so far as they were anything; and, settling in the West, built the Lutheran into one of the leading denominations, though it must be admitted that much irreligion has characterized the Germans in America.

Since 1870 the tides from southern and eastern Europe and from Asia have steadily risen, bringing yet stranger and more dangerous elements, and presenting problems with which only the wisest and most vigorous Christian efforts can cope. The fear of imported barbarism has for years been growing to be one

of the dominant concerns of American missionary societies. All branches of the Church have been wakening to the need, and are now very generally enlisted in multitudinous forms of work for every sort of foreigner. Their leaders are alert, and are urging and directing even more vigorous and far-reaching effort. This situation in America has been a new one in the history of Christianity, and has meant the blazing of new trails, the confronting and solving of new problems for whose solution no precedents existed.

The Christians of America have never entirely ignored the needs of the newcomers; and, according to their ability, have, since the heavy immigration began, been seriously and increasingly concerned with the problem as the problem has grown. Just when the home missionary societies or churches, however, first began specific work for foreigners, we cannot tell, for no definite record exists; but the history of the interdenominational American Bible Society shows the continual alertness of the Churches to the changing situation, and their sense of responsibility for the needs of the new arrivals. As early as 1819, the Bible Society made a grant to the Methodist Missionary Society for French and Spanish Testaments for its work in Florida. Bibles in these languages and in German were soon demanded elsewhere, and by 1830 were distributed in six languages. In 1857 Bibles in twenty-six tongues were given to foreigners. To-day over seventy dialects are used.

The great development of organized work, the establishing of foreign-work departments by the missionary societies, the creation of agencies for immigrant help, the founding of schools to train native leaders, and the vast growth of foreign-speaking churches — all these are of comparatively recent origin, coincident with the growing immigration of the last thirty years. During this time the number of agencies which have come into being, and the multiplicity of their labors, are bewildering.

Among missionary societies the Baptists probably deserve credit for the first definite appointments. In 1836 they began among the Welsh in Pennsylvania, and ten years later appointed a German missionary, then a Scandinavian, and in 1849 a French one. In 1883 the American Home Missionary Society formally organized German, Slavic, and Scandinavian departments to develop work which had been going on for years under its care.

Now, after twenty-five years, these have brought forth a large crop of missions, Sunday-schools, churches, schools, and colleges, while similar work has been established, as fast as opportunity offered, among many other nationalities.

A similar expansion of foreign work has gone on well-nigh contemporaneously among Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, Reformed, and others. The remarkable results of these activities may be studied in the impressive figures in the yearly reports of the several societies. Accurate measurement of missionary results, however, is never possible, and is specially uncertain here, from the tendency of children of foreign parents, educated in our schools and in constant contact with the children of native stock, to gravitate to the English-speaking churches. So the religious amalgamation proceeds hopefully, but often without observation.

Protestant churches by the thousand have been planted all over the country, and their total clientele is gratifying. The Christian churches have undeniably found the true solution of the immigrant problem which so frightened them a generation ago. They have by no means fully used the means in their power, but they have learned the way towards hope for the future. Where thirty years ago scarcely a missionary speaking a foreign language was at work, the number to-day is in the thousands. They are preaching and teaching in every language used by any considerable body of immigrants, and are gathering them into churches. Results have surpassed the most sanguine hopes. We know to-day that every breed of foreigner is responsive to the influence of the Christian religion. It has been shown¹ that whereas in 1800, when home missions began in the United States, there was one Evangelical church communicant in 14.50 of population, the ratio has steadily changed, until in 1900 it was one in 4.25. This means that within the nineteenth century church-membership increased three and a half times faster than population. We cannot doubt that much of this remarkable improvement is due to Christian work for immigrants. In Dr. Dorchester's words: "This exhibit of religious progress cannot be paralleled in the history of God's Kingdom, in any land or in any age."

¹ By Dr. J. B. Clark in the new *Schaff-Herzog Dictionary*, "Home Missions."

In addition to means already indicated, the missionary, Bible and tract societies, volunteer missionary agencies, social and patriotic societies, are engaged in varied work extending from the ports of entry, through the great cities where immigrants congregate, out to the far frontier. The average alien is never beyond their sphere of interest and help from the day when he sets foot in the new land. He is met at the port by representatives of these societies, greeted kindly in his own tongue, offered advice and sympathy, furnished Bibles and Christian literature, assisted if in trouble, helped aboard his train, and perhaps introduced by letter to a missionary or pastor in the place whither he is bound. All proper, non-proselyting services to foreigners are welcomed by the immigration authorities. Practically every denominational missionary society, with many others, has one or many representatives at Ellis Island, where four fifths of the newcomers land. Similar work is done in the ports of Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Immigrant homes are maintained, and everything in reason is done for those who enter.

The tireless colporteur follows the immigrant to the remotest hamlet of the West with Christian literature, shows Christian friendship, creates an atmosphere favorable to Christian teaching, and often starts missions. In the great cities evangelistic work in open air, tents, and halls, adapted in method and language to win the foreigner, has met very encouraging results, especially among the children. Sunday-schools, maintained by missionary societies and churches in foreign districts, introduce the children to the teachings of the Protestant faith, and often grow into churches or lead to affiliation with other churches. Churches for foreigners, fostered by native churches or mission societies, often grow to be strong and self-sustaining, adjusting themselves to changing conditions in the matter of language and customs.

Everywhere we find well-equipped boys' and girls' clubs, the Salvation Army, social settlements, and social service institutions attaining large results. Not the least is the Young Men's Christian Association, which reaches out everywhere after the foreigner. The national committee is now planning to have its agents abroad meet foreigners in the ports of embarkation, render assistance as required, and direct them into similar care on this side. It aims to save them from crooks, give reliable

advice, introduce them to Christian workers in their new homes, and to give instruction in civics, English, and industrial matters. Recently the Pennsylvania Young Men's Christian Association sent young men abroad to study the foreigner in his home, to prepare for work in the mining towns. Others are about to follow their example. Training-schools for leaders among the aliens, like the International American College at Springfield, Mass., and the Schaufler Training School in Cleveland, are doing strategic service.

A single church is an example of what many of our strong native churches are undertaking alone or jointly. This church has faced the successive waves of immigrants and welcomed them. Earlier layers of English and Scotch were easily assimilated. The Germans next found a home beneath its hospitable roof. When their numbers increased, they organized for themselves, though many remained behind, preferring the English services and usages to which they had grown accustomed. These comprise a strong element in the church's body to-day. Three German churches have grown indirectly from this swarming. Many of their children still return to the old Sunday-school, and a stream of them trickles into the parent church's membership. The later Swedish story is similar. Three Swedish churches, whose first nuclei were for years cared for by the old church, now have their own strong and successful organized churches. The same church now reaches out to Chinese, Italians, Persians, Syrians, Armenians, and Poles, some of whom will doubtless soon be ready for independency. The proportion of foreigners has never been large enough to swamp the parent church, though their total is large; but, on the contrary, they have enlarged its vision, and have given their own lives to its up-building. Meantime the church has learned some prime lessons in Christian service. The earlier stages of this missionizing process are marked by classes in English, Sunday-school classes, employment agencies, etc. Where numbers warrant, services are held in their own languages, under the shelter of the foster-parent church. As a result of the varied missionary work for foreigners, the state of Connecticut has to-day over thirty nationalities represented in the membership of its Congregational churches, and it is estimated that not less than one sixth of the total membership is of foreign parentage.

Many now believe that this assimilative church-missionary method is the best way for our churches to meet the need in places where foreigners are mingled with the population. The people are roused to the alien problem in relation to our churches. The alien is already in them, and at the present rate of alien advance, if he is not gotten into them, there will soon be nobody in them. Churches are opening their doors and giving their best. Ministers are learning to be their own foreign pastors and mastering foreign languages. Seminaries are sending students abroad to study the alien in his home, and to fit them for their coming duties. Missions are reaching the children in the plastic age. The people are slowly learning to treat the alien like a man and a brother, to respect his abilities, to cease from contempt, and to conquer prejudice, and garlic.

It is likely that denominations will come to coöperate in the preparation of literature, the training of workers, and in social efforts. Several churches in a community can manage problems that would stagger one. Divisive ecclesiastical passions will be lost in common service to the stranger. It may also be that up-town pastures will call less persuasively to old churches in down-town slums, and that they will stay where the battle is, where men are, and will open their conservative pews to fill them with people of alien blood, but who need Christ's Gospel. Let them build the old plants bigger, lengthen their cords, strengthen their stakes, go out after the foreigner. It may be that in so doing some will save their own lives.

X. FOREIGN MISSIONS

THEORY AND METHOD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

REV. JAMES LEVI BARTON, D.D.

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IN 1834, when Hartford Seminary was founded, the words "foreign missions" did not convey the same meaning that they carry to-day. At that time there were only five foreign missionary societies upon the American continent, two of which had merely completed their organization. The three that were in operation were the American Board, organized in 1810, the Baptist Missionary Union, organized in 1814, and the Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, formed in 1819. The main field of labor of these boards was among the North American Indians. The Methodist Board had only one mission abroad, namely, in Liberia; and expended in 1833, for all its work, less than \$36,000. The Baptist Union had work in India, Siam, Burma, Liberia and France, and spent in the same year for everything \$63,551. The American Board had missions in South and West Africa, Turkey, Persia, Western India, Ceylon, Sandwich Islands, Singapore, Patagonia, Greece, and had that year opened a mission in China. This last-named board had one hundred and twenty-two missionaries upon its rolls in foreign lands, and one hundred and thirty in addition working among the American Indians. The total receipts of the American Board for 1833 were \$152,386. When Hartford Seminary was founded, "foreign missions" meant primarily work for the aborigines of our own country. In Europe, some of them already recognized as powerful organizations, there were eleven foreign missionary societies.

In order to make evident the wonderful growth, during the intervening seventy-five years, in the number and strength of the foreign missionary movements of North America, it will be suf-

ficient to state that there are now at least ninety-eight foreign mission organizations in the United States and Canada, carrying on their operations almost exclusively outside of the country, engaging as missionaries 5290 American men and women, and using in the conduct of their work nearly \$10,000,000 annually.

We can but refer, and that in the briefest possible way, to some of the main features of missionary advance during the last three quarters of a century.

1. *The Completion of Missionary Geography and the Placing of Missionaries where the Greatest Needs Exist.*—Modern geography has been perfected more by the missionaries than by the professional geographers. The missionaries sent out previous to 1834 went for the most part into *terra incognita*, to blaze their own way into interior districts, charting their courses as they went. Then practically all Eastern countries were equally in need of the Christian missionary, since all were equally destitute. There was little danger that missionaries of different boards would jostle each other upon the field. As conditions have changed, Missionary Geography has become a science by itself. To-day missionary organizations are mapping out, with scientific exactness, the non-Christian countries of the world, noting the areas that are properly occupied, over-occupied, or occupied with insufficient forces, or not at all. According to these charts new missionaries are in a large degree appointed and designated, and by this rule the advancing missionary body is systematically covering the entire non-Christian world.

2. *Changed Conceptions of the Eastern Religions.*—There was formerly little exact knowledge of the religions of the East and little desire for greater knowledge. Few thought that any of these great religions, or all of them together, afforded a topic sufficiently broad or inviting to attract the attention of modern scholarship. It was not thought that these religions possessed anything that could be of value to the Christian scholar, and perhaps even less to the Christian teacher. Not a small number of the leading Christian scholars sincerely believed that these religions were of their father, the devil, conceived in hell and sent to earth for the condemnation of the race. Acquaintance with these great religions has brought them to the front, as objects not only of intense interest to the student of religion, but also of real value to him who would best understand Christianity

and its relations to men of all races. It is now accepted that, for the best equipment for his work, the foreign missionary should have some exact knowledge of all the ethnic religions, and particular knowledge of those with which he is to come into closest relations.

3. *Care in the Selection of Missionaries.* — For the first half-century and more of modern missions it was the general opinion that any properly devout person was qualified for missionary work. Mechanics, farmers, school-teachers, and a large number of men of other trades were appointed and sent out. It is true that among these were a large number of well-trained men and a smaller number of thoroughly educated women. Few were refused appointment because of a deficiency in intellectual training. Little attention was given also to physical equipment. Missionaries were commissioned who were known to be seized of a fatal disease. At the present time the leading boards are demanding for missionary appointment men and women of the broadest intellectual development and of the best physical equipment. For example, the American Board requires that its male missionaries shall have taken not only a complete college course, but a post-graduate course of from three to five years. The broadest courses in Theology, Psychology, Pedagogy, Comparative Religions, Medicine, and other allied subjects have been proven essential to the widest influence and most permanent success. Most of the women commissioned hold college diplomas, while an increasing number have taken theological or allied courses. It has been demonstrated that, everything else being equal, the best educated and mentally equipped missionaries accomplish the best results.

4. *The Dominant Motive for prosecuting Missionary Work.* — The earlier purpose, as expressed by addresses and appeals, was to save the individual soul of every man and woman of the East from eternal destruction. The value of the human soul, and the awful doom that it must suffer if unredeemed, were much more dwelt upon in public address than at the present time. Other motives were mentioned, but these were usually made prominent. Gradually, and almost imperceptibly, emphasis has changed, until at the present time we think and speak of nations to be Christianized, society to be permeated with righteousness, races changed from cannibals to worthy followers of

Jesus Christ. It would not be fair to affirm that in these latter days we have lost sight of the individual; but, so far as the boards themselves are concerned, they are dealing at greater length with the broader and all-embracing phases of the work, while the organized native forces more directly reach the individual. As a motive, we appeal much more than formerly to the unflinching love of God, the common Father of all, and Jesus Christ the Redeemer of all, who died that every individual of every race in every land might enter into the abundant life.

5. *The Attention of the Missionaries to the Religious and Spiritual Side of the People.* — The supreme desire of the earlier missionaries appeared to be to save the soul of the individual from the consequences of sin. To-day the missionaries plan and strive to save the entire man, and with that salvation to create a redeemed society. They organize and build up institutions that shall provide for his intellectual needs, and aid him in so controlling his physical environment that his external conditions may gradually improve. It is taken for granted that, when the entire man is saved, he will be regenerated as a spiritual being, while he will be so situated that he can and will live as becomes a son of God.

6. *The Force of Native Leaders.* — Seventy-five years ago there was a mere handful of "native helpers," consisting mostly of primary-school teachers, and servants who did some little Christian work. It was past the middle of the last century before a native church under competent native leaders became the goal of missions. Then the missionaries were everything, and practically did everything; but now it is recognized that their work is pioneer mainly and necessarily transitory, and that the real and abiding work done in the foreign field is that conducted by the trained natives, who are the pastors of the churches, the teachers of the schools, the evangelists and preachers for the remote districts, and, in fact, the leaders in all forms of work, evangelistic, educational, and literary. These now far outnumber the missionaries and hold, many of them, positions of marked leadership. The native workers are the hope and assurance of the permanence of the entire work.

7. *The Distinction between Evangelization and Education.* — It was thought by many that he who preached and led men to immediate repentance was the true missionary, while the one who

engaged in any kind of educational work was a school-teacher and hardly a missionary at all. "Education" was set over against "evangelization," as something quite different, and even hostile. In these later days it is recognized that an independent native church cannot be created without educated men and women to direct its affairs. The missionaries were not and could not be numerous enough to be the pastors of all of the native churches, even if they were able to do the work that these churches demanded of their pastors. The missionary soon learned that he could multiply himself and his powers as an evangelist many fold by gathering about him a company of selected, able young men, and training and inspiring them to evangelize their own people. This is the secret of the mission training-schools, and back of them the mission colleges and high schools. They are the true basis and foundation of all permanent evangelistic work in all countries. To attain unto this end, and to raise up an intelligent Christian community, a system of education has developed in most mission fields, including all grades and departments from the kindergarten to the theological seminary.

