

THE SEMINARY METHOD
OF ORIGINAL STUDY
IN THE HISTORICAL SCIENCES

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THE
SEMINARY METHOD
OF
ORIGINAL STUDY
IN THE HISTORICAL SCIENCES

ILLUSTRATED FROM CHURCH HISTORY

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS little work has grown out of the experiences of a practical teacher. It is intended primarily for students. It seeks to convey to them that information which they are found to need before they can enter upon the work of original study. The "Seminary" is a new institution in this country, and there gather about it no traditions, as about other and established methods. Students in general when beginning original historical work, are not ready for it, as they are for Latin or Chemistry when they begin those studies, and this lays limitations upon the teacher which he must recognize, and which must determine the course of his instruction. The student needs to have an introduction to the Seminary. He needs minute explanations of the method in forms which he can employ as models till he has gained for himself an independent grasp of it. It is the purpose of this book to supply the want of such minute instruction.

More especially for the teacher, but also for the student, there have been added some discussions of the proper range of this form of study, and of the

limitations under which it should be conducted in our colleges. Lists of topics are also provided. It is not supposed that any teacher will use these exactly as they stand; but they will suggest to him profitable lines of instruction in other subjects to which his peculiar circumstances may direct him. No exhaustive discussion of the "Seminary" as found at present in American universities has been attempted, for this would be outside the proper scope of such a book as this. The examples and suggestions that are given in this direction are intended as hints only.

A subordinate aim with the writer has been to do something to elevate the standard of scholarship in our theological seminaries. It is his conviction that they need to press forward with other university departments in perfecting their methods and in advancing the character of the work they secure from their students. They should be not only abreast of their compeers, they should even lead them.

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THE SEMINARY METHOD.

INTRODUCTION.

THE "historical sciences" may be defined as those sciences into which history enters as an integral part. Psychology is not such a science. It deals with the present, with facts that are before the student at the present time, and which may be considered in themselves. Systematic theology is not such, for it asks the question, What is the truth, not, What have men believed. Political economy is an historical science, since many of its problems cannot be answered until long lines of historical investigation have been pursued, and the experience of men on certain subjects definitely ascertained. Thus the subject of bimetallism will demand many studies as to the historical relations of gold and silver in use together as money, before there will be any great wisdom for the solution of present problems.

With the non-historical sciences there are often connected in the most intimate association, historical sciences. Psychology has a most interesting and important history of its own. It is also associated with the history of philosophy, a discipline still more intimately connected with metaphysics.

Systematic theology will be without one of the important arguments by which it is to determine what that truth which it exclusively seeks is, unless it hear the voice of history. The history of institutions is of the utmost value to present politics. The range of the subjects which involve history and thus require at some point the application of the historical method, is therefore greatly increased, if one takes a broad view of the field of knowledge.

In all these disciplines the method of original study is the same as that practised in historical seminaries. It differs as to details, but it is the same in its principles. It is the application of the laws of inductive logic, and these are the same everywhere. It differs in the contrivances for getting at the facts, as these differ in their nature; but when the facts are obtained, they are treated in the same way, whatever the science.

But, wide as is the scope of the historical sciences, as thus conceived, the scope of the seminary method is wider. It may be employed wherever inductive logic is applicable. It is therefore applicable wherever reasoning is employed to secure progress in knowledge, for this is always gained by the use of inductive logic. It may be used in Latin; for here there are important linguistic problems yet to be solved, and also questions properly historical, to be answered only out of the Latin originals. Exegesis has its inductive problems, biblical theology also; psychology must proceed after the method of observation and induction; and as for the natural sciences, they have now been taught by the labora-

tory, which is the seminary method, for many years.

This breadth of range which has been given to the seminary method in the practice of some of the most progressive teachers, is justified by the nature of the case. No man is truly a student of any branch until he is an original student. He is never fully interested in study till he begins to pursue it for himself by original methods. Hence it is the duty of all institutions which will fit their students for the highest intellectual service in the world, to train them in this method. Whatever their particular line of study may be, the opportunity is open before them. No branch of learning is shut out from the benefit of the enthusiasm which will come from such study. It is not meant that all students should be thus taught from the beginning of their public education, for this is a manifest impossibility and impropriety. There must be an age of dependent study before that of independent. A man must walk before he can run. It would be a great error to introduce independent work at too early a point in a course of study. But everything which is worthy of being studied at all, has some stage at which it can properly be put into the seminary, to the great profit of both teacher and pupil.

It is in this broad sense that the present book would treat the seminary. A *method* is the object of the chapters that follow. The discussion is limited for convenience' sake to the historical sciences, and thereby the necessity of considering too wide a variety of methods is avoided. Something must be

allowed to the necessities of the case in the way of limitations of the illustrations, and in the form of the whole. The writer's relation to a theological seminary, and the present and prospective requirements of his own pupils have naturally led him to select his illustrations principally from church history. But essentially all that is to be said will apply with suitable modifications to any historical science as well as to church history, and to every other positive and advancing science, though less directly. If the student or the teacher has really seized the idea of the method, he will easily make the necessary modifications for the special study he has in mind himself.

Before we plunge into the midst of our theme, however, let us pause a moment to note how peculiarly necessary the original study of the various subjects which may be handled in a historical manner, is to the American student. We are in a new world in many respects. With a different form of government from any known in the Old World, with a population heterogeneous and daily growing more so, with a territory as large as that of all Europe, it is evident to the most superficial thinker that we shall have very different problems to solve from those which history brings before us in the finished records of the civilized peoples. Histories written by men whose minds were under the influence of the monarchical forms of government under which they lived, will have but little real light to shed upon those questions which are now pressing with fresh force upon our attention, as to the limits which

must be set to the power of combination for purposes of monopolizing trade, and how far our system of leaving great undertakings to individual enterprise is to be modified by the interference of the government. What analogies will assist us from the history of a country which never had a competent revenue, to determine what is to be done with our surplus? It is doubtless true that we need to learn from the united experience of the race, if we are to avoid repeating old blunders, and go on to a larger success than has yet been achieved. But we cannot find what we want, written out for our instruction in the histories as they stand. We must be able to make our own history as we need it, must understand how to interrogate history for ourselves, if we are to have the benefit of intelligible replies. Or, in other words, we must have just that training which the historical seminary is devised to give us.

To be sure, we have always done this as well as we could. Our Declaration of Independence, which has an air of so great newness and philosophical empiricism, really rested upon clear and profound knowledge of what the past was, and what it meant. The same class of men, when they came to prepare the Constitution, brought all the light which they could find in the experience of mankind to their help. But the conditions of life are now growing more complex. We need even more skillful workmen in politics and commerce than we needed at the beginning. We cannot safely leave the supply of them in sufficient numbers to the

somewhat rare occurrence of superior genius, which shall, uneducated and untrained, be able to devise methods and solve difficulties by native force of intellect. As in all departments training is recognized to be the need of the times, so emphatically is training necessary in original historical study.

Such then is our theme, and such its scope. Let us now address ourselves to the question: How shall the student conceive, and how prosecute the method of original study in the historical sciences?

I.

WHAT HISTORY IS.

HISTORY is the explanation of events. Annals, which merely record events, can only form the basis upon which history rests. History is a science, which, like every other science, takes the facts peculiar to its sphere, reduces them to order, and gives them their due explanation. The understanding of history is the understanding of this explanation.

What is meant by "explanation" here is just what is meant by the term in any other inductive science, viz., the exhibition of the significance of the event as seen in its causes and its effects. When we read history, therefore, we have not understood the subject, if we have gained merely a knowledge of the facts. We know little of the Reformation if we have learned that it began with a certain Luther, who in 1517 posted certain theses, in 1521 defied empire and emperor at Worms, was gathered to his fathers after a wonderful extension of his peculiar doctrines in 1546, and thus escaped the horror of beholding his cause prostrated, and his prince a prisoner of the emperor in 1547. We must ask what it was which led him to post his theses, what gave him the more than human courage he exhibited at Worms, how the emperor came

to delay so long before attacking with military force a cause so hated by him as the Lutheran, how the cause prostrated at Mühlberg came to rise again, and what it has since done, before we can claim to understand the Reformation, and thus have an historical knowledge of it. History rests on a knowledge of the facts which holds them in a perfect mastery, but until it has risen to the work of comparing, combining, and interpreting them, it has not completed its task.

It becomes important, then, to understand what historical causes are. The term is used loosely for causes, antecedents, and conditions alike. The causes of the Nicene Creed are the necessary tendency of the human mind towards reflection, producing prolonged attention to the doctrine of God; the desire of Constantine to unify the empire about a united church as a center; the teaching of the Scriptures; the deep convictions and commanding personality of Athanasius; the council; etc., etc. A cause of the triumph of Holland over Spain in the Eighty Years War was the geography of the country; of the emigration of the pilgrims to Massachusetts, the plantation of Virginia. Thus all that went before a given event, and all that accompanied it, may enter into its cause, however remote apparently. The Thirty Years War in Germany was lighted by sparks from the Eighty Years War in Holland, the French from the American Revolution.

The chief significance of an event, however, is in what it does itself. Its effects are more interesting

than its causes, and, indeed, the tracing out of the causes derives its greatest consequence from the light it casts on the effects. Given the English independence of spirit, the composite state of the church in Elizabeth's time, her system of enforced conformity, and the progressive study of divine truth by the clergy,—what will result in the shape of ecclesiastical life? Given the conjunction of rigid Scotch old-school Presbyterianism and free New England new-school Congregationalism in one ecclesiastical body in the years 1826–37,—what will evoke harmony out of the increasing confusion? History actually answers such questions for us. If we are wise in tracing the connection of effect and cause backwards from 1837 to 1826, we learn the potent force stored up in the various events which led to the great disruption of the Presbyterian Church in the year 1837, and thus we gain the power of estimating the probable results of similar causes if we meet them in history elsewhere.

And hence arises what may be called the prophetic office of history, by which it throws upon the path before us the light transmitted from the past. As the matured and digested experience of the race, history is the guide of man amid the perplexities that beset everything that he undertakes. As such, it renders its chief practical service. The study of history, the understanding of its explanations, must, therefore, teach us to hear and appreciate its prophecy.