8. *Christian Literature.* — In the entire range of literature, beginning with the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, and extending to systems of text-books for all grades of schools, down to within thirty or forty years, the missionaries were the principal producers. At the present time they are rapidly being superseded by native authors, and the work of mission presses is more than duplicated by the presses of native companies. Within seventy-five years, in every mission field, daily, weekly, and monthly vernacular periodicals — religious, educational, and secular — have come into existence, edited by missionaries, recognized native Christian leaders, and others, all shaping the thoughts and directing the actions of the races which they reach.

9. *The Kindergarten and Industrial Schools.* — The kindergarten in missions is the product of the present generation. The efficacy and attractive character to the peoples of the East of this form of child-education has been abundantly proven, so that it may well be said that the experimental stage has already passed. The same cannot be said of industrial work. So far as this exists only in the form of a means for indigent pupils to earn an education, it is universally accepted and is widely ap-

plied; but, so far as it relates to the teaching of trades by which the student can earn a living after leaving school, it is still an unsolved problem. Neither is it generally conceded that it is a part of the work of mission boards to conduct expensive technical schools. Almost all forms of mission industrial work have entered missions within the last fifty years. Many experiments are being tried along all lines of industries, some of which sink into commercialism, others prove impractical, while a few seem to succeed.

10. *Medical Work.* — The first missionary physicians sent out were missionaries who understood medicine and surgery. Few had any idea of constructing hospitals, and most of them simply added a case of medicines to their Bible and hymn-book equipment as they made their missionary tours. They were not called medical missionaries, but missionaries who were physicians. The modern medical missionary is a master of his profession, with a hospital and dispensary equipped in modern style, if such equipment can be obtained, and conducted as any other institution of its kind, but always in the most tender Christian manner and with Christian nurses and attendants. The modern mission hospital has become an institution peculiar to itself, one of the strongest credentials for pure Christianity to be found anywhere in the world.

11. *Self-supporting Churches.* — Within the last half of the century sentiment has changed regarding the support of native churches, schools, and all forms of native work as a legitimate charge upon the people themselves and not a perpetual burden resting upon the mission boards. In the earlier days of missions, no other thought seems to have been maintained than that all expenditures for the work must be made by the missionaries and paid by the churches at home. This was for the most part agreeable to the people, who naturally were willing to receive not only a free Gospel but to send their children to free schools, listen to the preaching of a free pastor, in a church-building erected wholly by foreign funds. This conception of the freedom of Christianity has undergone a complete change. It is now recognized that the true and only successful policy of mission work is that the people themselves shall pay to the limit of their ability, not only for the support of their own Christian, educational, and charitable institutions, but that they shall main-

tain also native missionary organizations of their own for the propagation of Christianity in the regions beyond. The American Board has carried this principle so far that at the present time the natives themselves give more for the conduct of their own institutions than is given by the board for the same kind of work.

12. *Planning and directing the Work.* — It was imperative in the beginning that all forms of work should be planned and directed by the missionaries. They were at first the only Christians, and for half a century they were the unquestioned leaders. They were the pastors of the churches, principals and superintendents of the schools, and in fact they were everything. The natives who early became Christians and who showed special aptitude were called “native helpers” or “agents,” but were expected to take their directions from the missionaries. This has so far passed that in some missions the native leaders who are in charge of independent churches or independent Christian schools outnumber the missionaries themselves. In many countries the native churches have formed ecclesiastical organizations, according to their various denominations in the home land, and carry on all of the functions of such organizations independently of missionary control. Many of these have missionary and evangelistic societies, supported by native funds and directed by native officers. This movement towards the native control of local work is making signal headway and is full of promise.

13. *Interdenominational Coöperation.* — It is only within the last fifty years or so that missionary fields have, as a general thing, begun to grow together. This has resulted in the organization of union institutions, and in mission and church affiliations that have never been attempted in the United States or Europe, but which are proving themselves to be of the greatest value on the field.

The theory and method of foreign missions have met with marked changes during the past three quarters of a century. Through these years of experimentation and accurate observation a true science of missions has emerged. No longer is the method of work dependent upon the peculiar whims of individuals, but it is conducted in accordance with methods that have been proven to be wise and economical, effective and permanent.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN AUSTRIA

REV. ALBERT WARREN CLARK, D.D.

PRAGUE, BOHEMIA

THE year 1908 was in Austria a year of jubilee and thanksgiving. In 1848, in the stormy days of revolution, a young man was called to the throne in Vienna. In the sixty years that have passed since then, Francis Joseph has many times shown his kindly interest in the comparatively few Evangelical citizens of his empire. They fully appreciate the increased religious liberty granted them by the noble-minded emperor, and they show constantly their loyalty and gratitude.

In order to understand religious progress during these three-score years, it is necessary to refer, very briefly, to some facts in the past history of this empire. Huss, influenced by the writings of Wycliffe, began a glorious reformation. Burned at Constance as a martyr in 1415, he still lives in the hearts of all liberal-minded Bohemians. He told his enemies, "You cannot burn truth." With great faithfulness his followers proclaimed the Bible truth which he loved better than life itself. There was wonderful progress through the labors of the "Bohemian Brethren." At the close of the sixteenth century, the great majority of the families in Moravia and Bohemia had the Bible. It is a remarkable translation, this Kralicka, which we use now, and which compares favorably with our revised translation. After much Christian prosperity came the awful catastrophe of 1620. With the Protestant defeat at the White Mountain near Prague began a night — a midnight — of one hundred and sixty-one years marked by terrible persecution. A population of 3,000,000 was reduced in a score of years to a few hundred thousand. Romanists poured into the country to occupy the vacated farms.

In 1781 Emperor Joseph II issued his wonderful "edict of toleration," and then thousands of secret Protestants appeared, who had in many cases clung to their Bibles — hidden in hollow trees, in cellars, and in woodpiles to escape the eyes of the cruel

Jesuits. The limited toleration granted by Joseph II was greatly restricted by his successor. No one could leave the Romish Church to join the Protestant until he had had six weeks of special instruction from his priest; and the priests declared that the six weeks meant 1008 hours actually spent in the priest's home for the needed instruction. In some cases it required six years of half-persecution before one could leave the Romish Church. The present emperor during the first year of his reign granted Protestants much larger liberty, and in 1861 he gave them in many respects equal rights with his Roman Catholic subjects.

Shortly before 1870 we find a few Bohemian theological students at Edinburgh. They were welcomed by those of like faith in Scotland. No country of its size has shown deeper interest in Austria. The first of these students, Rev. L. B. Kaspar, deserves special mention for his interest in Christian progress in this land. In the preparation of Evangelical books and tracts he has secured the first place. We hear his voice no more; but, through his children and his tract society, "Comenius," he still lives. Another name associated with mission progress is that of the senior Schubert. He was the first to welcome the American missionaries in 1872. They, on their part, saw the necessity of his Girls' Seminary. The feeble beginning was greatly strengthened by the Americans, through whose influence good buildings were erected for the school.

As a foundation for all real progress we must have the Bible, but this was almost a forbidden book when Francis Joseph was crowned Emperor of Austria. The first agents of the British Society, and I knew them well, were sent out of the country with all their Scriptures. But now for years there has been an important Bible store in Vienna. It is true that to-day colportage in Austria is a most difficult task. The Bible messenger must have a license, secured from the governor through some legally established bookstore. Months are often occupied in securing this license, which is good for only one year, nor does it allow the selling of Bibles, but only the taking of subscriptions. The orders must be sent from the store or depôt. At present the National Bible Society of Scotland is coöperating most faithfully with the British Society. The men of the former society, laboring under the direction of Dr. Clark, sold last year more than

40,000 copies of the Scriptures (Bibles, Testaments, and portions). The injunction to write only a short article forbids reference to many delightful experiences showing that "the entrance of Thy words giveth light."

Taking up another aspect of religious progress, brief mention may be made of the different Evangelical churches working in Austria.

(a) *The Reformed Church.* — With very few exceptions, the efforts of this Church is for the Slavs. I am glad to testify that, since my arrival in Prague in 1872, there has been much progress in this Church. Forty years ago it had but one Sunday-school and no Young Men's Christian Association. There was little thought of anything like lay effort for the welfare of Christ's kingdom, and church discipline was, as to-day, but little heeded; still we report good progress.

(b) *The Lutheran Church.* — This organization works for the most part, but not exclusively, for Germans. The so-called "Los-von-Rom" movement has swelled the numbers of this Church in North Bohemia and Styria, but it has added almost nothing to the *spiritual* strength of the Lutherans; it is too superficial and political. In passing we may mention two cheering facts:—

(1) In upper Austria there is a remarkable work carried on by Rev. L. Schwarz, D.D. Through his devoted life new interest has been awakened in home missions, especially in the care of the sick through trained nurses called "deaconesses."

(2) In Southern Austria, years ago, a noble countess was awakened to new life through a simple Bible colporteur. Later she corresponded much with the missionaries of the American Board, through whom, for years, her first and second evangelist-teacher were supported. Some time ago the death of her father and of her husband placed her in possession of a considerable property which she uses for the Lord. She now supports several evangelists and teachers in the southern field.

(c) *The Moravian Church.* — Herrnhut sent its first preacher to Bohemia a few months before the arrival of Schaufler, Adams, and Clark. Not until 1880 was their first church organized. There are now five such churches with about one thousand members. They have the same freedom that is accorded the Reformed and the Lutheran churches, but there is in it an

element of bondage. Before a church can be organized some 8000 florins must be deposited with the government, and every important movement must be reported to the political authorities.

(d) *The Baptists*. — This denomination has been quietly laboring in Austria at least thirty years. It has met, as have we, with much opposition, but it reports four churches; the largest is in Vienna, and the second in size is in Prague. The present Baptist Congress in Berlin will doubtless awaken new interest in Austria.

(e) *The Methodists*. — These have two churches in Vienna. For years they suffered persecution. Even as late as 1877 a Methodist missionary and his wife were fined, because, seeing how eagerly tracts dropped from the window were picked up, she allowed some more to drop. Tract distribution, even to-day, may be punished, but with prudence much Christian literature may be circulated.

(f) *The Free Churches*. — I come now to the work to which the greater part of my life has been devoted — The Free Reformed, or Congregational churches. Just here I may be pardoned if I quote from an article of Rev. H. A. Schauffler, D.D. (*Congregationalist*, 1903). He labored here nearly nine years. The subject of his letter was "God's marvelous work in Austria." Referring to the arrival of Schauffler, Adams, and Clark in 1872 and his visit in 1903, he writes: —

"The contrast between the small beginning, the painful limitations, and severe persecution of those early days and the present large liberty, wide extension, and abundant fruitage of the work, was striking and delightful. I first visited Vienna. When compelled by family reasons to leave Austria in 1881, we had no missionary work in Vienna. Now I found a flourishing mission to Bohemians, who abound in that great, beautiful, and godless city. Sunday I preached to one hundred and forty attentive hearers in the mission house. The beautiful house, containing a good-sized hall with gallery, fitted up as a church, with apartments for the preacher's home, Christian Endeavor rooms, and gymnasium, was built for our mission, and is owned by a Scotch friend.

"At the beginning of our missionary work in Prague we found that no Protestants were recognized as having any religious status or any rights, except Lutherans and adherents of the Reformed Church. We had no right to hold public divine services, and as private individuals we could sell no Bibles and lend no tracts; only a bookseller could do that. As late as 1879 we were prohibited from holding private religious meetings. In neighboring villages Roman Catholic farmers, who had become interested in Evangelical truth, and who met on Sunday morning to read the Bible and sing and pray together, were scattered and punished by the police.

Through the efforts of the Evangelical Alliance in 1879 we acquired the right to hold private religious meetings, but only with invited guests.

"When I spent a Sabbath in Prague last August, I found four Free churches, fruits of our mission work, occupying strategic points in different parts of the city. Three of them are housed in buildings owned by the Society 'Betanie,' which is incorporated under Austrian law, and has the right to own property. Thus, though our Free churches are not incorporated and have no legal status or rights as churches, they really enjoy all the legal rights of Betanie and the Young Men's Christian Association. Indeed, in important respects they enjoy greater freedom than the Protestant Churches recognized by the State, since the latter are subject to the control of a consistory in Vienna, whose members are appointed by the Crown.

"Sunday morning I preached in the center of Prague to a now self-supporting church, our first, which numbers two hundred and thirty-nine members. In the afternoon I spoke to a congregation of one hundred and fifty (half of them church-members), in the Young Men's Christian Association building in the new suburb Vinohrady, where the church numbers one hundred and forty-six. In the evening I preached in the Žižkov suburb (named after John Žizka, the Cromwell of the Hussite wars) to over a hundred hearers, seventy of them Catholics. Their new church has twenty-seven members. Monday I visited the new Young Men's Christian Association building in the Smichov suburb. These four churches have enrolled five hundred and fifty-four members. I also visited the 'Domovina,' situated in the midst of an attractive garden. This refuge, the result of the efforts of our missionaries, is the only place in the city, and I believe in all Bohemia, where fallen girls are given a chance, under Christian influence, to return to a virtuous life. The police recognize its value and lend it their aid.

"Prague is only the center of our mission work in Austria, which numbers forty-four missionary stations, fourteen Young Men's Christian Associations, and eighteen churches, with a membership of 1414 (in 1903). It is a wonder, how our small missionary force, the Rev. Dr. A. W. Clark and the Rev. John S. Porter and their wives, have been able to accomplish so great a work.

"A considerable part of the time since Dr. E. A. Adams, now of our Chicago Bohemian Mission, and I were obliged to leave the field, Dr. Clark has been the only missionary in charge of the work. Thirteen years with no associate! The early experience of the American Board's mission to Austria and its present prosperity are aptly set forth in the words of the Psalmist: 'If it had not been the Lord who was on our side when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us.' Its history should greatly strengthen the faith of our churches in missionary work and stimulate them to prosecute it with a holy zeal."

Since Dr. Schaufler, after doing grand work for the Bohemians in America, has gone home to his heavenly reward, it seemed appropriate to place his testimony here. How vital is the connection of our Bohemian Mission in Prague with similar work in America! It was this mission that trained Dr. Schaufler for Cleveland, and Dr. E. A. Adams for his abundant labors in Chicago. In ten states, and in Canada, young men, partially or wholly trained here, are working for Christ among

Bohemians. In May, 1905, at a Bohemian service in Cleveland, I asked all to rise who had heard me preach in their native land. Twenty-nine sprang to their feet. All our books and tracts published in Prague are in demand in America. Some years 800 copies of our Sunday-school Annual are required in Bohemian Sunday-schools in America. Such facts indicate that working for Bohemia is working for America; and, I might add, for Russia too, where there are many Bohemians. In the land of the Czar we have three congregations manned by young men from some of our Young Men's Christian Associations in Bohemia or Vienna, and the work is growing. What open doors in Russia! Would to God we had more men and more abundant means for enlarging that growing work! Who will help here, and in the Russian Empire?

The blessing of the Master has rested upon the faithful helpers of this mission. In 1896, for example, seven other missions of the American Board received fewer members on confession of faith than were welcomed by the Bohemian preachers of the Board's mission centering at Prague. It may not be amiss to place here the testimony of Dr. Walker, for years editor of the *Free Church Monthly* of Scotland. He closes a long report of his visit to Bohemia with the following words: "In short, the impression left upon my mind is this, that in very few countries indeed is an evangelistic enterprise being carried on which is conducted so wisely and with such energy and success as that of the American Board in Bohemia."

Hartford Theological Seminary has special reason for taking an interest in the American Board's Mission to Austria. Professor E. C. Bissell labored with me five years in the southern part of our great field, and Clark and Porter are graduates of the Seminary, so that this mission, so far as Americans are concerned, belongs to it. From the first feeble beginning in Prague up to the present hour, Hartford has been represented.

The first Congregational Church of Bohemia was organized in the house of Dr. Clark in Prague in 1880. Our mission met, at the beginning, much opposition. Little by little a much larger measure of religious liberty was secured. At the International Council in London in 1891, A. W. Clark, as delegate, was able to report five little churches. To the International Council in Edinburgh, 1908, we reported twenty-five churches, in Bohemia,

Moravia, Vienna, and Russia. Young Men's Christian Associations were introduced in 1886. At first the government did not understand the tendency of such organizations, and opposed them; but this unfriendliness has long since been overcome, and to-day all such organizations enjoy the full confidence of the authorities. We close this brief statement, by referring to the statistics of our last report, that of 1907. They are as follows: one station, seventy-two outstations, twenty-four churches, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three full members, of whom one hundred and twenty were received in the closing year, sixteen ordained Bohemian preachers, five pupils in training, five colporteurs supported by other societies, two Bible-readers, twenty Young Men's Christian Associations, three Young Women's Christian Associations, one Rescue and Reform Home, average congregations two thousand six hundred and sixty-one, adherents five thousand five hundred and eighty-five, contributions of the people seven thousand dollars, literature circulated (Scriptures, Bibles, Testaments, portions) forty-five thousand, other books and booklets sold in Bohemia, America, and Russia, twenty thousand four hundred and thirty-three, tracts and papers one hundred and seventy nine thousand seven hundred.

What is the outlook in Austria? A broad acquaintance with this extensive field leads me to take a hopeful view. For over thirty years I have labored in different parts of the empire, but mostly among the Bohemians. While, on the one hand, there are bigotry, skepticism, opposition, and great worldliness, there are, on the other hand, many signs of better times. There has been much progress in the last twenty years. Here, as elsewhere, it is evident that Christ's Kingdom is coming.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS AMONG THE BULGARIANS

REV. WILLIAM PAINE CLARKE
MONASTIR, MACEDONIA

MY field, about which I am asked to write, is known as the European Turkey Mission (until 1870 part of the Western Turkey Mission), and is carried on in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania. Bulgarian is the language used by most of the missionaries, the work in Albania being of more recent date. Only within a year have missionaries been located there; one family has begun to use the Albanian language, and the other is just beginning to study it. In Bulgaria the universal language is Bulgarian. In Macedonia quite a number of languages are in common use, — Bulgarian, Greek, Wallachian, Servian, etc. (I have seen an advertisement here in Monastir printed in seven languages), — but of all, the most generally understood language is Bulgarian. Bulgarian, accordingly, is the language of us Macedonian missionaries; our pastor here preaches in his native language, Bulgarian, and all understand him, though there are in the church-membership and audience other nationalities also. So, while the title of this article is not absolutely correct as covering my field, it is better than a more cumbersome one would be.

My father being a missionary, I was born in Bulgaria, and a large part of my boyhood was spent there; while my life as a missionary has been spent in Samakov, Bulgaria, from 1891 till 1904, and in Monastir, Macedonia, since then. So much for "my field."

Seventy-five years ago there was no Protestant missionary work for the Bulgarians, and not for some twenty-five years later. When the first Protestant missionaries came, the Bulgarians were nominally a Christian people, having been so since about the middle of the ninth century, when their king, Boris, was converted to Christianity, and he and the whole nation were baptized. There was the same reason for undertaking missionary

work for them as in Austria, Spain, and other nominally Christian lands; namely, lack of life in their national Church, the Greek Orthodox. The new birth was not a teaching or requirement that entered into their religion, and is not to-day. Most of the people, practically, worshiped pictures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, instead of worshiping Christ himself. It was a formal, lifeless religion. The word "Christian" did not mean to the people what it does in America. Even to-day, the question, "Are you a Christian?" brings up the thought of the distinction between Mohammedan and Christian, and does not cause heart-searching unless pressed further.

Cyril and Methodius had given them the Slavic alphabet and the Scriptures in Slavic; but when the missionaries came, it had become practically a dead language, yet it was the language used then in the churches, and is still in most of them. Not understanding it, the people were not fed. The Greeks had destroyed as much as they could of Bulgarian literature, and had even tried to make the people use the Greek language and to reckon themselves as Greeks.

The awakening of the Bulgarians in the beginning of the nineteenth century brought about an attempt to revive their literature thus destroyed. The Archimandrite Theodosius published, in 1822, at St. Petersburg, the Gospel of Matthew in Bulgarian; and, in 1840, the British and Foreign Bible Society, at Smyrna, the whole New Testament, translated by Sapannoff. Neophyt's translation of the New Testament, printed in London by the same society, was the one used during the first years of missionary work.

In 1857, Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, together with Rev. Mr. Jones of the Turkish Missions Aid Society, made a tour through what is now Bulgaria and urged the American Board to send missionaries there. The Board decided to do so, and invited the Methodist Episcopal Board to occupy the field north of the Balkans, while it should carry on work south of the Balkans. So Protestant missionary work for the Bulgarians was begun, by the Methodist Board in 1857, and by the American Board in 1858.

Rev. Elias Riggs, whose missionary life for Greeks, Armenians, and others began in 1832, was appointed to the work for Bulgarians in 1858. For them he spent the rest of his long life in literary work, translating and revising the Bible, preparing

a Bible Dictionary and various Commentaries, and translating four hundred and seventy-two of the six hundred and twenty-six hymns that we have in our Bulgarian Hymn-Book.

Among the first missionaries who went into the interior with their wives were Rev. C. F. Morse and Rev. T. L. Byington in 1858, Rev. W. W. Merriam and Rev. James F. Clarke in 1859, and Rev. H. C. Haskell in 1862. The stations occupied in the first years were Constantinople, Adrianople (soon given up), Philippopolis, Eski Zagra, and Sophia. Now our stations are Philippopolis and Samakov in Bulgaria, Monastir and Salonica in Macedonia, and Kortcha in Albania.

At first, for five years or so, the relations between the missionaries and the people were cordial; then, in connection with the marriage of a monk, his arrest, and his taking refuge in the home of missionaries, a reaction set in and violent persecution was the lot of all who became converts. Tract-primers and other books, eagerly purchased before, were thrown out of the schools. The first person who became a convert in Samakov, some years later, was anathematized sixteen times. Yet in 1867 several had been received to the communion in Eski Zagra and Philippopolis, and in 1871, at the first Annual Meeting of the Mission as the European Turkey Mission, a letter of thanks signed by one hundred and one persons was presented to Secretary N. G. Clark. Relief work done by missionaries in Bulgaria from 1877 to 1878, and in Macedonia in 1903, has helped some to remove prejudice.

For fifty years Neophyt's translation of the New Testament was the only evangelical literature in the country. In 1871 Dr. Riggs presented to the Annual Meeting the first bound copy of the large Bulgarian Bible. The total number of copies of the Scriptures printed up to the present is about 291,000. Thousands of copies of evangelical books and tracts have also been put into circulation.

The first number of the *Zornitsa* ("Morning Star"), our mission paper, was issued in Constantinople in March, 1864, the second not till April, 1865, the intervening year being spent in getting the Turkish government to put its verbal permission into writing. It first appeared as a monthly, then as a weekly, with a monthly edition for children. In 1897 it was suspended for lack of funds, but started again as a weekly in 1901 in

Philippopolis. The circulation of the weekly in 1885 was 3250 and of the monthly 3200; in 1892 it was 1300 and 1600 respectively; its paid circulation now is about 1100-1300; but, being printed in Bulgaria, it has not circulated freely in Macedonia.

The beginning of the present Collegiate and Theological Institute was due to a gift of £300 from Miss Marston of London "for the education of young men in Bulgaria." The school was started in Philippopolis, Oct. 22, 1860, with two students, two more joining soon after. Good mental and moral character was required, but no pay was asked for board, room-rent, or tuition. In the fall of 1863 it had seven students, in 1869 over thirty. It was suspended from 1869 to 1870, but opened again as a station class in Eski Zagra, in the fall of 1870, with six students. The next year it was transferred to Samakov, where it has since been located. It has now a Scientific Course of seven years, with Bible and theological studies throughout, and a special Theological Course of one year afterwards. There is now a charge for board, room-rent, and tuition. The Scientific Course has eighty-three students, of whom thirty-five have taken the Theological Course, and, of these, eighteen have entered the ministry. Eight students were enrolled in 1907.

The Samakov Girls' Boarding-school was started in Eski Zagra in 1863, but later removed to Samakov. It has had one hundred and twenty-four graduates, the first graduating class being in 1879. Of these, forty-two have become Bible-women, and sixty-nine teachers; twenty-two have taught in the school itself; fifteen have married pastors and lay preachers; and twenty-three have continued their studies elsewhere. The Sophia Kindergarten, with its branch and three assistants, has also made a place for itself.

The first station opened in Macedonia was Monastir, in 1873. Up to 1894, when Salonica was occupied as a station, two hundred and four had been received into communion in Macedonia; in 1907 there were seven hundred and nineteen church-members. The freedom that has recently come to Turkey will make touring and evangelical work easier here in Macedonia.

The Monastir Girls' Boarding-school was begun as a day-school in 1878, but changed to a boarding-school in 1880. Thirty-five have graduated, the first class to graduate being in

1888; all but three of the thirty-five have become teachers. Forty-two were enrolled in 1907.

The Kortcha (Albania) Girls' Boarding-school has existed for about seventeen years under a native principal and native teachers. Of late it has had great trouble on account of the government ban placed upon the use of the Albanian language and Albanian text-books; the recent freedom has removed that ban, and a new era is now open before it.

The Bulgarian Evangelical Society is one proof of progress. It was organized in 1875, for the publication of books and tracts of a religious nature, and to aid in the support of preachers and colporteurs. Its officers are Bulgarians. It has held one Annual Meeting in Macedonia and one north of the Balkans, all the rest in the field of the American Board south of the Balkans. It annually appoints a delegate to the Annual Meeting of the Mission and two trustees of the Samakov schools, and the Mission appoints a delegate to its Annual Meeting.

The Summer School for Workers of both Missions was held first in Samakov in 1896, and has been held every three years since, alternating south and north of the Balkans.

The statistics of our Mission for 1907 are as follows: eleven ordained missionaries, ten wives, seven single ladies, and five other foreign workers; ninety-three native laborers, of whom fifteen are ordained and fifteen unordained preachers, the rest being teachers, colporteurs, and Bible-women; sixty places of regular meeting, nineteen organized churches with 1408 members, the average church attendance 3452, adherents, 3954; fifty-four Sunday-schools with a membership of 2584; Collegiate and Theological Institute, eighty students; three Boarding and High Schools, one hundred and fifty-seven pupils; twenty-five other schools with six hundred and nine pupils.

The celebration of the Jubilee of missionary work in Bulgaria has just been held in Sophia. There was much to encourage, but may the next fifty years show still greater progress!

MISSIONS IN TURKEY

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MISSIONARY work in Turkey had its inception in the simplest way — publication of the Bible in the vernacular, exposition of the same to those desiring instruction, and tours of missionary exploration through the interior. It has grown into an exceedingly ramified system of church-organization and of religious, educational, and philanthropic work, having independent political standing with the Turkish government, and acting as a stimulating reagent in the social life of the Empire. The work, which seventy-five years ago touched only Constantinople, Smyrna, and Beirut, has now spread a network of civilizing and testifying Christian influence over the whole country, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf, and from European Turkey and the Black Sea to the boundaries of Arabia. Arabia itself is now surrounded with the outposts of a future forward movement.

For an extended account of missionary enterprise in Turkey, reference may be made to the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia of Missions*. Englishmen and Germans have shared with Americans the honor and toil of the work. The Church Missionary Society alone has devoted itself primarily to efforts for Moslems. The Reformed Presbyterian Church had, till hindered by the government, a growing mission among the Fellaheen along the coast of northern Syria. The Germans, entering the field recently, have given attention mainly to philanthropic undertakings. To the Americans chiefly has been committed the task of Protestant missionary activity among all classes of the people. Except for the medical work, this activity has been most extensive among the Armenians, although much has been accomplished among the other Christian races of Turkey.

The purpose of this paper is to show the more important gains which have resulted thus far from this missionary work and

to outline the stages of the religious development which has taken place.

1. *The Results of Missions in Turkey.* — The results most apparent to a superficial observer are the missionary institutions and the Protestant churches. Looking, however, more in detail, we find, first, that the missionaries have been introducers of Western civilization into the interior of the country. This they have done naturally in their capacity of foreign residents, and in company with other foreigners who were not missionaries.

Most of the missionaries, again, being American or English, the introduction of the English language and literature has marked missionary advance. While undoubtedly this has brought commercial advantages, its great service has been in putting many young men and young women of the country in touch with Western learning through Anglo-Saxon channels, and in setting before them Anglo-Saxon ideals. This has served somewhat, also, to counteract the current of low-grade French literature flowing in from other quarters.

In the circles more intimately under missionary influence a new standard of living has been established. This has been marked, not so much by increased comfort, as by a more elevated taste and by a new ideal of family life. Communities which have felt missionary influence are distinctly different from those which have received Western civilization predominantly through other influences.

From an economic point of view, it may be said that, wherever Protestant ideas have gained a foothold, men's wills have been awakened, and there has resulted indirectly a striving for material betterment which has raised the Protestant community definitely above the level of the general population. The missionaries were naturally the trustees of the relief funds which poured in from the Christian world after the events of 1895, and this aid has taken more or less permanent form in the orphanages scattered through Asia Minor. Of more lasting economic value are likely to be the experiments in industrial education which are beginning at various missionary centers.

The medical work has accomplished great results in direct relief and in winning the friendship of all sections of the community. The classes of native doctors sent out year by year from the missionary medical schools have multiplied many fold

the effectiveness of the work of the foreign physicians. Missionary and native practitioners together have also produced great changes in the common ideas of the care of the sick, of precautions necessary in time of epidemic, of general hygiene and prevention of disease.

From an educational point of view, missionary work has created schools where practically none existed. The wisdom of the learned of fifty years ago is to-day the required work of boys in the grammar schools. Christian colleges of very satisfactory grade have been established at a number of centers in the Turkish Empire. They stand in several instances at the head of more or less thoroughly organized systems of common and preparatory schools for both boys and girls. Above them in turn are institutions for special theological and medical instruction. The common and preparatory schools are often under native, or under joint native and foreign, control, instead of being under purely foreign management; and, in at least one of the higher institutions, a native faculty and native control are recognized principles which have been put into successful operation. This educational revival has had a most stimulating effect on the other communities. They are realizing more and more the necessity of thorough education, and are giving much attention to the improvement of their schools.

Prominent among the fruits of missions is a Christian literature. The issue of the whole Bible by the missionaries in the five literary languages of the Empire (Arabo-, Armeno-, and Græco-Turkish, Arabic, Armenian, Greek, and Bulgarian) laid well the external foundation for the work of evangelization. The Armenian translation has become classic through its influence on the formation of the modern Armenian language. In addition, the list of religious and educational books sent out from the mission presses in the different languages comprises several hundred titles, and successful mission papers, as well as many tracts, are published.