Doubtless the most fascinating topics with which history deals, are those great public events in which

the principal lines of human activity meet, and the dearest and most tremendous interests of man are decided. The shock of battle at Leipsic in 1813, when for three days Napoleon withstood the allied armies of Russia, Austria, and Germany, when the French troops did prodigies of valor, charging at one time all day upon lines that filled up as soon as broken, and another day holding at night the little village which they had lost at noon, though feeling that they were already beaten, and when the progress of the allies was like the rising of the tide, may excite the enthusiasm, and call out the highest descriptive powers of the historian, as well as arouse the liveliest interest of his reader. Yet since history is the explanation of events, that scene, however vividly it may be painted, will fail to exercise its full power except he before whom it is unrolled, be prepared by the study of the long line of events culminating in, and resulting from it, to estimate its significance for the peoples of Europe. The lofty aspirations for human rights which sought to obtain their permanent gratification by the French Revolution; the rise of the Napoleonic empire; the skillful disintegration of Germany; the fall of Prussia; the significance of an imperial French domination in Europe; the spirit of grand enthusiasm for native land roused in Germany by Stein; the religious feeling which after the battle wrote the inscription on the battle monument, "The Lord is a man of war, LORD is his name"; the progress of the German nation to an united empire based upon the government of a parliament; the hand that even

Napoleon had in this result ; and many other lines of policy, courses of public sentiment, or fates of great efforts, must be understood in their relations to the desperate combat of that bloody field, before it is fully comprehended. And thus, not only in such a case as this, but in all other examples of that more striking line of external events with which history deals, the careful student is called away from the din of war, or whatever attracts his attention most at first, to the course of human thought, or the development of some great moral movement, or to some ancient institution or immortal and dominating idea, as the key of the explanation, and thus the truly interesting thing. So history, in its development as a science, has come to deal more and more with the internal facts of the life of man.

This idea finds a further exemplification in church history. A proper view of this branch will give it a place among the more significant departments of general history. Inasmuch as it is the history of an institution which has embodied the chief intellectual and moral movement of man, it deals with these internal facts, and indeed with the most interesting and valuable among them. In a certain sense it is an epitome of all history. It, too, has its external and internal side, as it deals with the facts of the growth, organization, relations to the state, reformation, etc., of the church, or with the unfolding of the thought of man as to God and duty. There is church law, church finance, a monarchical, an oligarchical, a democratic form of church govern-

ment: there are even church wars, as well as secular wars, government, and the like.

To all these departments the work of the church history seminary may be applied, but in each of them the student must be mindful of the nature of the science as a science of causes. There is no place where he can rest quietly with the mere facts without any attempt at explanation. This is not true in even the history of doctrine. The students of church history and of the history of philosophy have here exactly the same problems before them. It is not enough to know that Descartes began with his *Cogito, ergo sum*, but the cause of his doubt must be sought in the failure of all philosophic speculation resting upon authority in the period of scholasticism. Why also, having escaped dogmatism at one point, he fell so completely into it at another by accepting the principle of causality without an apparent inquiry as to the justification of so doing, is also a question which the student must at least ask himself, whether he is able to answer it successfully or not. And, if he knows enough to know that Augustine had in his *Si fallor, sum*, the same struggle with scepticism, and came to the same result, an interesting line of inquiry will be opened to him which he will not feel justified in neglecting, till he knows how it came that Scholasticism forgot the Augustinian suggestion of the critical method, and left it to be half re-discovered by Descartes.

So when the topic of Arjanism, for example, is given to a student of church history, he has not

studied this subject properly till he has got a view of the causes of Arianism, and of the Council of Nice, and of the subsequent conflicts which issued in the victory of the Nicene doctrine. Indeed, in the fullest sense, Arianism is not understood till it is traced through Socinianism down to modern Unitarianism. And at every point of this progress, the same questions as to causes and results reappear.

II.

THE HISTORICAL SEMINARY.

THE general idea of the historical seminary is already before us, and we have considered how broad is its scope. But we have not stopped in the haste of preliminary discussion, to gain a detailed view of its more exact problem and of the fruits we are to expect from its successful operation. Let us therefore pause, and partially retrace our steps, till we have set the precise nature of the institution clearly before ourselves. We shall do this by seeking an answer to the question, What is a seminary for church history?

The history of the Christian church is but partially written in books accessible to the American student. Indeed, it is but partially written at best, and would require for its adequate presentation a library rather than a manual of a few volumes. For the ancient church Neander's and Schaff's histories are our chief reliance, the former more profound and minute, the latter more intelligible, and by means of its better arrangement, and its carefully selected bibliographies, more available. For the modern church there is no corresponding work. Kurtz, a German work, the latest edition of which is not accessible in English, is the best general guide

for the whole field, and comes down to the present decade. Fisher, with its bibliography in the newer issues, makes a much briefer but a most judicious and admirable guide.

The proper use of such histories as these is in acquiring a general and comprehensive knowledge of the field as a whole. They present in a useful form the results of extended explorations in every direction. Here we learn what there is to know, and in general what is known. They are indispensable and invaluable. Their full worth is appreciated by no one better than by the original student who seems to depend on them the least. From them alone a respectable and very useful knowledge of the subject may be obtained, but not such a control or appreciation of it as the writer desires for the readers of this book. This is reserved for him who in some limited field at least has made original studies for himself, and become not a mere reader, but also in some sense a writer of history. As the student who has merely read descriptions of chemical reagents and their effects upon one another, does not understand them as does he who has also seen them, and putting them into new combinations, has watched them developing new properties, so the historical student needs to see the simple, unco-ordinated facts of history, and himself seek in their combination the explanation of some mysterious event, before he can fully understand the labors of other men. Thus he who has learned what history is by practical constructive labors in the field of history, is prepared for the general reading of

history as no one else can be. He has himself felt the thrill of discovery, and sympathizes with the enthusiasm of another. He has perceived the limitations under which the historian labors, and knows how to estimate his results. He has learned how to use historical results, and therefore as he reads what others have prepared for him, he assimilates their material, and fits it into the edifice of knowledge as no one else can.

By original sources of history we mean the testimony of the original witnesses to the facts.* For political history they are statutes, treaties, reports of departments of government, correspondence of eminent diplomatic characters, commercial statistics, etc. In church history they are the writings of the Fathers, as contained, for example, in the "Patrologia of Migne"; the acts and decrees of councils, as contained in "Mansi"; the original depositories of church doctrine, as the "Loci of Melancthon," or the "System of Hopkins." Decrees, reports, minutes, letters, monuments, works of Christian art, churches, etc., etc., may be added. You wish, for example, to study the doctrinal history of the Synod of Dort. You may read some essay upon it, like that in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*; but this is not a study from the sources. These are the "Remonstrance" itself; the works of Arminius; of his contemporaries and friends, like Episcopius; his letters; the "Contra-remonstrance";

* See Andrews' "Brief Institutes of General History," Boston, 1887, p. 6 f., for valuable suggestions and references. It is an excellent guide-book for the whole field of history.

the canons of the Synod, etc. Whatever helps you have, you must look at these original facts with your own eyes and come to an understanding of them for yourself, if you are to do original work.

We may, perhaps, now see more clearly the benefit of original study in history already argued, in the more perfect mastery gained thereby over it for the practical application of its lessons to our present needs. The original student, who has taken the facts in hand and learned to see what is significant in them and what not, has traced the line of their causative operation and weighed their results, can detect historical parallelisms, can predict results, and can make the Muse of History an oracular divinity. Any one can see that the excessive emphasis of the subjective element in the formation of religious opinion is likely to lead to departures from objective truth. But he who has himself compared the fanatical movements of this sort, like those of the Montanists or the Zwickau prophets, with the sober and evangelical forms, like that of the Lutheran theology, or with cold and rationalistic forms like that of Semler and Paulus, will have acquired a certain delicacy of historical touch and power of discrimination which is one of the highest products of historical training, and which will enable him with a degree of certainty to separate between dangerous and innocuous movements in our own day.

It is for the performance of this work and the securing of these results that the historical seminary has been devised. Originally the contrivance of

Von Ranke for training a school of professional historians, it is now generally recognized as the best device for accomplishing the results already suggested and of perfecting the training of any student who may make history a significant portion of his education. An historical seminary is a laboratory for history. It is a workshop where the student is taught to make history. It is a place where the beginner may acquire methods, and where the advanced student may do work which shall contribute to the sum of human knowledge.

A seminary should be furnished with suitable apartments, though these are not indispensable. Tools for the work, the co-operative labor of pupils and teacher, and results gained make the seminary. But as a family needs a house, so a seminary needs rooms for its exclusive use. Their extent will depend on the number of students. They should be accessible day or evening, and each student should have a latch-key of his own. There should be abundant table room. Each student should have a drawer with lock and key, where he may keep his papers and writing materials. The more advanced students should have small individual tables on which they may keep the books they are using as long as they need them. Heat and light should be provided. And if there be a dressing-room, where the dusty student, just returned from a long walk, can wash and refresh himself, and so with the least possible delay can sit down undisturbed and pursue his labor till his time for study is exhausted, there

will be little in the way of external accommodations to desire.*

The principal furniture of the seminary will be its library. The standard books which must be consulted constantly should be owned by the seminary, and never taken from its rooms. A seminary for church history should have at least the following classes of books: dictionaries of Greek, classic and Byzantine; Latin, classic and mediæval; German and French, ancient and modern; English: atlases like Spruner's and Johnson's: chronological tables, like Smith's: encyclopædias, the Britannica; the American; Herzog (German); Schaff-Herzog; Herbst, for modern secular history; Meyer's *Conversationslexicon*: standard histories, like Schaff, Neander, Gieseler, Milman, Gibbon, Green, Bancroft, Kurtz, Stevens (Methodism), Punchard (Congregationalism), Gillett (Presbyterianism): bibliographies like Hagenbach's Encyclopædia: guide-books like Hagenbach, for the history of doctrine; or Fisher for universal history. The sources for the study may properly be the property of the university library, and be deposited temporarily in the seminary for current use, although certain classes of sources will be in so constant demand that a vigorous seminary will soon find it convenient

* The best arranged seminary in this country is doubtless that at Johns Hopkins University. Here in a series of rooms opening into each other, are lecture rooms, professors' offices, a newspaper room, a map bureau, a room for statistics, a lavatory, and then the general seminary room, in which are tables, libraries, and every other contrivance which can help the student in his work. These fine apartments are superior to those of the seminary at Leipsic.

to own them, as for example, sets of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, Luther, Calvin, etc.

The seminary arranged, and the library in place, the instruction may begin. Methods may vary almost indefinitely, if only certain features be secured. The work must be original and co-operative. This is the essential thing. All else is only the means of attaining this. Some large general topic should be selected for the work of the whole seminary, and subordinate topics assigned to the individual students. Weekly meetings may be held, when the results of the separate investigations shall be reported, and each investigator subjected to the cross-fire of criticism or supplementary suggestion from the director and the body of students. Dr. A. B. Hart conducts his seminary for American history in Harvard College after the following plan. The course opens with introductory lectures on the methods of study, sources of history, bibliography, etc., and then the students take up their individual topics. There are two distinct lines of work,—the preparation of a large subject, which shall teach the student to get speedily a grasp of many details in a limited time, and the preparation of a carefully wrought thesis on a smaller topic where the object shall be the most perfect work, based on a knowledge of the whole literature.* The teacher meets his students in his own room, twice a week. The writer conducted his first seminary on the general topic of New England theology. He lectured him-

* For list of topics, see appendix.

self twice a week, beginning at the beginning of the school and following it down as far as the time permitted. Each student received his topic for investigation, so chosen as to afford the opportunity of tracing a real historical development, and having points of contact with every other topic. One received, for example, *The Nature of the Will*; another, *The Doctrine of Conversion*; another, *The Nature of Virtue*, etc. There are almost innumerable points of contact in these three topics. Three meetings a week were held for conference, reports, suggestions and criticisms. The work of each student was completed when he handed in a perfect thesis upon his topic. At the present writing, the seminary work is conducted in connection with a course of lectures, delivered five times weekly, on the history of doctrine. Only a part of the hearers of the lectures are in the seminary. The topics have been selected from one author of critical importance for the whole progress of doctrine in the church—Augustine.* One meeting has been held each week for written reports and criticisms. Von Noorden, in the Historical Seminary at Leipsic, conducted classes with only one weekly meeting and no lectures. Methods may thus vary widely; but in the case of an earnest and able young man, the mere opportunity of doing this study will be the occasion of the greatest profit, and none but the earnest and able will make anything out of it under any plan,—or much out of anything else.

* For a list of the topics, see appendix.

III.

THE NECESSARY PREPARATION FOR SEMINARY STUDY.

THE classes for seminary work must evidently be carefully chosen. Were the teaching force of any institution large enough, and the time allotted to university studies long enough, the method might profitably be extended to all students, as every student of chemistry is expected to spend some little time at least in the laboratory. But original study calls for an original mind. There must be an intellectual appetite amounting to a passion for independent knowledge, if a man is to do the best original work, and no good work of this kind can be done without masculine and vigorous mental qualities. There must be also a certain intellectual preparation. The tools necessary to the work must be in hand, and at least some facility in their use must have been already acquired.

What these preliminary attainments must be in any case, will depend on the character of the work to be done. If one turns his attention to mediæval history to find that "key to the historical answer to the questions of our time between the church and the world" which Mr. Hatch says it will furnish us, he will evidently enter upon a study of institutions where his sources will be largely in Latin, and his

topics call for an extensive knowledge of Roman and ecclesiastical law. Questions in American secular history will not demand so great linguistic preparation, but their successful solution will require those qualities of mind and general acquisitions which can only be developed by severe mental gymnastic, and which are usually found in our country only in men classically educated. In church history, since all questions are intimately connected with those principles of Christian doctrine which have called out and exhausted the profoundest thought of the profoundest minds, little worth doing will be accomplished by any one who has not had at least so much metaphysical training as is given in the somewhat meagre philosophical course of our colleges. While but a glance at the ponderous quartos and folios of Greek and Latin, and but a brief search for suitable guide-books outside of the German language, will be needed to convince the would-be-student of Christian doctrine that he must be well up in his classics and his German. If the seminary is to be a brilliant success over any large field, it must therefore restrict its privileges to classically educated men.

Among the students of our colleges and theological seminaries of fifteen years since the proposition to enter upon original study of history would, no doubt, have been hailed with delight. But it would have immediately called forth the despairing cry that such work among Greek and Latin sources would be impossible, so poorly had our classical training prepared us to make a practical use of the

languages over which so much time had been spent. Indeed, it had never been the purpose of our teachers that we should be able to turn our knowledge to a practical use. They had for the time being forgotten that discipline need not be neglected while practical facility is also attained. But a better day has dawned, and now boys in the preparatory school write letters to their mothers in Latin after four weeks' study of the language! "Reading at sight," and "translation both ways" have worked wonders, and will work greater yet. The graduate of 1888 will not tremble as the graduate of 1868 must have done at Chrysostom or Bernard.

Yet if the graduate of a college where the best modern methods are not employed, feels himself drawn to the study, he need not despair. If the elementary forms have been learned, and the work of becoming familiar with the grammatical principles has been well done, he may now go forward to familiarize himself with the language he proposes to use, and this with many advantages which he could not well have had before. After a certain point of attainment has been reached, the best way to continue the study of a language is not to study it for itself, but to study some interesting topic by its help. Then the topic allures the reader on, carries him over innumerable dry places, freshens his interest when it is about to flag, gives to philological problems a living charm of its own, and, by means of association with the important matter it has added to the mental possessions of the student, and which he will not readily let slip, stamps vocabulary,

syntax, the construction of sentences, and all the rest ineffaceably upon his memory. Students of the modern languages often find that they have obtained their first hold on a language when they have finished some story which had interested them, and for the time being made them forget they were not reading their own mother tongue. The historical student may avail himself of the same method with the same results. His topics, if he lays hold of them as a true student should, will have more than the transient and unreal interest of fiction, and will do for him as much as that. He will not make so rapid progress as he would if better prepared, for he has now not only to use his tools, but also largely to learn their use. But he will make progress enough; and every piece of work well done will give him new power for the next.

The ideal which he should set before him from the beginning is the attainment of the power to *read* the language. "Reading" is not the same as translating. A man who translates Greek into English, performs a more complicated process than he who reads Greek, and thus gathers the idea of the author from his very words without the intervention of the medium of English. The idea in its course from Plato's mind through Greek and then through English to the mind of the modern reader, has made quite a circuit, and the progress demands perceptibly more time than it would if the English link could be omitted from the chain. Time is knowledge to the student as it is money to the merchant. If he proposes to do any considerable work, he can-

not afford to lose any time he can save. Hence he must learn to *read* his languages.

But can a person learn to read Greek and Latin after this fashion? Yes, he can. Such Latin and Greek as are required for the study of all mediæval history, where of course the subject matter is more akin to modern writing than is the case in the classics, can readily be learned, if the student only attacks the problem in the right manner. Reading a language, for a man who can fluently and easily translate, is a matter of mere habit, or of skill. There is a certain knack which can be acquired, and which is the same in all languages. Take for example, the following sentence selected at random from Kahnis' *Dogmatik*: "*Besonders erfolgreich aber war für Gottschalk's Sache die Gunst des Erzbischofs von Lyon, Remigius.*" If a person only knows the meaning of the words, so that as German words they immediately suggest a thought to his mind, the sentence is intelligible at once, for the peculiar difficulty of this kind of reading is not presented by this particular sentence at all. It reads: "Especially effective however was for Gottschalk's affair the favor of the Archbishop of Lyons, Remigius." That is not exactly the English order, but it is perfectly intelligible without the slightest change. When, now, we have an inverted and involved German sentence, skill and habit will reduce it to the same level and treat it in the same way. It must be understood step for step as it comes. Take the following, which is a pretty bad case taken from Schiller's *Thirty Years' War*: "*Aller Gegenbemü-*

hungen Papst Urbans des Achten ungeachtet, der den Krieg ängstlich von diesen Gegenden zu entfernen suchte, schickte er eine deutsche Armee über die Alpen, deren unerwartete Erscheinung alle italienischen Staaten in Schrecken setzte." The knack of reading that sentence, and such as it, consists in holding the mind poised over each word, like the eagle in mid-air over its prey, till the progress of the sentence gives the clew to its construction. If the sentence is to be *translated*, the eye must run back and forth over it several times till subject and leading verb are found, and then the translator must make a plunge into the middle of it, and begin with *ungeachtet*. Not so the reader. He takes the first word *aller*. He does not know where it is found, and cannot tell. It may be masculine nominative, feminine dative, plural genitive. He seizes simply what he can get, the meaning *all*, and waits for the more exact definition which the context is to reveal. The next word decides the case. It can be only genitive plural. With these two words which are to depend on something still to come, held in firm grasp, the eye goes on till *ungeachtet* is reached, and then, as the eagle swoops down upon its prey, the whole adverbial clause is seized upon by the mind, and again held ready to be fitted into the rest of the sentence when it shall have been unfolded. We thus hold the mind suspended over long parentheses in English, why can we not do it in German? In what is this sentence different from the English one beginning: "All the assurances of my honored colleague to the contrary, in deference to the truth,

I must declare, etc.” In the same way that great difficulty, so formidable to the learner, of putting off hearing the verb of a transposed clause till it is given at the end, as in the case of *suchte* and *setzte* in the sentence quoted, is finally surmounted. Hold the mind poised till the word comes for decision. Let the sentence be like the chemical solution into which many reagents are introduced without apparent effect, till the last decisive one is added, when the precipitate falls. To be sure, a certain nimbleness of mind will be required to see instantaneously the difference between the dative: “*Der Verfolgung entwich er*, etc.” and the nominative: “*Der Ursprung der Schwierigkeit war dass*, etc. ;” but the mind will respond to the demand when it is decidedly made.

The instances selected are from the German language because the doubting and hesitating student will find at any university a dozen men who actually do thus read German every day. The art is possible because it is actual. But if possible and actual in the case of German, it is possible also in the case of Latin and Greek. The difficulties in these languages are only a little greater, not of a different sort, and not enough greater to become at all insurmountable. The number of those who thus use Latin and Greek is smaller than of those who have German perfectly in their control. Our methods of education have been decidedly at fault at this point. But there are many scholars in this country, and many more in Europe, who would never think of translating Latin or Greek sources for the sake of

getting at their meaning. What difficulty does this sentence offer to a man who tries to read it rather than translate: "*Scriptores veteres omnes practer unum Augustinum ponunt aliquam electionis causam in nobis esse*"? Or what difficulty in the following is there which is not surpassed in the second German sentence quoted above: "*Obedientiam mortis voco, quam praestitit speciali mandato patris de patiendo et moriendo pro electis*"?

But how shall this art be acquired? By reading, reading, reading. The first difficulty to be overcome is our habit of transposing the foreign words to fit the English order. We suppose this to be more logical; but it is not so. There is no logical order of words in a sentence. Is the German order illogical because it is different from ours? That would be to set up a very ridiculous standard, which might be reversed by some German in a way not altogether flattering to our pride. If the writer may illustrate from his own experience, this difficulty is to be overcome by itself, and can best be made to yield when attacked alone. In learning to read German, he got finally to the point where the form of the German sentence seemed to be the great bar to further progress. He took that little story of Eichendorff's—*Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, and began to read it without translating. He contented himself with any understanding of the sentences which was clear enough to let him see his way through them. If he knew what a sentence would mean, provided only this or that word were clear he forged ahead. Thus many words were left

behind, the precise meaning of which was very uncertain, but little by little the German sentence became natural and easy; and when the book was done, superficial as the work may seem to any one who thinks that thoroughness demands that we should do everything at once, the difficulty which the experimenter had determined to remove, was gone forever.