In the sphere of directly religious activity, the missionaries have given to Turkey a new idea of the spiritual life of the individual, and of what church-life may be. The Bible in the vernacular, a service likewise in the common language, regular preaching, Bible-study, Christian experience, prayer-meetings, young people's organizations for religious work, religious awak-

enings, Congregational self-government — these are things foreign to the old churches. But, because they have a basis in human nature, and because they are also natural “fruits of the Spirit,” they have made for themselves a place in Turkey. Their influence, too, has gone far beyond the limits of the Protestant community. In many places it may be said that practically the entire membership of the Gregorian Church has come to accept the Bible as the final court of appeal in religious matters. In not a few instances, new methods have been adopted, such as Scripture-reading and preaching-services in the vernacular, young people’s organizations, and Bible-study. In some places also there have arisen vital, evangelical movements within the Gregorian Church.

This purer form of individual and organized Christian life has had its influence on the Mohammedan population as well, and they do not hesitate to give to Protestantism the first place after Islam.

The missionary significance of this whole movement, however, is to be measured finally by the degree in which the missionaries have been able to make vital Christianity indigenous in Turkey. A self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting native community of men and women who are spiritually alive, must be its aim. Glad testimony on this point can be borne to many of the native churches, especially where the missionary work has counted its more marked successes. Were the missionaries of necessity to be withdrawn from Turkey to-morrow, in these places the vital spiritual life which is the kernel of the Protestant movement has taken firm root and would remain and grow.

Among the results of missionary work in Turkey, it may be thought strange not to mention the formation of a Protestant civil community. While the project received much assistance from missionaries and from the representatives of Protestant Christendom, it was not a part of the original missionary plan. It arose rather from the practical necessity of securing common rights to those persecuted on religious grounds, and it has stood since its formation for the political protection in Turkey of all members of the Christian races who might be so oppressed. Called into being under such necessity, the missionaries have found in it, however, a very valuable ally. It is true that the

name "Protestant" has been applied from the first as a stigma, and that it at once arouses such prejudice in many places as to prevent effective religious conversation with a strenuous adherent of one of the old churches; but, on the one hand, it has given an objective unity to the more progressive, evangelical forces; and on the other, the very existence of Protestantism as a separate body has acted as a spur to the other communities. Furthermore, the Protestant community, being easier of access for religious and missionary influence, it has been possible to lead it more quickly to adopt higher ideals of Christian life and better methods of Christian work. These higher forms, as thus exemplified, have then affected more deeply the minds of the people in general. The later developments among the Protestant churches include vigorous movements toward self-support and widespread religious awakenings under native leadership.

2. *The Stages of Development of Church Life in Turkey.*—Viewed from the religious side, evangelical work in Turkey may be said in general to have passed through three phases, though the development has not been uniform.

The early preaching was clear and Biblical. The converts received the new truth in the face of persecution. With the new light they accepted also a new moral code. Soon Protestants became famous for their upright lives, the government even recognizing that the word of a Protestant was as good as his oath. Religious discussion was the prevailing characteristic of this period. The Protestants knew their Bibles thoroughly, and were able not only to hold their own in argument, but to press their convictions; and, with true missionary spirit, they set out on evangelistic expeditions of their own to neighboring cities. In many cases these evangelists earned their own living at the same time by their ordinary handicrafts. Doubtless in this period the feeling of opposition to the Gregorian Church was strong, and customs in themselves harmless were spoken against because connected with that Church.

There may be localities to-day in Turkey where Protestantism is still in this its first stage, where intellectual convictions and moral integrity, together with church-antagonisms, are the center for the life of the Protestant community, and where the Protestants are continually under severe fire.

In many places, however, the outcome of a long period of such discussion was the virtual popular triumph of the Evangelical position. Not that the people were ready to become Protestants, but that the undercurrent of religious opinion had changed, and there was general acknowledgment now of the authority of the Bible, the Gregorian clergy even recommending it and appealing to it. This intellectual victory gained, and a new generation arising in the Protestant community without the moral and spiritual enthusiasm of their fathers, a more easy-going temper began to prevail. The Protestant churches were well instructed by a native ministry, trained under missionary supervision. But the feeling of necessity for strenuous evangelistic endeavor was lacking, and this loss of purpose led to laxity of life and thought. The former distinctions between Protestants and Gregorians began to disappear. In such a condition, the Protestant churches could hardly possess evangelizing power. Their struggle was to hold their own as a separate community beside the Gregorians. Yet at the same time these churches were making courageous and substantial efforts toward educational advance and to some extent toward self-support. It was into this situation that the massacres came as the voice of God to call the Armenian people back to Himself.

Since the events of 1895, there has taken place in various parts of Turkey a genuine, and in some cases very marked, spiritual revival. In the field of the Central Turkey Mission there are few churches which have not felt its power, and its influence has passed over into the Gregorian Church. Sometimes this movement has been misunderstood, and sometimes harm has come to it from the conduct of those who wished to be its friends; but it has in it the missionary fervor of the early days, based on a foundation of personal, spiritual experience, and it contains the spring of new life for the Protestant as well as the Gregorian churches, and for the Mohammedan community. Its fruits are already apparent in quickened churches, evangelistic aggressiveness, multiplied conversions, evangelical movements within the Gregorian Church, and the practical beginnings of native missionary work for Jews and Mohammedans.

There is not space to indicate here the lessons regarding missionary policy which may be learned from this history. Nor can we enlarge upon the serious problems involved in

the present religious situation in Turkey, centering about the missionaries, the Protestant churches, the Gregorian Church, and the Mohammedans.

The recent change of the Ottoman Empire to a constitutional form of government has opened a new era in its history, not less profoundly full of meaning for the Kingdom of God than for the immediate welfare of the subjects of the Sultan. Industrial freedom, intellectual freedom, educational freedom, religious freedom, all seem to have been granted, explicitly or tacitly, at a single stroke. Are the evangelical Christians of Turkey in a position to make use of this opportunity? This is not the time for missions in Turkey to retrench, but to render to the native Evangelical churches all the support which they may need. Through three quarters of a century there has been the laying of broad foundations. Now begin the awaited years of privilege. The glory of another empire, healed by the touch of the Great Physician, will soon be unveiled before us. Let His Church not be slack in offering freely to these nations the message of the eternal life through Him.

MISSIONS IN INDIA

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No sketch, even in outline, of the progress of Christian missions in India can pass untouched the progress in political and social matters that has taken place within the period under discussion. Not only have the political and social conditions of the country been of great service to the cause of missions, but also progress in these departments has been due both directly and indirectly to Christianity. Action and reaction continually take place.

The India of 1834 was a country, or rather a continent, just beginning to emerge from mediævalism. The India of 1909 shows all the signs of the birth of a great nation, and is passing through the throes of a struggle for the development of national life. These words summarize as well as any can do the progress of India in political and social matters during seventy-five years.

In 1834, the map of India was not very different from what it is to-day. The three great Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were very much as at present. The Panjab and Burma had not yet been invaded by British arms, and Oude had not yet been annexed. These were the chief sections of the country not yet under direct British rule. The frontier policy, which has exercised so many minds in modern times, was still unknown. Yet British rule was already practically supreme in the Indian peninsula; the power of the Maratha princes was broken; the proud empire of the Moguls was but a shadow.

Lord William Bentinck's period of service as Governor-General (1828-35) was not distinguished by military victories or by additions to the empire. The policy insisted upon by the Company at home, which accorded with the tastes of the Governor-General, was that of non-intervention, or allowing the native races to work out their own salvation. Lord William Bentinck's rule was, however, marked by financial reforms: reduction of expenditure and increase of revenue; the abolition

of *sati* and suppression of *thagi*, two barbarous practices widespread and destructive of society; and the opening of public office to the natives more freely than previously. His rule may therefore be said to be the beginning of modern India.

The chief political events of the last seventy-five years need only to be enumerated: the Afghan wars of 1839-44 and 1878-80, significant chiefly because of the ever pressing frontier question; the conquest of the Panjab from the Sikhs in 1845-49, and of Burma, 1852; the widespread annexations of Lord Dalhousie, and the closely following Mutiny of 1857; the beginning of Crown rule, and the Queen's proclamation in 1858; the gradual development of government in the interests of the people, and especially of self-government, under successive Viceroys from Lord Mayo to the Earl of Minto; the rise of the National Congress movement from 1886 onward; the rapid growth of national aspirations, culminating in the disorders of 1907 and 1908; and the slow and careful preparation of an enlarged scheme for more representative government, presented by Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, in December, 1908.

India is still far from being a nation, but she is on the way toward becoming one. She is suffering from the confusion and turmoil caused by the ferment of new ideas, and there are still too many discordant and divisive voices to make a united nation; but the leaven is at work, and the next few years are bound to see a much more rapid development than any similar period in her history.

Passing from political changes to those affecting more closely the life of the people, beginning with the purely material, the industrial development of India is worthy of notice. India has always been a land of agriculturists. Though her craftsmen have been famous in centuries past, yet most of the people have always been cultivators. Deriving their sustenance directly from the soil, they have been especially sensitive to the climatic conditions on which the produce of the soil depends. There is scarcely a year in which there is not a failure of crops in some part of India, which results in scarcity and famine, depending in severity upon the extent of the territory affected. Native rulers could do little to cope with the terrible visitations which sometimes came upon their subjects. The great famine of 1877-78 was attended with widespread suffering, which the efforts of the Government were unable to avert. Similarly, in 1900-01,

nearly the whole country was afflicted with drought, and distress was widespread, but the Government's ability to cope with it had increased, and large gifts of money and food from abroad helped greatly to relieve suffering. The famine policy of the Government and the machinery for carrying it into effect are now so thoroughly shaped, that, with the appearance of famine in any section, the machinery of relief, whether in the form of loans to cultivators, suspension and remission of land revenue, relief works, and public charity, is at once put into operation, and carried out almost automatically. At the same time, the development of railways and canals for communication, and the immense annual expenditure on irrigation works throughout India, are year by year contributing to the solution of the problem.

The India of to-day is passing through a remarkable stage of industrial development. The mineral wealth of the country, in the gold mines of Mysore, the coal and iron mines of the Central Provinces, and elsewhere, is barely beginning to be exploited. There has been within a few years a large increase in the growth of cotton and other textile fibers, to meet the demands caused by the increase of factories. The number of cotton-mills and mills of other sorts is rapidly increasing, and the proper regulation of labor conditions in them is a problem of pressing importance.

The national movement of the past twenty years has exercised a considerable influence in stimulating industrial development. What is known as the *Swadeshi* movement, meaning in its widest aspect the effort to revive the national industries, though partly connected with the senseless idea of boycotting British goods as a protest against measures carried out by the British Government, has, nevertheless, produced a beneficial effect in stimulating native industries. The native has begun to see the advantage of investing his capital in profitable industry; and while the surface features of this movement will pass away, the economic effect of the agitation which has gone on in India for the past five years is sure to be great and far-reaching.

The spread of education is another noteworthy feature in the record of social changes. India is still a country of deep and widespread ignorance and illiteracy; but the increased interest in education among vast masses of the people, and the rapid increase in the number of men of high school and college education, are full of promise for the future. The number of young

men who go abroad, to England, the Continent, and to America, for special technical or professional study is significant.

The development of the press is one of the signs of progress in India. Vernacular journals spring up like mushrooms all over the country. Many of them are not helpful in forming a really enlightened public opinion, but there are some published in every language-area that would be a credit to any country, while several of the English journals under native management have an excellent character, and are exercising a profound influence in shaping the national thought. These journals go all over India, and are read in libraries and reading-rooms. They comment on one another's remarks, and the result is a widespread exchange of opinion that is rapidly working for the unification of the people. Much of this comment is hostile, and more of it critical, in its attitude toward the British Government in India. As a rule it is not sympathetic in its treatment of Christianity. Its main concern at present is political, not religious; and it has little interest in the deeper things of the life of man.

At the beginning of our period, as I have noted already, the suppression of *sati*, or widow-burning, took place. That achievement might be described as the first onslaught on the mighty citadel of Hindu religious and social custom. The most conspicuous feature of that edifice to the outside observer is the system of caste, which is the fundamental institution of Indian society. That system has undergone a great modification during our period. The spread of education, the introduction of railways, which know no distinctions but those for which a man can pay, the rise of new industrial combinations, the increase of trade, have all tended to do away with the exclusiveness of caste, and make it possible for different sections to approach each other.

Few Hindu reformers are bold enough openly to advocate intermarriage between different castes, but many advocate interdining, and intermarriage between sub-castes, of which there are countless numbers. The impartiality of Government makes it impossible for Government positions to be held entirely by Brahmans, though they still are far in the lead amongst the educated people of the land. Many associations for social improvement are exercising a helpful influence against child-marriage, extravagance in marriage expenses, enforced widowhood, and other customs of baneful influence.

The period under review has not been without its extensive and influential religious movements amongst Hindus themselves, some cyclonic and temporary in character, others more lasting and beneficial. The *Brahmo Samaj* of Calcutta, the *Prarthana Samaj* of Bombay, both theistic organizations, modeling themselves much after the Christian Church and adopting without hesitation whatever they consider to be of value in Christianity, have doubtless had a large influence; but it cannot be said that they possess great vitality or power. The *Arya Samaj*, mostly in the Panjab, a society professing to return to Vedic principles, is more anti-Christian. Various other cults and societies have sprung up in different sections of the country, as has ever been the case in this soil so fruitful for religious developments.

Coming now to the more distinctive features of the missionary movement of the past seventy-five years, it is at the outset to be remarked, that in 1834 the missionary movement was still in its infancy. Protestant missions in India were indeed begun far back in the eighteenth century, with the coming of the Danish missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, to Tranquebar; and the close of that century witnessed the arrival of Carey in Serampore, and the opening of work by the London Missionary Society in Calcutta. But a sketch of the situation in each province will indicate how rudimentary was the condition of the missionary work in 1834.

In Bengal and the Ganges Valley the Baptist Missionary Society, founded by Carey in 1793, had in 1810 extended itself to Orissa, Bostan, Patna, and Agra, and in 1818 to Dacca, Benares, and Delhi. The charter of the Serampore College was obtained from the Danish Government in 1829, so that the growth of that institution falls within our period. It is worth noting in passing that a movement is now on foot to enlarge it, and make it a Christian university, widely representative of the Protestant missions of India.

The London Missionary Society had begun work in Chinsura in Benares in 1820, and in Berhampore in 1824. The Church Missionary Society established schools at Kidderpore and Dumdum in 1815; and began work in Burdwan, 1816; Benares, 1817; Chunar, 1815; Goruckpore, 1823; Krishnagar, 1831; Agra, 1812. The English Wesleyans opened work in Calcutta in 1829. The General Baptists of England established stations at Cut-

tack in 1822, Balasore in 1827, and Midnapore in 1836. Dr. Duff, the first missionary of the Church of Scotland, arrived in Calcutta in 1830.

In the Madras Presidency, besides the Danish missions already referred to, work was opened by the London Missionary Society at Madras and Vizagapata in 1804, in Travancore in 1806, at Bellary in 1810, and Bangalore in 1820. The Church Missionary Society had sent in 1818 two missionaries to Tranquebar, and in 1816-17 established work in Madras, Tinneveli, and Travancore. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel began in Bangalore and Cuddapah in 1817, took over the work of the Christian Knowledge Society in Madras in 1825, and in 1820 the Danish missions in Tanjore, Trichinopoli, and Cuddalore. It established work in Tinneveli in 1829, and the episcopal see of Madras was formed in 1835. The English Wesleyans began work in Madras, 1817; Trichinopoli, 1818; Negapatam, 1821; Bangalore, 1820. The American Board began work in Madura, as an off-shoot of its Ceylon Mission, in 1834, and at Madras in 1836. The Basel Evangelical Mission sent three missionaries in 1883, who settled in Mangalore.

In the Bombay Presidency, the first missionaries were Gordon Hall and Samuel Nott of the American Board, who arrived in 1813, having been refused admission at Calcutta. Even in Bombay, they were at first allowed to remain only on sufferance. This was the beginning of the Marathi Mission of the American Board. Ahmednagar was occupied as a station in 1831, but all the other developments of the work of that mission are subsequent to the beginning of this period, no other station being opened until 1842, when Sirur was occupied.

The Church Missionary Society began work in Bombay in 1820, establishing the Robert Money School, a valuable and influential institution up to the present day. Nasik was opened by them in 1832.

The Church of Scotland sent missionaries to Bombay in 1822, who labored first in the southern Konkan, or coast plain. They also began work in Bombay, establishing the educational institution which is now Wilson College. Since the Disruption of 1843, this work has been carried on by the Free Church.

In the Panjab, the American Presbyterians began work at Ludhiana in 1834, and a church was organized in 1837. Delhi had been occupied by the Baptists as early as 1818.

Surveying the whole country, it will readily be seen that missionary work had only just begun in 1834. The Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were occupied, a line of stations extended up the Ganges Valley, while in the southern Presidency various stations were opened, from Tinneveli in the south to Bangalore in Mysore. In the Bombay Presidency, only two stations were opened, and in the Panjab only two. The Central Provinces, Central India, Rajputana, Sind, the Nizam's Territory, were as yet untouched. Our rapid survey is enough to show both how little territory in India as a whole was actually occupied in 1834, and how few results were apparent. Some missions, in which the converts are now numbered by thousands, had then not a single convert. Educational institutions which are now of immense influence were then in their first feeble beginnings.

To show fully the progress of seventy-five years would require an enumeration of all the societies at work, the stations occupied, and the institutions established, for which we have here no space. A missionary map of India at the present time shows the country well dotted with mission stations, every important political and linguistic area being occupied. The chief regions still sparsely covered are the Nizam's Territory and the native states of Central India and Rajputana.

Statistics of missionaries, converts, and pupils are not available so far back as 1834; but it will be interesting to note that in 1851 there were in India 21 societies at work, as against over 60 at the present day; that the number of foreign workers (ordained) in 1851 in India, Burma, and Ceylon was 395, while in 1901 the total was 1095, and the foreign lay-workers amounted to 1500. In 1908, from a rough calculation based on the Missionary Directory, the total number of foreign workers must have been over 4000. The native ordained workers in 1850 were 48, in 1901, 1089, while the native lay-agents numbered 17,000. In 1851 the total number of communicants in the Protestant missions was 18,000, and the total number of the Christian community 112,000; while in 1901 the numbers reported were about 355,000 and 1,000,000. The number of school pupils in 1851 was 78,000, in 1900 nearly 400,000.

These contrasted figures tell sufficiently the story of the numerical increase of half a century; the contrast with figures for

1834, if such were available, would be still greater. These figures, however, are but the barest index to the progress of Christian missions. The whole intellectual, social, and religious impression made by the missions in India cannot easily be estimated. Certain outstanding facts are all that can be recorded in this article.

The first of these to which I wish to call attention is the breadth and comprehensiveness of the work. Missions at the present day have no narrow scope or outlook, but aim at the complete transformation of the individual and the regeneration of society. The very first missionaries in this country saw in education an important agency for the uplifting of the people. It may be that, in the minds of many, it existed solely as an adjunct, as a means of bringing the Gospel to people. Whatever may have been its aim at the beginning, it is now a vital and essential part of missionary work, and its value is generally estimated, not so much in the actual conversions traceable to the schools, but in their leavening power in the mass of the people. The eighty theological and training institutions, the forty Christian colleges, the four hundred high schools, and over six thousand primary schools, constitute an agency of immense power and far-reaching influence.

The work of missionaries in the line of industrial and social improvement is considerable. Somewhat over one hundred industrial schools were reported in 1900, but probably this does not include a large number of schools and colleges which provide manual training in some form or other as an adjunct to literary work. Industrial training is generally recognized as necessary for giving poor Christians a means of support; but it is far more than that; it is an important item in the effort for social upbuilding. One helpful form of social effort is the establishment of Christian villages and rural communities; for, while the tendency of India to-day is rapidly to form industrial combinations, and the factory system is spreading very fast, the effort to improve rural and agricultural conditions is of prime importance. Famine relief also has bulked largely in the industrial and social work of missions. It may be necessary to continue it for years to come, as periodical famines are to be expected.

The work of ministering to men's bodies through medical and

surgical means is also of great importance, and has undergone a wide development. In 1900, one hundred and twenty-nine hospitals and two hundred and twenty-two dispensaries were in operation in India and Ceylon, with a total staff of over two hundred workers with degrees or other academic qualifications, and five hundred assistants. The increase of medical education brings yearly more and more qualified native practitioners within reach of the people. Yet the influence of the Christian physician and surgeon is immense. Patients travel hundreds of miles to mission hospitals, and the results of this multiplied ministry to human suffering are beyond computation.

Not the least of the agencies of the modern missionary movement is the printing-press, though its work is often not conspicuous, and its effects impossible to compute. About seventy Christian periodicals are reported. The value of these does not depend solely on their paid circulation, for many of them go into libraries and reading-rooms where they are seen by large numbers of non-Christians. In counteracting the evil effects of many anti-Christian or irreligious papers, these are of immense value.

The breadth and variety of missionary operations in India are thus briefly indicated. The Church of Christ has, and should still have, the widest scope for her work, and use all the means at her command for an all-round application of Christianity to the social, mental, moral, and spiritual needs of men.

Another line of suggestive study concerning the progress of missions is the advance of the Christian community in intelligence, thrift, weight, influence, and spiritual power in the general community. Comparatively few of its members have come from the higher castes or from the educated classes, the hereditary leaders of the people. Those who have come from those classes are leaders of power and widespread influence; but the progress of Christian missions is not to be measured so much by these leaders as by those who have come up from the lowest castes, and by the general improvement of the Christian community in intelligence, morality, and power. Consideration of these matters gives cause for rejoicing and pride.

MISSIONS IN BURMA

REV. JESSE FOWLER SMITH

RANGOON, BURMA

PROTESTANT missionary work in Burma began with the arrival of Adoniram Judson in 1813. At that time the country was ruled by a bigoted despot; but in consequence of wars with England in 1824, 1854, and 1855, the Burmese kingdom and its tributary states became an integral part of the Indian Empire. Owing to the opposition of the Burmese government, Christianity made little progress before the advent of the English, but when the power of British arms had subdued the country and had promised protection to missionaries and native converts, missionary work entered upon a career of steady advance. The new mission stations planted in the wake of the British army from 1826 to 1890 have been no small factor in the pacification of the country.

Previous to 1834 the American Baptists had sent twenty-eight missionaries to Burma; twenty-two of these were in active service in 1834, and in that year a party of no less than fourteen sailed from Boston to reënforce the Burman mission. Their arrival inaugurated an era of expansion and advance.

During the period under review the Bible in their own tongue has been given to the principal races of Burma. Mr. Judson completed his translation of the Bible into Burmese in 1834. In 1843 Mason's translation of the New Testament was issued in Sgaw Karen, to be followed by the Old Testament ten years later. Haswell translated the New Testament into Talain in 1847. Brayton's version of the Bible in Pwo Karen appeared in 1883, and Cushing's version in Shan, in 1891. Since 1896 the New Testament has been given to the Kachins by Hanson, and work on the Old Testament is rapidly nearing completion. A portion of the New Testament only has as yet been translated into Chin.

In all of these languages hymn-books and tracts have followed the translation of the New Testament. In the Burmese, and

particularly in the Sgaw Karen, a rather extensive Christian literature has been prepared by missionaries and native converts, including commentaries, sermons, church histories, and manuals of theology, homiletics, and ethics. Since 1842 a Burmese religious monthly has been issued from the American Baptist Mission Press, and a similar paper in Sgaw Karen dates from 1843. Sunday-school monthlies, containing expositions of the International Sunday-school Lessons, have, for the last quarter-century, been published in Burmese, Sgaw Karen, and Pwo Karen. In amount, character, and importance for the future development of the Kingdom, the literary progress of the last seventy-five years has been truly remarkable.

The Karen Literary and Theological Institution was organized by Rev. J. G. Binney, D.D., in 1845. It is to-day the largest theological seminary in Asia, and has been throughout its history a mighty factor in the development of an indigenous Christianity. The Burman Theological Seminary has grown out of various training-classes for native pastors conducted by missionaries. As a distinct institution it exists side by side with the Karen Seminary, and accepts for training all candidates for the ministry who do not speak Karen.

A school, bearing the name of college, was established at Rangoon in 1872. For ten years it led a precarious existence, and in 1882 became a high school affiliated with the University of Calcutta. Twelve years later it became a college in fact, and is now "the only Christian college in Burma, the chief source of supply of trained workers both for the schools and the churches. It sends out trained teachers and shares with the Theological Seminary in the work of training pastors."

The first home-missionary society was formed by the Karens of the Bassein district in 1850, to be entirely under the direction of the Karens, and to send out missionaries for the unevangelized of their own race. Similar societies have since been formed on the other Karen fields.

In 1865 missionaries and native Christian leaders organized at Rangoon the Burma Baptist Missionary Convention for "the diffusion and promotion of the Christian religion throughout Burma and adjacent countries." Missionaries of this society have labored among the Karens of northern Siam, among Burmans, Talains, Kachins, Chins, and Shans. The society has

been largely instrumental in developing the benevolence and missionary zeal of the native church.

Missionary effort in Burma was first put forth for the Burmans, the dominant race in numbers and influence; but the greatest numerical gains for Christianity have been among the Karens, who constitute about one eighth of the population. Other races have not been neglected. Work for Shans has been prosecuted since 1860, for Chins since 1882, and intermittently for the Talains for the last seventy years. Some attention is devoted to the Tamils, Telugus, and Chinese, all immigrant peoples, and three congregations of Eurasians are connected with the Baptist Mission.

Until 1859 the Baptists labored alone in Burma. In that year the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel began operations, and at the present time maintains a force of twenty-two missions in work for Burmans, Karens, Chins, Tamils, and Eurasians. Especial attention has been given to educational work, and connected with this mission are two high schools, two Bible training-schools, a hospital, an orphanage, and a printing-press.

The American Methodists began work in Rangoon in 1879 among the English-speaking population, and have since taken up work both educational and evangelistic for Burmans, Tamils, Telugus, and Chinese. Their present force numbers eighteen missionaries, with one high school, a Bible training-school, and an orphanage.

In upper Burma the Wesleyan Missionary Society planted a mission in 1889. Four mission stations, a flourishing high school, and a leper asylum at Mandalay are sustained by this society. Work for Tamils and Telugus is carried on in Rangoon by the Evangelical Lutherans, and in the same city the Young Men's Christian Association conducts an effective work for European young men and for the numerous students of the city. A finely equipped building was dedicated in 1906.

In 1834 there was a Protestant Christian community of less than 400 in Burma. The census of 1901 gives the Protestant Christian population as 124,069. In 1908 the Baptist mission included 197 missionaries and 1937 native workers. The membership of the 841 churches was 62,653. Schools of all grades numbered 684 and were attended by 26,513 pupils. Such has been the mere numerical increase in seventy-five years.

In the development of the work two features are deserving of special emphasis, one a characteristic of the work of all mission boards in Burma, the other a special feature of the Baptist mission.

1. The educational method has been adopted from the start. The primary school has been the nursery of the Church, while schools of higher grade have provided her with trained leaders, so that from the ranks of the native Church Christian teachers, preachers, and evangelists have coöperated with the missionaries in the advancement of the Kingdom in Burma.

2. Early in the history of the Baptist mission the policy of planting self-supporting and self-propagating churches was adopted, and this policy has been consistently pursued. Of the 841 churches existing in 1908, 699 are entirely self-supporting. At the same time the work of the Karen Home Mission Societies and of the Burma Baptist Missionary Convention is vigorously promoted. Says Dr. Merriam in his *History of American Baptist Missions*, "In all the elements of an established Christian community, the Baptists in Burma have achieved marked success and a satisfactory growth, and stand with the Sandwich Islands and a few other of the island groups in the Pacific Ocean, as the only representatives of fields in which foreign missions have shown a near approach to the ultimate object of all missionary work, the establishment of an indigenous, self-supporting, self-managing, and self-propagating Christianity."

MISSIONS IN CHINA

REV. WILLIAM ARNOT MATHER, B.D.

PAOTINGFU, NORTH CHINA

IN a country like China, with its profound regard for antiquity, the missionary is glad to state the fact that Christianity has been preached in the Empire since the sixth or seventh century, and therefore cannot be called an upstart religion. As for traditions, literary monuments, or any body of believers, those early Nestorians, and the Catholic mission of the thirteenth century which succeeded them, left no trace save the Nestorian tablet of the eighth century.

Far otherwise is it with the work begun under Ricci, 1582, which, in spite of the interdiction of Christianity in 1724, the Tai Ping rebellion, and the Boxer outbreak, has maintained absolute continuity until the present, when the communicants number nearly one million. Unfortunately, insistence on political power, compromise in important matters, lavish use of money, and inadequate instruction of converts, have fixed a great and ever-widening gulf between Roman Catholic and Protestant missions.

The first quarter-century of Protestant missions in China was exceedingly disheartening; and the status in 1834, when Morrison died, was not greatly different from that in 1807, when the great pioneer missionary first landed in Canton. Foreigners were still confined to a small strip of land along the river-front of that city, and preaching to the Chinese was quite impossible. China under Ch'ien Lung during the latter half of the eighteenth century had reached the zenith of her power and military success — a condition which helped to intensify her natural sense of superiority, and to check all advances made by foreign "barbarians."

The force of workers in China just after Morrison's death numbered only two — Bridgman and S. Wells Williams of the American Board, both in Canton. Milne had come out to aid

Morrison, accomplished his work, and passed away. Others were working for the Chinese in ports near China, but outside of its jurisdiction, such as Macao, Malacca, Singapore, Rhio, Batavia, and Georgetown, though with little apparent benefit to the work in China. Among these laborers are the well-known names of Medhurst, Gützlaff, and Peter Parker. The foundation work accomplished by these men cannot be overestimated. The Bible had been translated by Morrison and Milne as early as 1818, and by Marshman of Serampore at about the same time. Tracts had been written, one by Milne retaining its popularity to-day; and Gützlaff had not only begun his remarkable literary activity, but had made several trips up the coast of China, even reaching Tientsin and Manchuria, distributing Gospels and tracts wherever he went. The year 1834 is also marked by the founding of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the precursor of the present Christian Literature Society. An educational beginning had been made, in the founding at Malacca of an Anglo-Chinese College, ten of whose graduates were able later to do good service in official positions in China. Some dispensing of medicine had been done by Morrison, aided by Dr. Livingstone, at Macao as early as 1820, but medical missionary work in China may be said really to have been begun by Dr. Peter Parker, of the American Board, who in 1834 established a dispensary in Singapore, the next year removing it to Canton. Work for women had been undertaken by Miss Newell, afterward Mrs. Gützlaff, who had five schools for girls at Malacca; but the first organized women's work was that undertaken by the Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India, and the East, founded in 1834 by ladies in London. Thus the year of the founding of Hartford Theological Seminary will be seen to be a significant one in the history of Protestant missions in China.

The visible results in China itself of all this pioneer work were indeed small. The first evangelist, Liang A-fah, also a zealous writer and distributor of tracts, had been compelled to flee in 1834 because suspected of assisting Lord Napier in publishing an appeal to the Chinese, and there were left only three Christian Chinese, who organized the first Christian Church of China the following year.