Since, now, the seminary student is both learning a language and collecting materials for an historical essay, he cannot thus slip over details in his study. If he finds he cannot make good headway with these two problems at the same time, let him read the important passages of his author twice, once for the language drill and for orientation, and once again for the matter. Let him begin, if he must, by translating a sentence; but let him not leave it until he can read it, and understand it without translation. Then let him drop the translating habit more and more, and introduce the reading habit in its place. Finally he will be able to read altogether, and then his outfit for the work in this direction will be complete.

When this new power has once been employed with considerable satisfaction, a later trial may find the student not yet its entire master. But he will regain it, with comparative ease, and, the process repeated as often as necessary, he will finally be in perfect possession of the language.

It is in a similar way that the student has to conquer the other deficiencies of his previous training. If he will enter the theological historical seminary,

he will find that it presupposes the philosophical seminary, for in church doctrine the philosophical element is often so strong as to demand special training in this department. But if the student has not enjoyed the advantage of suitable preliminary discipline, now is his time to make good his deficiencies and prepare his tools while he is using them. Let him manfully grapple with his difficulties one by one, as they present themselves, and they will gradually disappear, and he will be able, however hopeless the effort may at first seem, to accomplish finally a good result.

IV.

THE METHOD OF ORIGINAL STUDY.

THE student has received his topic from the director of the seminary, and has seated himself at his table to begin his work. His first task is what may be called, by a not illegitimate extension of the literal to a figurative use of the word, *orientation*. That is, the student must get his bearings, and see where his topic lies in the field of history, where those explaining causes, and where those effected results, for which true history is always searching, are to be found.

Let the topic be "Socinianism," for example. Where shall he look for his orientation? To the guide-books, and first to Kurtz. There he will find his topic, the name, dates, outline biography, theological connections, and leading doctrinal ideas of Faustus Socinus; and this is the orientation.

This suggests that the first thing for the student to do in the way of getting acquainted with the facilities of the seminary is to look over the guide-books, and see what they will do for him. The term chosen to designate this variety of helps, is, perhaps, more significant than classical, but we shall retain it in default of a better. A good guide-book is the most precious of all the tools of the

original investigator. Take, for example, Kurtz. Here, in two moderate volumes, is presented the whole field of church history in outline. Each half volume begins with a fine table of contents, which alone is often enough to locate a prominent event, and the whole closes with a minute index. Before every principal division is a long list of books, sources or treatises, sometimes covering pages, and into almost every paragraph is incorporated a mention of the chief books on the subject of that paragraph. In the case of Socinianism, six different works are referred to. Thus the student is guided to all the principal literature of the subject, given the clews, and set to work.

Almost every department, now, of church history has its guide-book, although most of them are in German. The real student must get his German at his finger-ends, as indeed he must the three other learned languages, Greek, Latin, and French. For the whole field of church history, Herzog's "Realencyclopædie" is the most comprehensive and trustworthy guide-book. For its field, Hagenbach's "History of Doctrine" is excellent. American church history has no such guide-book as these, but Smith's "Chronological Tables" contain a marvellous amount of information of the sort desired. Many monographs, as Punchard's, or Dexter's "Congregationalism," help us out here. Indeed, special monographs, even where their contents are of little or no value, if they are written with that careful citation of authorities which may sometimes seem like pedantry, but which is rather a scholar's duty to

his successors, are often the best guide-books. What the author was aiming at, may be aside from your topic, but you may need to examine precisely the same sources as he.

The orientation obtained, and the bibliography of the subject made out as fully as may be from the guide-books, our student is ready for the study from the sources, of which he has also learned from the guide-book and the seminary or university library catalogue. How shall he open them up? Take for example, "Calvin's Psychology." Of course the sources are Calvin's works, and presumably his Institutes in chief. But how shall the student find psychological discussions in that bulky work? Let him ask: *What* psychology do I desire principally to examine? The answer will be: That of the will; and now the table of contents will show that this topic is discussed in Book II., Chapter II., and in § 2 he will find the subject begun by a discussion of the divisions of the mind. The chief difficulty will now have been solved, for when the student has once gotten a hold on an author's discussion, innumerable suggestions, and often express references will lead him from topic to topic, and from book to book, till the whole is examined and the results are reached.

Sometimes the best way to open the sources is to turn first to some monograph or encyclopædia, and read the discussion of the theme. If the student is very inexperienced in such study, or totally unacquainted with the philosophical side of the subject, this may be best. Otherwise he will run the

risk of having to re-read all his sources, since, in his general ignorance, he will fail to see the points of significance. A man who wishes to classify plants, must first gain sufficient knowledge of botany to know what the distinctive features about plants in general are, or else his eye will glide unobserving over many noteworthy facts in the specimens in hand. But in no case should such preliminary reading be anything more than orientation. Never use another mans' results till you know for yourself.

When the study of the sources has fairly begun, the young student will often find himself transported to a world altogether strange to him, and will be in much doubt whether he understands his authors. If the topic pertains to political history, or to the external history of the church, the difficulty will be to bring facts into their relations, and understand them, each in the light of the others. Here few useful general directions can be given. The student must learn this kind of study as swimming is learned, by doing it. He sees, for example, that the forged Isidorian decretals ascribe an immense importance to the Primate ; he sees, again, the ambition of the Archbishop of Mayence ; and, putting these facts together, he begins to suspect that the Archbishop may have had a hand in the forgery, and looks about for additional evidence. In the history of philosophy or Christian doctrine, the difficulty will be a greater and a deeper one. How shall I seize the idea of this utterly incomprehensible sentence, and put it into the language of to-day? What weight shall I attach to this argu-

ment, in its present form so inconclusive, or even absurd? How put myself so completely into the situation of the writer that I think his thoughts after him, and find his language natural? What force is there in Lotze's remark: "if the greatest *were* not, then the *greatest* were not, and it is certainly unthinkable that the greatest of all conceivable things should not *be*"? What, again, does Luther mean, when he says of the will: "Agi non est agere, sed rapi, quemadmodum serra aut securis agitur"? Does he mean to make us mere machines in the hand of God? Or when Melancthon talks of the co-operation of the human will, what is he aiming at? When he speaks of God's "determining contingent events," what sense lies concealed in that paradox? Such questions will constantly arise, perhaps in great number over the first page of the student's reading. The answer now must be much as it was before, "Put yourself in the situation of the writer" *by putting yourself there!* What were the ideas of the writer lying beneath the subject now in hand and determining its form? In the example just cited, what is the psychology of Luther or Melancthon? Did they recognize any distinction between the sensibility and the will? What was their conception of the general relation of God to the universe? These are preliminary questions, and suggest that the student has not begun far enough back in his topic. Thus with the earnest attempt to understand, the topic begins to ramify.

We may often adopt the plan of comparing many parallel or related passages. Each illuminates the

other. A totally obscure idea may become clear from a single remark made by some contemporary or predecessor of the writer. Customs, or the constitution of the state may throw light on the difficulty. Why did the Arminians of Holland make so great and apparently so unseemly an ado about the nature of the courts before which their case should be examined? The political constitution of Holland affords the key to it. To whom did the author write confidentially? is a question that will often lead to sources of information as to his ruling ideas. In general, a man's date, place of birth, parentage, education, reading, residence, friends, employment, other writings, religious denomination, age and experience, etc., etc., constitute his interpreting environment.

With all this reading and thinking, note-taking must go hand in hand. Note, at least by reference and a catch-word sufficiently definite to suggest the whole idea, every important thing you find. Make full quotations which you will want to use, and do not be too sparing about them! You will not be compelled to use them, because you have copied them! Preferably use loose small sheets of paper, a quarter of a fool's-cap page, and write on only one side. These can be sorted readily under the subdivisions of your theme as you get it more and more in hand. Note every query that occurs to you, and follow them all up. They will often throw a flood of light on some unexplored point. You cannot turn aside for them now, but by-and-by you can. "Had Calvin read Zwingli and adopted his

theory of the exclusive divine causality, when he wrote the Institutes?" That question put down, kept unanswered, and perhaps unanswerable, will, if turned over and over times enough, fix itself in the mind, and cause the eye, by a certain magnetic attraction, to draw to itself, some day, Calvin's statement that he long left Zwingli unread because of disgust excited towards him by the misrepresentations of the Lutherans. There is a whole chapter of information as to Calvin's system in that single fact. *It was not dominated by an overpowering philosophical idea*, even if Calvin's predecessor did have that idea!

The ramification of topics under the labors of the student has already been brought before us. Let the topic be: The Atonement in the Westminster Confession. This is founded on Calvin. What, then, was Calvin's view? To understand this: What is his view of justice? of imputation in general? hence, of original sin? etc., etc. Was Calvin opposed? Yes, by Socinus. What was Socinus' fundamental objection to Calvin? Did he understand him? Which was right? What was Socinus' own theory? Why did he not lay more weight on the death of Christ? Any light here from his doctrine of sin? of the nature of Christ? Who replied to Socinus? Had Grotius' Arminianism anything to do with his theory? Central point of that theory? Idea of justice? of virtue?—Such ramifications the student must accustom himself to see. If he bears the ideas about history as the explanation of events, with which we set out in this discus-

sion, in mind, and is never satisfied with a fact until he has also found its explanation, the subject will open itself. As you gaze carelessly at a tree, you see, it may be, but a mass of darkness against the sky. But look! and you will see the trunk dividing into branches, branches into boughs, boughs into twigs, and twigs sprouting with twiglets, almost *ad infinitum*. Be thorough in the study of your theme, and be assured that you have not been thorough, unless it has laid itself open in all these various connections.

Dean Stanley, in his "History of the Eastern Church,"* has given a good illustration of the ramification of a subject from another point of view. He says: "Take, for example, the general councils of the church. They are the pitched battles of ecclesiastical history. Ask yourselves the same questions as you would about the battles of military history. Ask when, and where, and why they were fought. Put before your minds all the influences of the age, which there were confronted and concentrated from different quarters as in one common focus. See why they were summoned to Nicæa, to Constance, to Trent: the locality often contains here, as in actual battles, the key of their position, and easily connects the ecclesiastical history of the age with its general history and geography. Look at the long procession as it enters the scene of assembly; see who was present and who was absent. Let us make ourselves acquainted with the several characters there brought together, so that we may

* Edition of 1884, p. (43.)

recognize them as old friends if we meet them again elsewhere. Study their decrees, as expositions of the prevailing sentiments of the time; study them as Mr. Froude has advised us to study the statutes of our own ancient parliaments; see what evils are most condemned, and what evils are left uncondemned; observe how far their injunctions are still obeyed, or how far set at naught, and ask in each case the reason why. Read them, as I have just now noticed, with the knowledge which each gives of every other. Do this for any one council, and you will have made a deep hole into ecclesiastical history."

But study cannot go on forever if a theme is at last to be considered done, or the work to have a conclusion which may be employed for any good end. Where can the thorough student stop? Where he finds results of other competent workers after the same independent method he is pursuing. When you cannot follow your authority into the details of his work, you can yet gain a close enough view of his methods, test his general ability accurately enough, and examine his alleged proofs critically enough to have a reasonable ground for an opinion about him. If you see that he has written history to gain support for some preconceived opinion of his own, reject him at once. If he has first laid down certain general laws according to which history must develop, give him the go-by. Nothing can more discolor the simple facts of history than philosophic or dogmatic goggles. Apart from the general principles of metaphysics and logic, the facts

of human nature discernible by the exercise of common sense, and some special laws of development suggested by the topic itself, no historical laws can be prescribed beforehand. If a writer is evidently honest in his statement of facts, honest also in his effort to get at their meaning in a legitimate way, and in easy control of himself and his subject, he may be relied upon. If anything more needs to be known of the matter than is conveyed in remarks like these, it must be gained by experience. A few failures with authorities will make the student exceedingly critical. The judgment of the teacher may be profitably employed at this point, till the student has acquired a certain degree of historical instinct. The student of church history should, perhaps, be warned that nothing is more likely to disturb the historical judgment than theological prejudice. And yet the vitiated may not be wholly worthless, and where the disturbing influences do not operate, the compass may yet point straight to the truth.

Another question suggests itself as to these ramifying inquiries. What are worth following out? And what will give only my labor for my pains?

In reply, let it be noted, first, that negative results are often as valuable as positive results. You examine a topic for a day or two, and you come finally to the definite result that there is nothing in it. You have not necessarily lost your time. One must learn patience. There are risks to be run, as well as discoveries to be made. German students in settling upon themes for their graduating theses, seek for

points which nobody has ever investigated. They may gain little: they may immortalize themselves. If they ever gain distinction, they know, at least, it will not be by doing over what some one else has already done. But negative results have often positive value. Arminianism is often said to be derived from Zwinglianism. To show that this is not the case, may be to guard yourself from some hasty generalization, and will certainly advance the understanding of the history by exploding the false claims of certain men.

But the student desires—and this is the real meaning of his question—to avoid irrelevant investigations, which yield him no result whatever, negative or positive. The check here is of easier application. The irrelevant will generally be the logically irrelevant. If I am investigating the effects upon the church of union with the state, the growth of the German church after the crowning of Charlemagne may have something to do with it, but not the style of Boniface's preaching to the Thuringian heathen. Calvin's theory of original sin is relevant to his theory of imputation, because there ought at least, to be an analogy between the imputation of Adam's sin and that of Christ's righteousness. If the former is figuratively understood, or left unmentioned, the latter must probably be figurative also. If the one is literal, so will the other probably be. The clew to the understanding of Calvin's meaning which may elude me as I study the one topic, would possibly discover itself if I turned to the other. The remoter logically a minor point is from the

main question, the less likely it is to yield practical results.

After the lines of inquiry have been decided upon, and the work actually begun, it may often be necessary to practise the art of "judicious skipping." Authors will repeat, or wander from the theme, or fall into prosy and unprofitable development of a thought plain enough, and so compel the scrupulous reader to thresh much straw for little grain. The only remedy is to skip. Life is too short to submit to be bored by a divine of the sixteenth century! It is bad enough to be bored by one of the nineteenth! When to skip, how to leave out all the chaff, and resume the reading at just the point where the wheat lies, the student must learn for himself. It is dangerous business. You may omit something valuable. Sometimes the risk is too great, and you must plod on, though sighing as you go! A certain tact, however, can be obtained which will do much to diminish the risk and save needless labor. It is better to go back now and then and re-read a passage when you find afterward that some link has escaped you, than to perish of weariness and disgust.

And yet, let me pause here to guard against a possible misunderstanding. Proper attention to minor points, and the just appreciation of minute variations of thought, may often make all the difference between a finished and useful piece of work, and one so general as to be vague and useless. The "just mean" between the loose and the finically exact treatment of a subject, who shall define? Let

the student's ideals of finished excellence be high, and his grip of logical connection and rhetorical proportion be strong, and he will, with experience, attain success at this point also. Familiarity with the best models of historical writing will afford the most valuable suggestions here, if, indeed, the lively criticism of fellow-students in the general meetings of the seminary does not give more pointed ones!

As he proceeds in his study, the student will often come upon statements of fact which he suspects of being untrustworthy. How shall he decide the point? He must treat the writer as a witness, and submit his evidence to those tests which are applied in courts of law. An interesting summary of these, sufficient for the purposes of the ordinary investigations of an historical seminary, may be found in Whately's Rhetoric, I. ii. § 4, which the young student will do well to consult. In matters of plain fact,—*i. e.*, things about which there could be no difference of opinion between persons brought into contact with the facts,—we may get aid by noting such points as the personal interest of the witness in the statement he gives, his acquaintance with the subject, length of observation, etc. The cases of the greatest difficulty arise from those numerous instances of a mixed character, in which matters of fact and opinion are inextricably involved in one another. For example, what was the real character of the conspiracy of Catiline? How far can we trust the verdict of Cicero upon him? Cicero's opportunities of informing himself were of the best. Had he any personal interest which renders his

opinion doubtful? Evidently he was disposed to glorify himself for his services to the State, and he may have been hurried by oratorical fervor into greater lengths of condemnation than was proper. These and such considerations must be weighed ere the answer to the question is given.

The student of opinions, whether in the history of political institutions, of philosophy, or of Christian doctrine, has often the puzzling question to meet as to how much reliance we can put upon the representations of the opinions of various thinkers who have lived at various times, but whose writings have been preserved to us only in the form of fragments inserted in the writings of their opponents. The heat which is to be noted in almost all theological controversy, is always suggestive of prejudice, unfairness, and unconscious or conscious misrepresentation. What do we, after all, know of Pelagius, of whose own writings so little is left to us? or of Arius? We must look at the character of the remains. In some cases, as that of Arius, though the church writers speak of him always with deep abhorrence, so as to excite at first the strongest suspicions, we find that in several of them quotations of considerable length are given, and that they accord with one another, and with the forms of expression found in Arius' own letters. In the number of witnesses we find protection. The quotations from Pelagius are so long, there are so many reports of actual conferences with different Pelagians in Augustine, that all suspicion of unfairness,

and all complaint of insufficient information are excluded.

If we could bring historical witnesses before us and subject them to a cross-examination, we could often discover the truth in cases that will always remain doubtful to us. But sometimes the records themselves put us in a position to apply this test. There is an interesting example in the case of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. Nicolas I. may be cited as a witness to the genuineness of these decretals, for in the year 864 he quotes them extensively as authority in his contest with Hincmar of Rheims. Certainly, the Bishop of Rome will not pronounce a document, which must naturally have been preserved in the Papal archives, if at all, to be genuine, unless he knows it to have been thus preserved. His testimony is that of one who ought to have the decisive fact under his immediate control. But circumstances enable us to put Nicolas, as it were, on the witness stand, and subject him to a cross-examination. We are told* that in the year 857 a certain Lupus of Ferrieres wrote to Nicolas among other things for a complete text of a (false) decretal of Pope Melchiades. Nicolas answered the letter, but wrote nothing about the said decretal, being thus apparently ignorant of its existence. In the year 863, he rests his case on the collection of Hadrian, without once mentioning the decretals of the popes before Siricius, though, had he known of them, he would

* Herzog, *Real-encyclopædie*, v. p; 33 xii. p. 380.;

most probably have used them, since they are much more in his favor. By this kind of cross-examination, we see that he first knew of them between 863 and 864, and hence his evidence as a witness to the genuineness of the documents, professedly so old, and which would have been so well known at the Papal court, if they had been known at all, is completely invalidated.

A similar example may be taken from the history of doctrine. It is, I suppose, the standard Lutheran opinion that Zwingli, before the colloquy at Marburg (1529), was quite heretical on the main points of the Christian system of truth. Kahnis, a very learned and candid historian, says of his Christology: * "Zwingli's standpoint is simply the Antiochian-Nestorian." Kurtz describes a portion of the proceedings at Marburg thus: † "Zwingli gave up his divergent views as to these points (divinity of Christ, original sin, etc.), and declared himself in agreement with the ideas of the œcumenical church." The origin of this tradition as to Zwingli (for it is nothing more than a tradition) is in the utterances of Luther and Melancthon at the time, when they exclaimed: "Our adversaries have given away at almost every point!" We are able to cross-examine these witnesses somewhat, and we at once find that they are rather suspicious. Luther had inveighed violently against the Swiss in his first controversial tract against them, and, in general, his notorious impetuosity of temper little fitted him

* *Lutherische Dogmatik*, ii. 56.

† *Lehrbuch* § 132, 4.

for the delicate task of judicial decision as to the actual opinions of an opponent. Melancthon was still entirely under the influence of Luther's commanding personalty. Hence these witnesses, where independent, are not unprejudiced, and where unprejudiced, are not independent. But we can go farther than this and demand the evidence on which they based their opinions. We do not know what flying rumors there may have been in circulation derogatory to the orthodoxy of Zwingli; but Luther had access to Zwingli's writings, and they formed under the circumstances, the only piece of evidence which he was justified in employing. Now, it is true that Zwingli in his "Commentary" does not mention the doctrine of the Trinity while treating of the doctrine of God. But he never stigmatizes it, like Melancthon in the first edition of the *Loci*, as scholastic and unprofitable. If he omits it, so does Melancthon, and with these added marks of disrespect. If he, therefore, was not a Trinitarian in 1529, Melancthon was an anti-trinitarian in 1521. If this remark is absurd when made of Melancthon, it is equally so when made of Zwingli. Thus the evidence was purely negative and absolutely worthless. And thus, under cross-examination, again, testimony invalidates itself.