Momentous indeed have been the changes of the following

seventy-five years. Curiously enough, the greatest outside factor in the advancement of the Gospel of peace in this peace-loving land has been war. The morally indefensible "Opium War" opened five ports, and the "Arrow War," the interior. The China-Japan War, the Boxer Uprising, and the Russia-Japan War have opened her mind and heart. As a result, the whole Chinese Empire, with its more than four million square miles of territory and its four hundred million souls, is open as never before. Tibet is inaccessible only so far as Chinese control there is incomplete. The Chinese Government, by treaty in 1860, and again by edict in 1907, has pledged itself to protect missionaries and to prevent religious persecution of Chinese Christians. Chinese, Manchus, Muhammadans, Mongols, Tibetans, Aborigines, have all been reached in some measure. But, while China is everywhere theoretically open to missionary work, as a matter of fact at present, the scholar class, the gentry, and the official class, are by their own choice largely inaccessible through the ordinary methods. The Church at home, while not keeping pace with this wonderful expansion of opportunity, has entered open doors as fast and as far as the supply of men and of means warranted. Instead of the two Protestant workers in China at the time of Morrison's death, there are now nearly four thousand scattered throughout the Eighteen Provinces and their dependencies.

The methods of mission work, almost all of which can be found in germ in 1834, have been vastly developed and diversified since then. The literary work of the pioneers has been carried on by their successors, until there are over eleven hundred different books and tracts, and twenty-seven different versions of the Bible or portions of it. The evangelistic work for both men and women receives the greatest emphasis — itinerancy, colportage, chapel-preaching, and catechumen-classes being the chief agencies. Medical work is as important as ever in dispelling prejudice, and the more than three hundred physicians in China give annually more than a million treatments. Other philanthropic work includes opium refuges and famine relief, and an occasional home for lepers and for the insane. A few schools for the blind and for the deaf might also be classed as educational work. Education is receiving increased attention in view of China's demand for the new learning; courses are open from

the kindergarten to the college, and medical schools for both boys and girls; industrial education has been begun in many places; and plans are being formulated for normal schools. A graduate of Hartford, formerly of the American Board, has organized a society to supplement the work of the present theological seminaries by summer-conferences and correspondence-courses, designed for less fully educated Chinese workers. Dr. Gilbert Reid's "International Institute" at Shanghai, and the Young Men's Christian Association, now working for students in seven cities of China and also for the thousands of Chinese students in Japanese universities, have also used education as a means of reaching the scholar and official classes. In all this diversity of work, by representatives of eighty or more societies, there is more and more discernible a spirit of coöperation and harmony, which tends to eliminate rivalry, overlapping, and reduplication of effort, and which augurs well for a coming United Church of Christ in China. Such a spirit and purpose were plainly seen in the Centenary Conference of 1907, and the many union schools and colleges, not to speak of comity in evangelistic work, are concrete examples of it.

As a result of this manifold work during the last seventy-five years, the Protestant church has grown from only three persons to almost two hundred thousand, the adherents numbering nearly as many more. The majority of Christians are farmers and artisans, the men of wealth and culture being much fewer comparatively than in Japan, and officials finding it impossible at present to enter the church and still hold their positions. There are about four hundred societies of Christian Endeavor; and Young Men's Christian Associations, aside from the seven already mentioned, are to be found in many Christian schools and colleges. The influence of the Association is growing among the students of the new learning; and even in Tokyo, where temptations to atheism and immorality are peculiarly strong, more than a hundred Chinese students have through this agency signified their desire to lead a Christian life. Many churches have already attained to complete self-support, while almost all the rest contribute a larger or smaller proportion of their expenses. In Shanghai and Tientsin self-supporting churches, entirely independent of foreign control, have been organized; but as yet the movement has not spread rapidly. Home-missionary

societies have been founded, and many Christians follow the example of the Koreans in contributing some days or weeks of their time for unpaid evangelistic effort. In spirituality, the Chinese Christians often leave something to be desired, their old practical materialism being hard to outgrow at once; yet the Boxer troubles proved that multitudes were willing to suffer the loss of all things for their faith, and the devotion of many who survive is no less great. The recent wonderful work of grace in Manchuria, and also among the Aborigines of Southwest China, reveals the possibilities open to the Church throughout the Empire.

Yet these are but the outskirts of God's ways in China. The indirect influence of missions and of Christian civilization upon China at large is incalculable and ever increasing. Frequent and radical reforms promulgated by the Throne startle and bewilder the oldest residents. Journalism has had a mushroom growth, and the freedom of the press is astonishing. The Government has imitated the mission street-chapels, using lectures, the stereopticon, books, and other means to exhort to virtue and to spread enlightenment. The old examinations, of nearly two thousand years' standing, are quite done away, and almost every possible variety of school, college, and university has taken their place. The uplifting of woman has begun. Schools for girls are being opened in every large center. The anti-footbinding crusade, begun by missionaries, is now enthusiastically carried on by the Chinese. Penal reform is being taken up, torture abolished, and loathsome prisons are giving place to new ones on Western models, where trades are taught to the prisoners. Of all non-Christian peoples, the Chinese have probably been foremost in their charities; but these are now taking new forms.

That there are elements of peril in the new conditions no one can deny. The new-born patriotism expresses itself most easily along anti-foreign or anti-dynastic lines. A shallow atheism is exceedingly popular among the student class, and is fostered by their many Japanese teachers. Yet these difficulties, and the present unparalleled opportunities for work in China, constitute the greatest challenge ever offered to the Church of Christ to give her best and to give it quickly. A few years hence may be too late.

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN

REV. GEORGE MILLER ROWLAND, D.D.

SAPPORO, JAPAN

OUR topic is broader than the progress of Christian missions technically so called. It includes rather all God's workings for the salvation of this Empire.

In order to a clear apprehension of the progress of Christianity in Japan during the life-time of Hartford Seminary, let us glance first at some conditions in 1834 — conditions within Japan and in world-attitude toward her; then let us note some of the steps of progress; and, lastly, let us contrast 1834 with 1909.

1. *Conditions Seventy-five Years Ago.* — Within Japan there were then some conditions most unfavorable to the reception of Christianity, and at the same time others that constituted a preparation.

Made fearful and distrustful by the apparent political character of sixteenth-century Christianity, Japan had sought to crush out the "evil sect" and to close her doors to all who owned the Name. Nor was this exclusiveness without reason. Japan had received tobacco, firearms, and some new forms of disease from the West, but no new principles of morals had been adopted from foreigners in the sixteenth century (*Mikado's Empire*, p. 263). Though apparently necessary, such exclusiveness was deadening.

Despite this narrow exclusiveness and spiritual darkness, by way of preparation for Christianity, the people through Buddhism were accustomed to religious worship and ideals. Through Confucianism they were bound to a code of morals. Their loyalty and filial piety are motives to which strong appeal can still be made.

Besides this religious and moral culture received from Buddhism and Confucianism, there still remained the spark of Christian faith in the hearts of thousands in Southern Japan, kept alive secretly for two hundred years. Who shall say that

these thousands were not hoping and praying for the day of religious liberty that has dawned in the Meiji Era?

Again, remembering Xavier's wonderful successes in the sixteenth century, there were earnest souls in both Catholic and Protestant countries — Italy, France, Great Britain, and America — who dreamed of planting the Gospel again within Japan's fast-closed doors. Already, before our Seminary was opened, there were concerted prayer and giving on behalf of Japan in America. Dr. Carey tells (*Japan and its Regeneration*, p. 76) of a little prayer-meeting in Brookline, Mass., in 1827, which was moved to pray and to give money for taking the Gospel to Japan. When our Alma Mater was still in her infancy, Catholic priests came to Lū Chū; and the Protestant Dr. Battelheim was also sent thither (1846) by a missionary society organized for the purpose by officers of the British navy.

Such are some of the conditions that prevailed seventy-five years ago. Within, Japanese rulers fearing, hating, prohibiting Christianity; the hearts of the people prepared through Buddhism and Confucianism; a handful of people secretly clinging to the Faith and awaiting a better day. Without, Catholic and Protestant nations knocking for admission; and a few earnest souls unwittingly joining their prayers with those of the secret Japanese Christians for the salvation of this Empire.

2. *Some Steps in the Progress.* — In the providence of God many important results were brought about through other than technical missionary agencies. Let us first note some of these:—

(a) *Influence of Foreign Employees.* — When Japan was setting out on her new career, she freely employed foreign advisers, experts, and teachers. Five thousand of these *yatoi*, or “employed servants,” many of them men of character and Christian faith, were able to direct public affairs, educational, commercial, industrial, and governmental, in ways not easily pointed out, but none the less effective in bringing Japan into harmony in large ways with Christian ideals. The real work of many such men will probably never be known.

Among the employed teachers of English two are worthy of special mention, Captain Janes in Kumamoto and Dr. W. S. Clark in Sapporo. Kumamoto men in general are noted for

strength of character. Janes's pupils were young men of spirit and ambition. Their teacher was a strong character and a soldier. He gave the New Testament a high place in his teaching. He soon won the young men to himself and to Christ. They early pledged themselves mutually to give their lives for their country and its advancement through Christianity. Many of these went into the Christian ministry and built prosperous churches. Some of them are now strong preachers, broad educators, and wise administrators in Japan's Christian institutions.

The influence of Dr. Clark in Sapporo is also beyond measure. He labored less than twelve months, but his influence is perennial. His pupils were the flower of Japanese youth. He led them to a type of Christianity such as is called for by the League of Service. His impress on the lives of twenty young men is to-day seen in many times twenty lives. The institution he founded has grown to the rank of a university. The men he established in Christian faith and character easily outrank the institution. Janes, Clark, and many others struck their blows at the right psychological moment. Their coming was providentially timed. Hence their work was striking. "The foreign employee is the creator of new Japan," quotes Griffis from Chamberlain with approval.

(b) *Influence of Foreign Representatives.* — Many nations and their representatives have forwarded the Christian movement in Japan by their righteous witnessing: Perry on his first Lord's Day in Uruga, acknowledging in public service and song the God of nations; President Roosevelt, arranging for a peace-conference at Portsmouth, bore witness powerfully to Christianity. Many other public servants of many different nations between Perry and Roosevelt have by faith, word, and act greatly advanced the cause of truth and righteousness.

(c) *Influence of Christian Missions.* — During exactly fifty of the seventy-five years under review, the work of Christian Missions proper has been most varied and abundant. The limits of this paper forbid anything like a complete survey of these efforts. Only a few of the most outstanding facts can be mentioned, and these most briefly.

From the six missionaries of three societies who reached Japan in 1859 the number has increased till we have more than

six hundred, representing thirty societies. These have labored effectually in direct evangelization, in literary, medical, eleemosynary, and educational service. The Japanese vernacular is such a difficult instrument to use with facility that the adult European here has always been greatly handicapped. Nevertheless, the results accomplished, through even a stammering tongue, are cause for profound gratitude.

The eleemosynary efforts of the missionaries have not only established many institutions, but they have also taught the infinite value of every human life, even the most lowly and the most unfortunate.

A European physician first treated a "non-human" (*hinin*) pariah, and in time of war treated the wounded of both camps with equal devotion. Such care as is given to lepers is pointed out to-day by the best Christian sentiment as indicating the very essence of Christianity, and leper hospitals are still conducted largely by the foreign missionary. Perhaps the most noted single relief institution in Japan is the Okayama Orphan Asylum. This in its inception and in its present management is entirely Japanese, with missionary co-labor.

The medical missionary in Japan did his work in the earlier years of the new era. His skill found abundant scope in the relief of suffering, in teaching sanitation, and in the prevention of epidemic; and his efforts opened the way for some most effective preaching of the Gospel. When prejudice and opposition to Christianity were rife, the missionary physician was the first to find entrance into many a town and city. The growth of native medical knowledge and skill, however, has been so great in recent years that the Western practitioner is now for the most part superseded.

Obviously the linguistic handicap is felt most keenly in literary lines. Still the missionary has done, and is doing, much valuable literary work. Despite the fact that he must employ a Japanese to put into literary form and to write down what he produces, the missionary is publishing thousands of useful pages. The native author excels in all the more popular forms of Christian literature. The output of the missionary is now for the most part on more technical lines.

In education there was a time when the foreigner was teacher in almost every subject. The early anti-foreign prejudice having

somewhat abated, Japan became the eager pupil of the West. Then for a decade or more the foreign missionary was indeed "teacher" (*sensei*).

Every missionary was besought for instruction on all conceivable topics, and the teaching missionary enjoyed an unrivaled opportunity. To-day this peculiar vantage-ground has been lost. But the missionary teacher of language and of a few special branches is still able to render most valuable service. Especially in the line of building character, and in leading young people to the Great Teacher, he has a rare opportunity.

In direct evangelization the activities of the foreign preacher have been different from those in most mission fields. He has been preacher, lecturer, and superintendent, but seldom pastor. At the first, naturally, he was pretty much all in all; but with the growth of the Christian community, the burden and responsibility have increasingly been borne by the Japanese. In most of the communions the pastoral office has from a very early day been exercised by Japanese ministers.

In the Roman Catholic communion, where organization is highly developed, and where there are many foreign priests, the burden and authority still rest largely in foreign hands. The Orthodox Greek Church is unique in the fact that its moving spirit has from the first (1860) been a single missionary, that wonderful man of God, Archbishop Nicolai, who is still with us in the flesh. Obviously, Japanese workers have from the first largely borne the burden and responsibility in their communion, which now numbers 30,000 souls.

For the last three years the *Kumi-ai* body has been thoroughly independent; and, barring a parting financial grant from the American Board, it has been entirely self-supporting. At the same time it has shown a spirit of aggressive, well-planned, and successful evangelism never exhibited before. The Church of Christ in Japan (Presbyterian) has declared its independence, formulated a scheme of coöperation with the various missions of presbyterial government, and thrown itself into a new evangelism. The three principal Methodist bodies in 1907 consummated a union into one Japan Methodist Church, and by the election of Bishop Honda formally took over the whole work of superintendence, so that now the few foreign presiding elders receive appointment from the Japanese Bishop. It is worthy of

note that in the Methodist body also these changes of relation have been attended by increased evangelistic effort both locally and by the general body.

These forward steps in three great communions, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Methodist, have brought up the number of adult baptisms annually to a point never before reached in the Protestant churches of Japan. These rapid steps toward a complete naturalization of the foreign faith constitute perhaps the most striking and hopeful feature of the whole Christian movement. It may confidently be asserted that Christianity is now, after exactly half a century, planted and rooted in Japan. It may as confidently be hoped that for the next half-century the teachings of the Nazarene will be the most potent factor making for righteousness in this island Empire.

3. *Then and Now.* — In 1834 Japan was a group of baronies held together only loosely; now she is a nation thoroughly unified through devotion to her beloved Emperor. Then she was in isolation, now she is in full relations as peer in the sisterhood of nations. Then there was a military establishment that made the Mikado little more than a figurehead; now we have a national army and navy, the Emperor himself being its generalissimo. Then there were strong class-distinctions, second only to real caste; now there is a well-nigh democratic equality, with possibilities of advancement open to the lowliest. Then human life—one's own, vassal's, enemy's, inferior's, children's—was little valued, appeal to the sword being the fully recognized right of the military gentry; now such cutting down is unheard of, the inviolability of life being everywhere increasingly respected. Then there were edicts prohibiting Christianity under penalty of death; now it is guaranteed religious liberty. Then there were a few secret followers under ban; now there are many open believers in Cabinet, in Parliament, on the bench, and everywhere. Then Christianity was an "evil sect"; now the Truth is planted, rooted, and bearing much fruit in every way.

MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

REV. GEORGE ALBERT WILDER, D.D.