We need, then, to be on our guard in examining our authorities, and yet we are not compelled to maintain a constant attitude of suspicion. The process of study during 300 years of Protestant science has unearthed most of the great frauds, and generally branded the unprincipled liars. Espe-

cially is this true in the literature of the early church where the greatest possible degree of exact and comprehensive learning has been employed to separate the spurious from the genuine, and enable us to gain a true picture of the early life of Christianity from contemporary witnesses. The guide-books will put us on our guard at the most important points, and the independent disposition which causes us to insist on seeing for ourselves, will serve as an almost complete protection. Clear up every dark subject, and falsehood will reveal itself, for it cannot endure the light.

The most careful and thorough investigations which we are able to make, may, however, lead us into error. There remains the necessity, therefore, of gathering what light others have shed on the subject. We also, as scholars, owe it to the long suffering of a patient world not to drag them through needless discussion, perhaps better done elsewhere, that they may gain the few grains of new wheat we actually have to offer. In some cases, the literature to which the guide-books have introduced us, should be read before the investigation is begun, but generally after it is concluded. If our results are confirmed, directly or indirectly by some other investigator, our confidence in their soundness is enhanced. If there is disagreement, we are led to compare processes, and may thus eliminate errors. But in the last resort, our confidence that we are right must rest upon our conviction that the facts which we have collected, are genuine, and our canons and methods of procedure right. Collabo-

rators and authorities aside, we must finally know for ourselves. The original student must have the spirit of *Athanasius contra Mundum!*

And now, let us suppose the student to have arrived at the end of his labor, to have formulated his results, to have written a careful paper in which his theme is set forth in due sequence, with lucidity of statement and power of argument, supported by frequent citations of authorities and ample quotations from the sources, defended against criticism by the refutation of false views advanced by other investigators, and perfected by the completion of as extensive a bibliography as the resources of the library will enable him to prepare. All this done, the young student will often say in perplexity, What, now, shall I do with this? To what profit is all this labor?

It is of no consequence if the question remains unanswered. A fact of history correctly presented has a value in itself. It is truth, and truth is a good, whether it is good for anything or not! Men do not always know what they are effecting by some service they perform. The true significance of a fact will often remain hidden till it is brought, by some fortunate accident of investigation, into connection with some other fact, whose relation to it could not be known by him who first gave it a place in history. But, in general, the studies of an historical seminary will be more simple than this, and the results readily assigned to their place in the general structure of thought rising under the common labors of the director and his pupils. The general topic ought to be selected with reference to

this point. It will then be seen that, just as the several subordinate studies of any theme fit into the whole of that theme, so the theme itself into the main subject. The prevalence of the theological element, and the strong influence of religious experiences, explain the form of Luther's doctrine of the bondage of the will. Melancthon is at first his echo, but the philosophical element begins to appear, and for a time sharpens the predestinarianism to a fatalism which Luther never taught. The progress of philosophical reflection in Melancthon together with the lack of any true psychology, produces that unsuccessful effort to rescue the freedom of the will known as synergism. Melancthon's synergism rejected because it was against prevenient grace, Lutheranism attempted to preserve the freedom of the will, the demand for which Melancthon had voiced, although somewhat incoherently, by rejecting election altogether. And thus, taking the system of orthodox Lutheranism as a fact in history calling for an explanation, this one feature of it gains its explanation through a chain of facts going back as far as to the struggles of the cell at Erfurt, any one of which may form the subject of a separate seminary topic. And so of the other features of the Lutheran system. To fit these various studies each into its place, and thus enable the student to see the results of his study in actual historical use, is, and must be, for the most part, while the students are yet somewhat inexperienced in original work, the task of the presiding mind of the seminary, the director.

V.

DETAILED EXAMPLES.

I. *The Significance of the Colloquy at Marburg.*

HAVING thus explained the method of original historical study in a general manner, it is now proposed to take a single topic and pursue it with sufficient minuteness and definiteness to enable the student to get a more concrete idea of the subject, and to furnish him with a model for his own work. If he choose to take the books in hand and follow out the explanation in all its details, he will doubtless do the most in this way to put himself in full possession of the method.

He has received from the director of the seminary the topic: The Significance of the Marburg Colloquy. He knows general history enough to know that the Colloquy was held at the suggestion of Philip of Hesse, in 1529, and that it was an effort to bring the German and Swiss divines to such an agreement theologically as should enable the adherents of the two schools to combine for their mutual protection in a military league, and that its main design failed. He therefore sees at once that in the face of so strong an argument for agreeing as existed in the desire of the Landgrave and the perils of the times, only some radical and great

difficulty could have kept the parties separated. He is therefore prepared to regard his topic as very important, and possibly as requiring minute and exact investigation.

What was the Colloquy about? The student turns to his guide-book for general church history, Kurtz, and finds by the index that the Colloquy is treated in §132, 4. He finds that the disputation covered most of the points of theology, but was principally concerned with the Lord's supper; and that it closed with an agreement drawn up in fifteen articles.

What now was this dispute as to the Lord's supper? It does not appear clear in this section, although an allusion to "Sacramentarians" gives the student a hint that it must have its roots in antecedent history. What was the Lutheran doctrine as to the Lord's supper, and how had it arisen? He looks at the table of contents, and soon finds an entire section (131) devoted to the "Sacramentsstreit," and here he finds the whole difference between the two parties explained. He sees that Zwingli and his party hold to the *symbolic* character of the supper; that Luther and his, to the real presence of the body and blood of Christ *in, with, and under* the elements. He also finds that the two parties do not now confront each other for the first time; that a long controversy has preceded; and that it is mixed up with the disorders in Wittenberg which Luther left the Wartburg to quell (§124, 1.3.), and is connected with the name of the unhappy Carlstadt. *There is then a prelimi-*

nary history which must be studied before the Colloquy itself can be understood, and the sources for the study are the writings in which the controversy was carried on. Here then, the student gets his first introduction to the "sources," of which he immediately makes notes. They are given in §131. For Zwingli, the "Letter to Alber" (1524); the *Commentarius de vera et falsa Religione* (1525); Oecolampadius's *De Genuina Verborum*, etc. (1525); and the *Fründlich Verglimpfung* of Zwingli himself: for Luther, Brenz and Schnepf's *Syngramma Suevicum* (1525); Luther's *Sermon vom Sacrament* (1526); his *Dass die Worte*; and finally his *Bekentniss vom Abendmahl* (1528).

To the study of these sources for the preliminary history our student now determines to devote himself first of all.

First then for Zwingli's ideas he must search out the letter to Alber. He finds from the library catalogue Zwingli's works, edition of Schuler and Schult-hess, Zürich, 1828, etc., bound in nine volumes. The general index he finds in vol. iv., where there is also an *index alphabeticus epistolarum* which refers him at once to a letter to Alber, vol. vii., p. 285, but its contents are not such as are indicated by Kurtz, and it is of the previous year. The student therefore makes a note like this: "? Zwingli's letter to Alber of 1524 (Kurtz, § 131);" lays it aside for future answer, and goes on with his explorations in Zwingli. The reference to the section of Kurtz will enable him, in case he forgets the precise point of the query, to refresh his mind, and so not lose

the thing sought, as might be the case, if he should have to wait for months before finding anything that answered to his want, as one has often to do.

Having the complete index of Zwingli's works before him, our student determines to see if there are any other works not mentioned in Kurtz which promise him help in his preliminary study. He finds vol. ii., part i., p. 426 : *Ein klare underrichtung vom nachtmal Christi*, 1526 ; *ib.* p. 469 : *Antwort. . . über doctor Strussen büchlin . . . das nachtmal Ch. betreffende* ; part ii. opens with three tracts against corresponding writings of Luther, pp. 1-223. If the literature were scanty, our student would do well to look at such tracts as the answer to Egg, vol. ii., part ii., p. 484 ff., which presents Zwingli's doctrine in its antithesis to the papal doctrine ; but here he may practise "judicious skipping," and confine himself to what bears directly on the point in hand. A preface written by Zwingli to a work by Schwenkfeld (vol. ii., part iii., p. 22) next attracts his attention. It is short. It had better be dispatched at once. The only words suggesting any idea that seems likely to prove fruitful are : "*So folget dann die änliche, dass der lyb Christi, geistlich geessen, die seel spyse, glych wie das lyblich brod den lychnam.*" These are therefore noted, with reference. The *Fründlich Verglimpfung* is found in vol. ii., part ii., p. 1. ; also the two treatises in direct reply to Luther : *Dass dise wort Jesu Christi* : 'Das ist min lychnam' etc. p. 16 ; and, *Über doctor Martin Luthers buch, bekenntnus genannt*, etc. p. 94. The *Commentarius* appears at vol. iii. p. 145. There

follow it several tracts, letters, etc., on the same subject: *Subsidium*. . . . *de Eucharistia*, p. 326; *Responsio brevis*. . . . *in qua de eucharistia quaestio tractatur*, p. 438; *Amica exegesis*, etc. p. 459; and now the letter to Alber which had been sought in vain: *Ad Matthaeum Alberum*. . . . *de Coena Domini*, p. 589; *Responsio*, p. 604. The tract addressed to Lambert, p. 615, is found to contain a page of discussion of the sacrament, but in so brief and general a manner that it may safely be left without further study. Vol. iv. gives us the *Christianae fidei*. . . . *brevis et clara expositio*, p. 42. Pages 173-204 contain the accounts of the Colloquy itself.

How, now, is the student to master this vast mass of material without exhausting all his strength upon a mere portion of his task? The answer is given by a close consideration of the nature of that task. He is to find the significance of the Marburg Colloquy, and he wishes to know what Zwingli will bring to that Colloquy likely to determine its course or explain its meaning. The two things he will bring are evidently his doctrinal opinions and his personal relations with the opposing party. These are therefore the present objects of the student's search.

The doctrinal views will be found best by taking the most mature and systematic treatise written before the Colloquy. If our topic required the history of the genesis of those views, we should be compelled to consider all those writings in due order, to obtain the process of thought through which Zwingli went. But the maturest and latest writing before the Colloquy will give the views he

brought to it, and we may therefore begin with the latest and follow them back, as occasion may seem to require.

But little examination of the controversial writings is necessary to show that they are too exclusively replies to other writings to afford that rapid and systematic view of Zwingli's opinions which we now seek. The *Expositio* (iv., 42) comes subsequently to the Colloquy and is therefore not now in point. We are therefore referred to the *Commentarius* (iii., 145) for our main source.

We cannot follow the student's work over this treatise at every step and through all its details. The task is a comparatively simple one. It is to read that portion of it (pp. 228-234, 239-272) relating to the Lord's supper, extracting every important idea, developing in systematic, and sometimes in tabulated form, the doctrinal formulations, the scriptural proofs, the general arguments, etc., until the doctrine stands out clearly before his mind as it did before that of Zwingli himself. Enough for our present purpose to say that the student will find that Zwingli denies the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's supper, and insists on the necessity of faith to the reception of the proper benefit from the sacrament.

As to the personal relations of Zwingli with his opponents, we need to know first what Luther's disposition towards Zwingli was, and must therefore defer this point to the next stage of the investigation.

How shall the sources for the study of Luther be

opened? Let us suppose the student finds the Erlangen edition of Luther's works in the library. The last two volumes of the German part contain a minute index to the principal topics touched upon in the series of 103 volumes. But there is no general table of contents. Examination of the Latin works shows that they are mostly commentaries, and that none of them contain anything of direct reference to the subject in hand. Amid such a mass of materials, surely those ideas of Luther's which the theme demands will be found without the examination of every train of thought and expression. We may look for the principal treatise on the subject and trust that as our sources turn out to be incomplete, we shall be able to detect this, and by means of the index refer to further sources.

Volume 33, Latin, contains a sermon *De digna præparatione cordis pro sumendo sacramento eucharistiæ* (1518). A short examination shows that it is entirely practical. Vol. 34 also has an address *De confessione et sacramento eucharistiæ*, but it is directed against the papists, and does not enter into the nature of the sacrament itself. The earlier German volumes also contain nothing. Vol. 21 gives the "Smaller Catechism" in which the nature of the sacrament is briefly defined (p. 19). The student should here make an exact note of the words of this definition, the full meaning of which will doubtless appear later. The "Larger Catechism" discusses the subject more at length (pp. 141-155). The student sees that the distinction made between Zwingli and Luther in Kurtz is justified, but he

gets no light upon a question which now begins to trouble him; viz., how did Luther come to conceive of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament in this fashion, and what did he mean by it? He therefore turns on for other sources. Vol. 22, p. 38 gives a sermon upon the sacrament, from which the student may extract the single remark: "*dass man mehr Achten hab auf die Worte denn auf das Zeichen*" (p. 40). Vol. 23 has an exhortation to make use of the sacrament, of the year 1530, *i.e.*, after the Colloquy. It is also of a purely practical character. It need not be quoted. Vol. 26, gives us at page 370 a letter of "warning" addressed to the council and city of Frankfort against Zwingli's doctrine, written in the year 1532. This may throw light on Luther's agreement with Zwingli at Marburg. It should therefore be noted for future reference.

With vol. 27 the more important treatises begin. There is the "Sermon on the venerable Sacrament," p. 25; "Explanation of certain Articles," etc., p. 70. Vol. 29 gives us: "Against the heavenly Prophets" (1524); "Sermon upon the Sacrament" (1526). Vol. 30 adds: "*Dass diese Worte Christi 'das ist mein Leib, etc.' noch fest stehen*" (1527); and: *Bekennniss vom Abendmahl* (1528). With vol. 32 we pass out beyond the period of the Colloquy, finding a *Kurzes Bekennniss Dr. Martin Luthers vom heiligen Sacrament* (1545). Vols. 53-56 inclusive contain Luther's German letters which may afford valuable help.

Here again the student finds himself confronted

with a mass of material and repeats the question, How shall he find the point at which to begin? The answer is derived from the nature of the case. He wishes to know just what Luther brought with him to the conference at Marburg, and hence he infers that it will be well to begin with that treatise prior to the Colloquy which contains Luther's sentiments in the fullest and most exact form. He may well ask the director of the seminary how far it will be necessary to understand the process of development through which Luther passed, and the answer will be that it is of considerable importance. He will therefore decide on the following course of proceeding. After having found the sum of Luther's opinions from the best single treatise he can select, he will begin at the beginning of the series of treatises and follow down, carefully noting any varying ideas he may find, and thus preparing to trace the history of the development. The *Bekennniss* (vol. 30, p. 151) turns out to be the best, as it is the latest source of Luther's doctrine. It is divided into three parts as indicated in the short note of the editor preceding the treatise itself. The first is a refutation of opponents, the second (p. 301) the exegetical portion, the third (p. 363) is the *Bekennniss* proper. He therefore turns to the last and begins the study precisely as he did with Zwingli's *Commentarius*.

The student has now studied and formulated the doctrinal views of both parties to the Colloquy. He has obtained a view of the conditions under which the Germans and Swiss assembled. The strong

personal feeling of Luther against the Swiss view, which must have come before him in innumerable instances as he has been examining other points, and the equally strong language of Zwingli in reply to Luther's epithets, have betrayed to him the fact that there is a large degree of prejudice existing between the parties. What now was the actual course of events at the Colloquy?

This question resolves itself first into a new hunt for sources. Kurtz again gives him a hint. Schirmacher has a book entitled: *Briefe und Akten zu der Geschichte des Religionsgesprächs zu Marburg, 1529, und des Reichstages zu Augsburg, 1530.* Gotha, 1876. Erichson another: *Das Marburger Gespräch nach ungedruckten Urkunden.* Strassburg, 1880. If the university library is extensive enough, or these books can be ordered for this work, they should be had and consulted. But how shall the student make his way without such collections, among the more general sources which he will ordinarily find in the library? Suppose he cannot have these books, what next? This will be the most useful question for us to answer.

The valuable sources will be found in the works of contemporaries, and these will be in the first instance, Luther and Zwingli themselves. Vol. iv. Lat. of Zwingli's works gives several Latin accounts of the Colloquy. One account is by Collinus, a follower of Zwingli. Another by Melancthon. Others by Luther, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Scultetus, and Brenz. Luther's own account is short, and consists chiefly of a defence of his personal position

towards the Zwinglians. It may be dismissed for Luther's own larger account, if there be any such, as we may expect. The other accounts must be read and compared. Since the purpose is to find the dogmatic ideas presented, the most convenient method will be to abandon the attempt to present the Colloquy as it actually proceeded, and to classify the arguments under such heads as may be found to be appropriate. Each author may be read consecutively, his distinct arguments set down as they come, and then from the accounts thus gained, a classified view may be made. They will be found to gather about three points: The meaning of the text, *This is my body*; The bearing of the texts in the vi. of John; and The necessary nature of the human body.

Will anything be added by what is found in Luther's own works? Not by the letter to the Landgrave (54, 153); nothing by the letter to his wife (54, 107); in short, nothing except the articles signed at the Colloquy. This lack of materials in Luther himself may seem so astonishing to the student that he may begin to suspect, even after he has made repeated examinations of the indexes of Luther's works, that he has failed to find some source of Luther's own writing as to this important Colloquy. How shall he remedy the defects of his edition, and get at the facts in spite of its failure? In such cases it is well to go to some writer who has treated the subject fully in some aspect, even if not in that which is before the student himself. D'Aubigné furnishes such a means

of help in this case. An examination of his references to his authorities shows that he finds some interesting, though not essential particulars in Luther's letters. If the student is restricted to the Erlangen edition, he will be unable to follow these, for they are to another edition. He may perhaps have the other sources mentioned, in which case he can pursue his researches farther.

Has not Melancthon something? The indexes, which are quite inadequate, give no suggestions. Can there be anything in his letters? These have no index of subjects, and so he is restricted to examining the letters of the year 1529 for something on the conference. He is rewarded by a number of accounts (*Corp. Ref.* I. 1066, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1106, 1108,) which, however, add little if anything to the information already in hand.

The discussion having been thus followed down, the next question is as to the result of the whole. It is well known that Luther prepared certain articles upon which all agreed. They are found in German in Luther's works (65, 88) and in German and Latin in Zwingli's (Vol. iii., 3d. div. p. 52, and Vol. iv., p. 181, respectively). The German, though differing decidedly in dialect in the two versions is evidently the original, since it agrees substantially, and as no two translations of a Latin original could. The exact points of agreement are now easily decided upon by the student.

But another interesting document falls under his notice. It is Zwingli's "Notes to the fifteen Articles," written in Latin, but referring to the German

original. Its peculiarities will probably sharpen in the mind of the student a question which has already begun to impress him: How was it that Luther came to his doctrine, and why did he hold so tenaciously to it? The superficial answer would be that Luther found his doctrine in the Scriptures and was "held by the word," as he himself says. So he was. But what made him understand the word thus? The interpretation he defended is by no means necessary. It must have been given by his general conception of Christian doctrine, his views, which formed from philosophy or the analogy of the Scriptures, he brought to the passage, rather than simply the passage itself. What were those views?

A phrase of Luther's repeated in many places (Zwingli's works iv., p. 190 in Latin, *Vos habetis alium spiritum quam nos*), "Your *spirit* is other than ours," suggests to him that here is the ground of difference and of Luther's opinions.

To see the full significance of this phrase will require more knowledge of the history than our student has, perhaps more will be required even to see that it is significant at all. But if he sees so much, a question to the director will bring the answer that the difference of spirit is in the fundamental tendencies of the two systems, Lutheran and Reformed.

Now, obviously, to estimate the fundamental difference of two great systems of thought will require a minute examination of both. But here is a definite point before the student; viz., the Marburg Colloquy, which was concerned about the Lord's

supper. What is there in this Colloquy bearing on the systems and their "spirit"? In other words, what is there in the doctrine of the Lord's supper which constitutes a decisive difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed systems? Here again, probably recourse must be had to the director. The answer will point out to the student that the conception of the "means of grace" in the two systems is different, and the next question will be: What are the "means of grace"? and then, How are they understood by the parties to operate?

The materials for the answer to these questions should be already in the notes of the student. If not, he must read again significant portions of Luther's mature treatise upon the Lord's supper (especially 29, 334) with Zwingli's *Commentarius* and Notes on the Articles.

The conclusion of his work will probably be that there was a fundamental difference of conception as to what was to be accomplished by the sacrament before the Colloquy, and hence no possibility of agreement as to the nature of the sacrament at the Colloquy itself. And it will be foreseen by the prophetic eye of the historian that the difference of the two systems being discovered at Marburg, that difference must be either removed or intensified after it. And hence the doctrinal significance of the Marburg Colloquy will be the final separation of the two systems upon the question of the spirituality of religion.

A complete discussion will, however, not fail to include those other elements of the matter which the

student has already gathered, and show how the two parties were inclined toward each other and what of fellowship might be expected between them. Hence in some sense also the political outcome of the Colloquy can be seen in the Colloquy itself. On the whole then, the result is a clear perception of the difference between the two systems, and the deliberate opinion on the part of the Lutherans that all ecclesiastical communion and every form of alliance which shall imply this, is against conscience.