CHIKORE, RHODESIA

GEORGE SCHMIDT, under the Moravians, at Bavian's Kloof, Cape Colony, in the year 1736, was the first Protestant missionary to begin work in South Africa; and his effort was soon abandoned for a period of fifty years. In the year 1834 eight societies were in the field: the Moravians (1792), The London Missionary Society (1801), The Wesleyan Mission (1816), The United Free Church of Scotland Mission (1821), The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (1833), The Rhenish Mission (1833), The Berlin Missionary Society (1834), and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1834). Dr. Andrew Murray would place the beginning of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa in the year 1824. It is true that the Dutch brought the Bible with them to South Africa as early as 1662; and, five years before Schmidt arrived, the Dutch Government had built a church for its slaves, and eleven hundred and twenty-one slave children had been baptized; yet it was not until 1856 that this church undertook a mission to the heathen, and its agents then were not Boers but Scotchmen, Messrs. McKidd and Gonin. A church can hardly be classed as missionary simply because it showed solicitude for the spiritual welfare of its slaves.

The year 1834 saw sixty-two European agents in South Africa, while to-day there are over fifteen hundred workers, sent out by thirty-three societies great and small. Seventy-five years ago the missionaries had no native ministry to aid them, and only a limited number of other helpers; now there are two hundred and two ordained Bantus in South Africa, and ten thousand others assisting in the work.

The few who met to celebrate the Lord's Supper when our American Board's missionaries arrived in South Africa are reported to-day to have increased to over 200,000 (the lately

published figures, 149,491, are incomplete; and Professor Warneck (p. 206) probably refers to communicants and catechumens in the 575,000 there given). These then are the professing Christians in a population of something less than ten millions; the exact figures are not known, but this number includes the half-million half-breeds who originated in the days of slavery and who are increasing at a rapid rate owing to the white man's lust.

In the early days, all forms of temporary structures answered for places of worship. Most of the seven hundred at present in use are permanent buildings, many of them large, and a few fine church edifices. Thirty-seven churches have over one thousand communicants each; and one reports four thousand, which would place it among the largest in the world.

The native ministers are almost everywhere paid by the native congregations. The different denominations with zeal support the home-missionary organizations in their midst, which send agents from their own numbers to their heathen friends, "the lost children of the tribes of Israel," as they like to call them. A very large number of volunteer workers support themselves, many of whom might be called week-end evangelists. Probably it is safe to claim that in no other country has self-support made greater progress, and in no other are there so many unpaid workers. Real missionary spirit cannot be claimed for the native churches. There are individuals, however, who must be placed very high among those who have given their lives to carry the Gospel to the tribes which are beyond.

In spite of the lack of missionary zeal, the efforts of the natives, combined with the activities of the missionaries and the Bible publishing societies, have made the name of the true God very generally known throughout the land. Especially from the mining centers, where the missionaries early located and native Christians gathered, has God's name gone forth. However, so far as returns show, the knowledge of the Christian religion gained in the mines does not make self-propagating Christianity; the natives do not remain long enough under its influence to gain power to overcome heathen environment. There are, however, notable exceptions.

The learning of the sixteen different languages and dialects, reducing them to writing, and translating the Scriptures, have

practically been completed during the past seventy-five years. There are only four translations of the entire Bible; namely, the Xosa, by the Wesleyans, and later by a more general committee; the Zulu, by the American Board missionaries, in which the graduates of Hartford Seminary took an honorable part; the Chuana, by the London Missionary Society's representatives; and the Sutu, by the French missionaries. The British and Foreign Bible Society alone reports a distribution of the whole or parts of the Scriptures in South Africa in the native languages to the number of four hundred thousand.

Although the colonial churches have in general shown apathy towards the heathen, yet, from the first, individuals have persistently urged their claim upon their brethren; and it may be said to their honor that to-day the European Christians of South Africa largely maintain seven South African Societies which are doing a notable work among the aborigines. These are the Dutch Reformed Church Mission of South Africa, the South African Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Congregational Union of South Africa, the South African Presbyterian Church, the South African General Mission, the South African Compounds and Interior Mission, and the South African Branch of the Sudan Mission. Further, it must be stated that ninety of the present number of missionaries working in Africa are South African student-volunteers, whose whole list amounts to two hundred and three.

Education among this illiterate people has shown great progress in certain sections. From the first, without compulsory laws to assist, the missionaries have taught those whom they could as faithfully as they preached, beginning by instructing their own hired servants at night. General returns are not available for the whole period, but from 1850 the following figures will tell the progress made in school-attendance for all South African natives. In that year there were only nine thousand scholars in school; in 1865, eleven thousand; in 1878, forty-seven thousand; in 1885, sixty-three thousand; in 1894, eighty thousand; in 1908, one hundred and seventy thousand. In the District of Transkei, Cape Colony, the most progressive portion of native South Africa, the percentage of population attending school is fourteen, while in Scotland it is only two per cent. higher.

In enlightening such a folk it was patent enough that they must be taught to read, but it was not every missionary who saw the need of industrial training. Many were satisfied with teaching them how to die, forgetting the equally important duty of showing them how to live. It is to the honor of Hartford Seminary that one of her graduates was an early and persistent advocate of industrial training for the native converts. One of the first Wesleyan missionaries wrote: "To preach the Gospel to the heathen is not sufficient; their social condition has to receive the careful attention of the Christian teacher."

The General Conference of South African Missionaries in 1905 unanimously voted to approve of industrial education, so far as it conserves the character of the convert. To the Free Church of Scotland's missionaries, as much as to any, belongs the honor of having developed the idea of training the heart, the head, and the hand. Their institutions at Lovedale and at Blytheswood prove this.

All the South African States now assist, in a greater or less degree, in the education of the native. The schools, originally supported with funds from abroad, have become very generally State-aided schools. To none are grants made in which industrial training is not taught in some form. Probably in no other country is manual labor so generally required of those attending institutions of learning, for, even in the Bible-schools, two hours a day are required to be given to industrial occupation.

The standards reached in the best schools are equal to those required for entering American high schools. Individuals have passed beyond this; and, after completing university and professional courses abroad, have returned to South Africa and become leaders of native opinion. One such has succeeded in establishing an educational institution on a par with many similar missionary schools, besides owning, editing, publishing, and printing a weekly newspaper in the native and in the English languages. There are six such papers in South Africa. They show the progress of the educational work among the natives.

To indicate how these people have advanced in their appreciation of the value of education, it may be stated that, for some time after Lovedale was started in 1841, not a cent was paid by the pupils for their education; whereas now annually there is paid into that institution, for tuition, board, etc., twenty-five

thousand dollars. Towards the establishing of an interstate college for the native, one district alone gave in a lump sum fifty thousand dollars, and the South African natives together hope to raise this amount to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

All the South African States have made it possible for certain natives to hold land under limited title-deed; and the franchise is given to them in Cape Colony and in Rhodesia, if they possess qualifications not difficult to meet. Although there is a strong sentiment against this plan in many places, nevertheless the present Premier of Cape Colony has lately declared that to deprive the native of the franchise is "unthinkable." The late Cecil Rhodes declared also that there must be equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambezi. Indeed, the South African aborigines have seldom lacked friends among the high officials representing England, from Sir Charles Somerset and Sir George Grey down to the present time. In last June, Sir Godfrey Lagden made the following strong statement: "Within the space of a comparatively few years, the natives of South Africa have advanced from a state of utter barbarism to one in which they are clothed, fairly industrious, peaceful, and progressively inclined; in which education and Christianity have been felt by them, their condition in life vastly improved, and the path of evolution made accessible. It was a great accomplishment, for which we look in vain through the pages of history to find a parallel in point of time expended upon it, seeing that but a few years ago some of the tribes were at their worst. That the natives themselves were in some degree willing agents for conversion cannot be doubted. But to the governments, to the magistrates, and to the European races, notwithstanding deep prejudice, must be awarded the credit, where credit is due, for a remarkable achievement; though, as before stated, a large share of the inspiration emanated from the fine missionary effort which enveloped the Sub-Continent in a network of Christian labor."

This is all true. The year 1834 saw England free all slaves in her dominions, and South Africa speedily became attractive to many men and women who valiantly assailed heathenism. In the United States, South Africa never obtained a similar recognition. The little Zulu Mission, with her five thousand converts among the two hundred thousand, proves this; and until recently

no other American missionary society took any interest in South Africa. South Africa, during the life-time under consideration, has had many great missionaries; one Society alone producing a Moffat, a Livingstone, and a Mackenzie, modern apostles, the like of whom it would be hard to find in any field. The last was the distinguished father of the honored President of Hartford Seminary.

It is necessary to ask how much strengthening of the spiritual life the natives of South Africa have gained amid these marked changes in their material environment and intellectual attainment. In addition to what has already been indicated, it can be said that progress has not always been upward, and in general has been only slight. A great mass of the younger people, who have not substituted the authority of Christ and his messengers for that of their chiefs and their parents, who are classed among "missionary adherents," are more or less a law unto themselves. Among this class immorality is practised more openly than among the naked barbarians. To these the common colonial opinion that "a Christian Kafir is worse than a raw native" might apply; but so to speak of the converted native would be a gross insult. However, the statement sometimes made by missionaries, that the native convert compares favorably with the ordinary New England church-member, if true, would give reason to be sorry for the New England church-member. The fact seems to be, that the past seventy-five years has not greatly increased the sense of obligation to moral law even among the Christian natives. Disrespect for authority, unwillingness to assume personal responsibility, a lack of confidence in others, a low idea of honesty, a persistent practice of repose, a lurking belief in the advantages of polygamy and domestic slavery, and a desire for beer-drinking are still characteristics of many of the converts. Yet, in spite of all this, and in spite of the fact that the South African church-members have suffered little or no persecution, the progress of Christian missions in South Africa, when measured in its length, breadth, height, and depth, places it in the front rank of missionary conquests during the past seventy-five years.

MISSIONS IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

REV. ROWLAND BACKUS DODGE, B.D.

WAILUKU, MAUI, T.H.

FIFTEEN years before the founding of Hartford Theological Seminary there was organized in Boston the mission to the Hawaiian Islands. These early days of heroic struggle and wonderful success are well-known facts of history. The missionaries began at the right foundation, working with the children and youth, as well as teaching the adult population. By the year 1832 there were established nine hundred schools under trained natives, with an enrollment of nearly fifty thousand pupils. The list of church-members grew more slowly, and less than six hundred names are found in the records of about that date. The greatest care was exercised that only those should be admitted who after long probation had proved themselves worthy.

The year 1833 witnessed a tremendous reaction. Moral anarchy prevailed, schools were deserted, excess of every kind abounded, and in some places idol-worship was again established. The influence of the missionary seemed entirely at an end. In the next year, however, the change for the better was conspicuous, and marked the beginning of the last seventy-five years of steady progress. It may truly be said, that now for the first time the nation was Christianized, for their faith was fixed in Jehovah, and the principles of the Gospel were their professed guide. Two years later the chiefs looked to the missionaries for advice in the affairs of State. From that time to this it is practically impossible to separate the religious work of the mission in Hawaii from the purely political and educational achievements of the Christian leaders. In no other country in the world has the influence of those who first brought the Gospel been so great and so permanent in politics, social life, and industry.

In 1840 a brief constitution or bill of rights was issued, and ever since that time chief and commoner have joined in the payment of taxes. A land-system was established, by which feudal

tenure was done away; and with the granting of over eleven thousand awards, the humble native could possess his own home and taro-patch. This was one of the highest achievements of Hawaiian Christianity. Soon followed the granting of a constitution and the meeting of the first law-making body elected by the people.

Seventy-five years ago the first newspaper in Hawaiian was published. Five years later the entire Bible was printed, although portions of the Scriptures had appeared from time to time from the mission press. In all two complete editions of ten thousand copies each of the Bible, and three editions of thirty thousand copies of the New Testament, have been issued. A large number of religious and educational books, as well as popular and temperance literature, were distributed, while sermons and tracts by the thousands were eagerly read. To the Christian literature must be attributed the high degree of intelligence of the Hawaiians to-day, who three quarters of a century ago were just beginning to read and write their own language. Without any exaggeration they have made greater progress in these few years than any other people in history.

There has been no repetition of the wonderful revival of 1837-1841, when nearly twenty thousand of a total population of one hundred and twenty thousand were received into the Church, and the increase of houses of worship was over seventeen fold. There has, however, been a steady increase in the number of buildings erected, except during the few years of great political unrest, when the Church suffered greatly. In spite of the tremendous decrease in the native population, the Church has held her own.

The incoming of a horde of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Portuguese, and Spanish as plantation laborers, and the peculiar mixture of whites from all parts of the world, have indeed complicated the missionary problem. Fortunately, the money of the Island Christians has been so consecrated that we now have about two thousand five hundred believers in the forty churches for foreign populations, while the union churches of the Territory have the blood of every race in Hawaii in their membership. The generous spirit of Hawaiian Christianity was seen in the invitation in 1862 to the Episcopalians to begin work for their own people, and again in 1894 to the Methodists to enter

the field to care for a portion of the Japanese and to work in behalf of the Koreans, among whom in their native land that denomination has for so many years labored.

The people here have given so generously for education that no state of the Union can boast of better schools, which are admirably adapted to our peculiar racial and industrial conditions. The Lahainaluna school, famous as the model for General Armstrong at Hampton, for three quarters of a century has had a remarkable influence in training men for Christian citizenship. Ranking on an equality with Lahainaluna are a score of other private schools doing an equally great work in educating the various races of the Territory.

The interest in the Christian Church was never keener than at present. The field is well manned. A hearty spirit of coöperation exists among all Christians of the Evangelical order. The increased devotion on the part of the educated youth to the best interests of the Territory is most encouraging. The self-denial and consecration of so many of the Hawaiians of all they possess for the maintenance of the Church are indeed models of which our Christian nation may well be proud. Native men and women living on the slopes of Haleakala have recently devoted three weeks to building a road through the lava flows for the sole purpose of being able to haul lumber for the repairs of their church-building. It is no uncommon thing for our Christians to go without necessary clothing and long-needed repairs on their houses in order to have a few more dollars for the Church. At the last semiannual session of the Maui and Molokai Association, the natives climbed the worst precipice in the Islands — an ascent of four thousand feet — that they might be present at the meetings. At the large Sunday-school celebration more than half the entire population of the Island of Molokai took part in the exercises. If occasionally traces of the old superstitions are found, or if a fish-god is discovered hidden away in some cave, we must remember the few years that our people have known the truth, and we must not be discouraged.

An important part of the missionary's task here, besides visiting the churches, is the monthly theological school held regularly on each of the four larger islands. To this school pastors and evangelists representing five races come, listen attentively to sermons, Bible outline-studies, and lectures in theology and

ethics by the white leaders. Sentence by sentence the work is given through an interpreter, and then reproduced in earnest sermons on the following Sundays. In the great union meetings occasionally held, as many as nine languages are used in the hymns and responses.

The American Church is in these days embracing a wonderful opportunity of educating and evangelizing the children of the Orientals who are laboring on our fields and are opening small shops in the plantation camps. They must be taught the Christian way here. Some of them have already returned to their home country earnest and true Christians, and ready to lead their brethren into the light that first dawned upon them in our Hawaii.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN MEXICO

REV. JOHN HOWLAND

GUADALAJARA, MEXICO

THE work committed to the Church by the Master, of evangelizing the nations, has always been found to present numerous, intricate, and delicate problems, whose elements vary with the special conditions to be found in different lands. Even when the missionary invaded the realms of gross paganism, the task was soon found to be simply stupendous, requiring infinite faith and patience and the most delicate tact; and when, after a definite and quite general assault had been made on the heathen world, attention began to be turned to nominally Christian lands, the undertaking immediately became more complicated and difficult.

Our next-door neighbor to the south, the former owner of a large part of our present territory, and only partially separated from us by a very slight and uncertain natural division, presents marked differences in the character and thought of its people, as well as in climatic and other conditions. The stolid patience of the original American has been combined with the excitable volubility of the Latin race. Romanism has nominally taken the place of paganism, inculcating an impregnable self-confidence and an implacable hatred of all that seems to impeach, even by the simple fact of divergence, the boasted supremacy of their beliefs.

The Declaration of Independence signed in Philadelphia in 1776 breathes a spirit of deep personal devotion to God and of fundamental independence of thought and action. The Act of Independence that made Mexico a republic declares that the nation shall always be Roman Catholic to the exclusion of all other forms of belief. Although reform-laws were adopted in 1857, affirming liberty of thought and worship, and President Juárez was able to carry out the almost miraculous closing of cloisters and the nationalization of the possessions of the Church;

all of this was looked upon as largely a political matter, and it could still be said, with considerable truth, by Sr. Romero, minister at Washington, that "the Mexican is a Romanist in every fiber of his being."

The missionary found himself blundering ridiculously in trying to express himself in one of the most delicate, rich, and expressive of modern tongues; endeavoring to implant ideas of stern abhorrence of form and show in a people who live largely in their imagination; obliged to face everywhere the taunt of trying to corrupt the pure faith of their neighbors, offering as a substitute the lucubrations of an apostate and licentious monk; accused of trying to sow discord in a land of peace and contentment, and of preaching and teaching only as preparing the way for foreign usurpation.

Spanish versions of the Scriptures, authorized by the Church of Rome, have always had some circulation in Mexico, in spite of their former great cost and the general opposition of the priests; and often a group of evangelically inclined persons was to be found gathered around one of these works. During the American invasion, a considerable number of copies of the Bible in Spanish were carried into the country by the soldiers and quite widely scattered. Miss Rand and others also succeeded in introducing many Bibles. In the early seventies the country was opened to religious propaganda, and the principal denominations promptly undertook organized work. The Episcopalians, Methodists North and South, Baptists North and South, and Presbyterians established their centers in the capital. The Congregationalists began in Guadalajara on the west; the Cumberland Presbyterians, in Aguascalientes in the center; the Associate Reformed and the Friends, in the eastern part of the country.

Religious papers were established and schools were opened; but the main effort was in the line of the preaching of the Gospel. Many true souls were found who were anxiously waiting for the manifestation of the truth; and curiosity and exaggerated reports of the prodigal generosity of the missionaries drew considerable numbers of hearers and adherents, in spite of the bitter opposition of the priests. As the work opened and calls multiplied and became more pressing, many untrained and some unworthy persons were employed to aid in the work of evangelization; and there was often a sharp and unfriendly rivalry in the entering of

promising districts. Persecution was almost universal, and the list of known martyrs to the Cause is large; and doubtless there were many whose names are known only to Him for whom they suffered and died.

In the nearly forty years of work, good progress has been made. A network of centers of colportage and evangelistic effort has been extended, until it covers practically the whole country. By a natural process of elimination, and by the product of the Evangelical schools and seminaries, the character of the ministry has been much improved. Denominational enmity and rivalry have largely disappeared, being replaced by fraternity, loyal and appreciative coöperation, and even by consolidation, as in the case of the different branches of the Presbyterians and the Baptists.

Educational work, which began with the day-school, and for years was limited mainly to boarding-schools for girls, has been steadily developed. Nearly all of the missions now have theological seminaries, and normal and business courses are being offered. In many sections of the country, the graduates of the Evangelical schools are in demand as teachers for the public schools; and occasionally, aside from personal influence, such a teacher is able to take charge of the local church; though the strict interpretation of the law prohibits such a combination. There is a growing feeling among Evangelical Mexicans that there has been too much preponderance of influence by the missionaries; a feeling that is to be welcomed rather than deplored.

Reliable statistics are hard to obtain, for a variety of reasons, and they are often misleading. Probably the number of members of Evangelical churches has not yet reached forty thousand. The constituency should probably be placed at from four to five times that number. While this is a mere handful, as compared with the thirteen millions of the total population, it forms a leaven that is very completely and systematically distributed throughout the whole land and among all classes. Aside from our perfect faith in the supernatural power of the truth finally to permeate everywhere and overcome every obstacle, it is easy to be optimistic when one thinks of the natural efficacy of the influences so well established and so widely distributed.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESULTS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

EDWARD WARREN CAPEN, PH.D.

BOSTON, MASS.

WHAT is the object of the Christian missionary? Statements recently made by missionaries in personal interviews on the field represent the older and the newer viewpoints. Thus one said: "If I understand the modern missionary movement, its purpose is the salvation of individuals through Jesus Christ. Does an education, given by Christian missionaries and filled with the spirit of Christ, really help a man unless it leads to his conversion?" "You are interested in the sociological results of missions. It will be many years before the missionary will have time or strength to undertake sociological work." These statements typify the older view.

On the other hand, a few missionaries in India, facing most serious sociological problems within and without the Christian community, say that in addition to evangelism there is pressing need in India of industrial development. Without it India can never become a great nation, while the Christian community can never be strong until its industrial efficiency has been raised. One of the greatest services which Americans can render India is to furnish opportunities for industrial training and technical education. Here speaks the most radically modern missionary. One may well doubt whether the Christian missionary should take up another burden like this, at least for the present. At the same time, one cannot stand in a community of Indian Christians, often in the quarter of the outcasts, see their pitifully meager lives and their inability to earn more than a mere pittance, and fail to see that there is a great reason for this radical position. The object of modern missions has been well expressed by Secretary Barton of the American Board as "the planting in each mission field of a self-supporting, self-directing, and self-propagating Christian community." It is a far cry from this

to the other conception that the missionary is concerned exclusively, or even chiefly, with the problem of individuals.

The sociological results of missions during the last seventy-five years may be classified as follows: (a) in producing social changes in mission lands, (b) in modifying the general attitude of the missionary, and (c) in leading to the adoption of principles and methods of work which are sociologically sound.

(a) *Social Changes*.—No matter what his conception of his work, the missionary inevitably is compelled to be a social reformer. In every field he finds customs and institutions out of harmony with the spirit of Christ. These all have the social sanction. In merely attempting to interpret to people the meaning of the Gospel and to develop in them the Christian character, he is led to insist upon social changes.

The missionary everywhere creates a new type of home. Questions of the family and of the relation of the sexes bulk large in social life. The Christian home has an aroma all its own. Take the ordinary Zulu hut, without windows, with a single door, perhaps four feet high, all begrimed with smoke, and filled with a numerous company of people, including dogs, kids, and other animals. Contrast with it the home of the Christian Zulu. Doors allow a visitor to enter erect, windows admit light and air, the cooking is done in a kitchen, separate rooms make possible privacy and decency, and a shelf of books testifies to the new intellectual life. The spirit of the home has changed as much as the building.

In general, the Christian missionary finds woman the property of man. Her influence may be great, but it is that of ignorance and superstition. In India and Ceylon women are one of the chief obstacles to social progress. A prominent official of the Madras Presidency, himself a highly educated Indian, is kept from foreign travel because his aged mother threatens to commit suicide the moment he sets foot upon a steamer. An educated Christian womanhood is appearing everywhere. The public school for girls is a frequent sight in India; and while these schools are non-religious, the proportion of Christian teachers is large, because it is in the Christian community that the largest number of well-educated women can be found. Many progressive Indian Moslems now believe in female education, and a normal school for training Moslem girls as

teachers is under way. No one can contrast the scholars in such a school as that of the American Board at Madura with girls from the same social strata outside, without being struck with the fact that Christianity is producing a new type of woman. That means far-reaching changes in home and social life.

Irregular relations between the sexes are a part of popular Hinduism. Let any doubter visit the sacred cities with a competent guide. Against all this Christianity and Western civilization make energetic protest, and so great has been their influence that the most enlightened Hindus are ashamed of these dark features of their religion. Many of the temple cars, to which the laws against obscenity do not apply, are now hidden from public gaze, except when in actual use. Hindu school-teachers devise entertainments and sports to keep their pupils from taking part in that vile festival which belies the English pronunciation of its name, Holi. Japanese writers admit that the one-man-one-woman doctrine has become known throughout the empire because of the teaching of the missionary.

Christianity is teaching a new conception of the worth of man as man. The new emphasis upon the rights of the individual carries with it consequences which are revolutionary. The social structure of the Orient is based upon status, not upon contract, and the unit is the family rather than the individual. No man can change the status into which he was born. A robber inherits his trade, and cannot change it. Social barriers are now giving way, and Christian men from the lowest classes hold positions of influence. Recently a Christian teacher was asked by a Brahmin to care for his wife during a railway journey, yet this man was from a caste that Brahmins scorn. This sort of thing has gone on all over India, until Hindus, who would drive Christianity as a religion into the sea, are forced to admit that only in Christianity is there any hope for the lowest classes.

(b) *Missionary Attitude.* — The missionary is fast recognizing that his work is truly social, especially in those fields where it impinges upon social questions. For instance, in South Africa the missionary problem is intimately bound up with the racial question. The strategic points are the industrial centers, into which are drawn sooner or later a large proportion of the kraal natives. Here they often get their first contact with white civilization only to return home wiser but worse men. The

situation is complicated by the character of the quarters furnished such natives, by the social life offered them, by the temptations put in their way by cunning white men, and by a multitude of features of life which have all the charm of novelty. The whole situation demands careful study and a vigorous and comprehensive campaign. I think no such study has yet been made, but one missionary in Durban, almost crushed by a multitude of miscellaneous duties, longs for leisure to make such an investigation so as to put his work upon a sound basis.

The leading missionaries thoroughly understand their fields. Their attitude towards native customs and institutions is appreciative, even when it must be critical. Their work is truly constructive, and they do not expect the millennium at once. The Christian community often exhibits faults of character, the product both of heredity and of environment, which cannot be eradicated in a single generation. Missionaries are willing to be patient and to await the final triumph of the high ideals which they never fail to set before the people. This has been the attitude of the great missionaries of every age; it is now characteristic of the whole missionary body.

(c) *Missionary Principles and Methods.*—Are the principles and methods of missionary work in harmony with sociological principles? Yes, to a very large extent. A century ago missionaries used the five great avenues of approach to the heart of the non-Christian peoples—education, industrial training, medical relief, publication, and evangelization. The greatest changes have been in the matter of proportion and emphasis.

It is now recognized that the missionary campaign will be long. Rarely has a whole people become thoroughly Christianized within a few years. It is well to talk of the evangelization of the world in this generation, provided that it is recognized that the work of the missionary will not then be complete. Some parts of the field of the Rhenish Missionary Society among the Bataks in Sumatra have been evangelized; every one has heard of Jesus Christ; but the missionary force cannot withdraw for many years. It is one thing to induce people to forsake idolatry and come under Christian instruction; it is quite another thing to create a strong and intelligent Church which can direct and support itself and send missionaries to its neighbors. Not until this point has been reached can mission boards dissolve.

It is recognized by all missionaries that the Orient can be Christianized only by Oriental Christians. Upon the native Christian depends the future. In the older fields the missionary must become the educator and organizer, and in general the power behind the throne. Upon the native teacher, evangelist, or pastor must devolve the task of reaching the outsider. Yet the missionary must not appear to lose interest in such work, or the native Church itself will grow lukewarm. In one field the religion of the missionaries is known as "compound Christianity," that is, Christianity lived upon the mission compound, because they have given up entirely their former work of itinerating.

The extent to which responsibility is placed upon the native Church varies. As a rule German and Dutch missionaries retain the control, while American and English missionaries lay the burden upon the natives. Missionaries tend to keep the reins in their own hands too long because of the incompetence of untrained natives. Yet where the missionary trusts his assistants the result is encouraging. There are two high schools in India, in each of which the young American missionary has organized his school upon the American basis with faculty committees. In spite of the skepticism of older missionaries, the schools are run well, the missionary's burden is lightened, and the teachers are learning valuable lessons. Into the delicate question of the relation between the native worker and the missionary, racial feelings enter far too widely. With the growing sense of nationality in the Orient, this must not be overlooked. In northern India, especially in Bengal, it is said that Indians prefer to serve under the Young Men's Christian Association because there is a greater feeling of equality than in the missions. American missionaries offend less than Europeans in this matter.

In matters of theology and polity, missionary leaders hold that the West should not try to impose upon the East types of belief and methods of organization which may not be in harmony with their institutions. If Christianity is to triumph in a country like India, for instance, the Church must be regarded as an Indian, not as an American or European, organization. This means not only that missionaries and natives must become co-workers, but that the native Church must have freedom to develop its own theology and polity. This is a question of the

future more than of the present, but it is looming up in certain fields. Many Congregational missionaries believe that the purely democratic nature of Congregationalism is not in accord with the genius of the Orient and that certain modifications of polity, chiefly in the direction of centralization of authority, are already appearing.

The missionary sees, as does his brother in the home-land, that Christianity has a message for the whole of man, hence the great variety of work. Hospitals and dispensaries, asylums for lepers, schools for the deaf and for the blind, homes for orphans, hostels for students and for working-girls — these are but a few of the ways in which the missionary seeks to minister to the needs of his field, and in each the goal is the transformation of character. The complicated matter of industrial training is attracting attention among missionaries. It is not clear what the missionary can wisely attempt, but it is a good sign that missionaries are considering their duty with respect to one of the greatest needs of the Orient, the increase of industrial efficiency.

As regards education, the forward step has already been taken. In every mission field there are normal schools, colleges, and theological seminaries, which are well adapted to meet present needs. There is no doubt as to the duty of giving adequate training to the Christian leaders of the future. The question of giving a higher Christian education, including Biblical instruction, to non-Christians, is still under discussion. While the aim of such schools is always evangelistic, their success, measured by the number of baptisms, is often slight. If, however, regard is paid to the way in which the Christian idea of service is taught, and the whole attitude towards religion and life modified, they must be pronounced a mighty instrument for the transformation of the Orient. They are changing lives and training the leaders and social reformers who will aid in the transformation of their countries. These institutions hold a strategic point in the missionary campaign.

One of the moot questions of missions concerns a principle of great significance, What qualification shall be insisted upon for baptism? There are some missionaries who require only the definite breaking with heathenism, the living of a moral life, and familiarity with some of the fundamentals of Christian life and belief, such as the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and

Apostles' Creed. In Uganda ability to read and acquaintance with more or less of the New Testament are also insisted upon. At the other extreme are those who set up a standard so high that it could hardly be applied in any church in America to-day. If I interpret aright the trend on the mission fields which I have visited, it is in the direction of the former position, even among those who insist upon credible evidence of conversion. Wherever there are mass movements towards Christianity, persons must be admitted to baptism and church-membership whose knowledge of Christianity is of the slightest. Such Christians do not average high, but if the work can be followed up, their children are far superior. If the Eastern countries are to become Christian, it must be through mass movements, and Christian nurture must train into mature Christians those whose parents have broken with heathenism. The abandonment of the old must precede the full adoption of the new. At the same time the standards of the Christian life must be kept as high as possible, and from this there would be no dissenting voice.

After all has been said about the sociological results of mission work, the greatest result is that of the transformation of men and women. Only through the renewal of the life of individuals can nations be changed, and it will spell the doom of missions if this truth ever becomes obscured. There must always be before the eye the vision of God in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself and committing to His children the work of reconciliation. This it is which inspires and guides the missionary movement to-day, and in this lies the hope of its ultimate triumph.

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