II. *Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Great Britain, 1861-1865.*

WE will now, somewhat more briefly, explain the method of original study by means of an illustration drawn from political history, of the greatest interest to every American, The Diplomatic Relations of the United States to Great Britain in the years of our Civil War. It may be premised that the object of this example is not to carry the student into such a study of the subject as shall result in an exhaustive history of these relations, inasmuch as this would be beyond the time and powers of the student, and therefore beyond the office of the seminary. It will be our endeavor to open the subject, to suggest the lines of inquiry, to raise some of the principal questions, to set the student on the track of the best sources, to consider a smaller portion of the field with a greater degree of minuteness, and then leave him to follow out the course suggested so far as time and inclination may lead.

In a region so new as this is, it is evident that it

cannot be expected there will be a guide-book such as has been employed in the last article in opening the Marburg Colloquy. The search for some equivalent, therefore, begins the investigation. A general knowledge of the progress of the war as contained in various smaller histories must be presupposed. If the student does not have it, he must begin by obtaining it. This done, the most convenient guide-book will probably be found to be "The Annual Cyclopædia," published by D. Appleton & Co., containing digested summaries of the diplomatic history of each year, as well as numerous other articles useful to the student.

The first step is therefore to read the articles of this Cyclopædia which shall give a general view of the subject, noting the points which are presented. The student will thus learn what is generally regarded as important, and obtain a sense of the perspective of his subject, equally important with a knowledge of the mere facts.

Turning now to the volume for 1861, he finds the article "Great Britain" (p. 347). He notes the proclamation of neutrality by the Queen, May 13; the demands made by the South for recognition of the Confederacy; the influence of the manufacturing interests of England in giving emphasis to this demand; the taking of Mason and Slidell from the "Trent," Nov. 8; the repair of the "Nashville" in Southampton harbor; the demand for the restitution of Mason and Slidell; troops in Canada; yielding to the English demand by the American government.

The article "Trent" in the same volume has been

referred to in the course of the article already read. It must be a cardinal principle with the student in conducting his researches through any field so untraversed as this largely is, without the guides to be obtained in other subjects, *to be keenly alive to every suggestion of further information*, not letting slip a single chance of gaining information, however small it may appear. He therefore turns to the article referred to, and here finds not only the outline of the story of the events, but his first contact with original sources in the extracts from the English report, and from an officer of the "San Jacinto." The process of taking notes should begin here; the principal events being noted briefly, with full references to book and page, and these notes put away in a suitable portfolio-like cover. The mastery of the subject will depend as much upon this as upon anything else, whether the student shall so make his notes, and so arrange them under appropriate heads and sub-heads, that the subject shall lie before him in its logical relations when he begins to review it preparatory to writing it up.

Pursuing the Cyclopædia, the next volume (1862) under the same heading "Great Britain," yields the following points (which as belonging to a new year, should be noted on a separate piece of paper): death of the Prince Consort; resolutions for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy presented in Parliament; efforts to break the blockade; construction of Confederate vessels in English ports; position of Earl Russell.

The year 1863 gives us: the escape of the "Ala-

bama"; the foreign enlistment act violated; other vessels in construction; notice of the intention to reclaim all losses incurred through the "Alabama"; demands in England for the recognition of the Confederacy by those disturbed in efforts to run the blockade; Mr. Adams's letter to Messrs. Howell & Zirman, and the excitement in Parliament over it; specially Mr. Cobden's remarks that the "Navigation" and "Foreign Enlistment" acts are in favor of maintaining friendly relations with the United States (marking this note by some sign which shall mean "Look up specially"); Mr. Roebuck's attempt for the recognition of the Confederacy; evidences of public feeling, such as H. W. Beecher in England. Mr. Jeff. Davis's bitterness in denouncing England for refusing recognition to the Confederacy being mentioned, the student is put on the track of the Southern diplomatic correspondence as a source of information as to the nature of the attempts made by the Southern government for recognition. He makes a note thus: "? Where can I get hold of the Confederate correspondence, and what value has it for my theme?" and files the note away among the others.

In 1864: discussion in Parliament as to the relations of the two countries; Mr. Cobden's proposal of an addition to the Foreign Enlistment act (this suggests the importance of the act, and calls for a special note of query); sinking of the "Alabama"; pressure to recognize the Southern Confederacy; stir about immigration into the United States; Queen's speech proroguing Parliament; bazaar at

Liverpool for aiding Confederate prisoners in the North; correspondence.

In 1865: address to the Queen expressing indignation at the assassination of President Lincoln; depredations of Confederate cruisers; the "Shenandoah."

The inexperienced student will now be likely to look out the originals of the diplomatic correspondence and begin to take notes on them. But this is not properly the next step. It is an elementary principle that with a guide-book in hand, all the help it can furnish should be exhausted before the sources themselves are touched. Sources which are to be examined more fully later should not be quoted from the guide-book, but this will serve to show what are the interesting and leading events, and what the authorities for them, and thus the progress of the student in mastering the details will be greatly facilitated. The danger is constantly of his being swamped in details before gaining a general comprehension of the field. He may possibly be rendered utterly unable to rise above the disadvantage thus laid upon him. He resolves therefore to continue his reading in Appleton.

With the five distinct years of diplomatic history before him, the student will find it the best method to study each year somewhat by itself. Having got the general field before him, he may now get a more minute knowledge of each year, as much, at least, as can be obtained from Appleton. Then he may take each year again by itself, and treat it as he has the whole period, studying it in sections, go-

ing back and forth over it, and performing the study more thoroughly each time he reviews. Thus going through the whole period he will finally have the best understanding of it which he can obtain. In taking notes, and also in performing his study, let him not suppose that everything he gets is to be put into his final essay. The turning of a phrase may demand the study of an important sub-topic which he may not ultimately find place for. If so, since the phrase must be right, the study must be done. It may form a starting-point for further researches at other times. It may remain without distinct use. But it will be like the ribs of the ship, out of sight to him who enjoys the comforts of the cabin, but absolutely essential to those comforts. It should be the student's principle that not a word which does not have an honest meaning to himself, and for which he does not himself know the reason, shall enter into his essay.

Taking up thus the year 1861, the student pursues his Appleton. He turns to the article, "Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Government." It is all to be carefully read so far as the heading "Prussia," and then the heading "Great Britain" beginning at page 262 takes up the matter more immediately before the student. Such abstracts, notes, and suggestions should be made as to the contents of the papers here presented, as shall serve quickly to bring their contents to the student's mind. The accessibility of the book removes the necessity of copying what will have to be re-copied again for the thesis. Note the suggestion at the

end of this portion of the article, Otherwise "no important principle was disputed." The "Trent" affair is found at a later page (276). This answers the query for the diplomatic correspondence, and notes as to it should be added to those already made on the article, "Trent." It will be well also to read the French diplomacy carefully, since France and England are so connected that they may be expected to act in concert in their diplomatic negotiations with America. In fact, traces of this connection begin immediately to appear.

The keen eye of the inquiring student will not fail to see that the article on the diplomatic correspondence of the United States is followed by one on the correspondence of the Confederate States. This will afford him an answer to the query already filed, and he reads the article at once. References must be made to such topics as : recognition of the Confederate States by England ; justification of secession ; subject of slavery ; complaints of discrimination against the Southern States in the matter of privateers ; the blockade. A partial answer to the question where the Southern correspondence will be found, is given by the source of several of these letters. It will be in the diplomatic correspondence of Great Britain.

The student is now prepared to begin his original researches for himself, having exhausted his guide-book. Where is the diplomatic correspondence of the United States? and that of Great Britain? The American correspondence is found in the "Senate Documents" for 1861-62 and subsequent years,

in a long series of volumes. These will be in every respectable American library. The English correspondence will probably be found in few. The "Annual Register," an English publication corresponding to our "Annual Cyclopædia," will furnish the most important documents, if this is in the library to which the student has access.

The study of the sub-topics now begins. The first will be the commercial relations suggested in the circular addressed to Mr. Charles Francis Adams etc., by the Secretary of State, found in the "Annual," page 258. Terms here occur like "privateering," "contraband of war," "blockade," which the student now needs to understand in the most exact manner. Where shall he find their definition? They are terms in international law, and ought to be defined in the treatises on that subject. The library catalogue gives him, among other treatises, Woolsey's, in which all of these terms are fully defined. General principles in reference to these subjects are discussed in the circular, and the question arises: What is the fate of the negotiations here begun? The student seeks the speediest answer possible. He turns to Appleton again for help. The subject appears discussed under the title, "Privateering." Here is explained the reason why the United States government was against the clause forbidding privateering; also the existence of the law in reference to blockades. Various other references should be made from this article, such as the discussion in Parliament about the relation of the Confederate privateering to piracy (p. 589);

trial of crews of privateers (590); no letters of marque from the United States (592). The article does not give the close of the negotiations for which the student is seeking. He must look elsewhere. He therefore turns now to the original diplomatic correspondence, making a query as to these negotiations to be answered as the investigation proceeds.

The student has probably noticed in connection with the diplomatic correspondence in Appleton, a heading, "Public Documents," and made a reference to this. If he now looks it up, he will find the proclamation of neutrality made by Queen Victoria, May 13th. Here will be found the answer to the question about the "Enlistment Act," the substance of which is here incorporated.

The examination of the diplomatic correspondence may now begin. The volume for 1861-62 contains on pages 31-6, 71-182, as indicated by the index, the material to be examined. As this begins, Mr. Adams's name becomes more and more prominent, and it will be seen to be important to know his history, which is accordingly looked up (*American Cyclopædia*). In the examination of the correspondence, two courses may be pursued, either the student may search for particulars pertaining to the separate topics severally, or he may read the whole in course and note the particulars as he comes to them, sorting his references subsequently and then examining the documents anew under each head as may be necessary. The latter course will prove the more economical of time. The former would also effectually prevent him from

discovering much that might be new and not suggested in his guide-book. Accordingly he will read on, making such notes as the following as he goes. First of all come the instructions of the new Minister (p. 71). Note the American fear of recognition; the statement of the case of the nation as it appears to the Secretary, and is to be made to appear to foreign powers; the mention of the resources of the nation; specific statement that foreign powers are not to suppose that they can recognize the Confederacy and remain friends of the United States; and similar statements here and there.

The student who is on the lookout for hints, finds quotations from the "Times" introduced into these documents. This will suggest that the feeling of the English public leading to the demand on their part for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy can be best learned from such a paper. In the same way, the great American newspapers, like the "New York Tribune," may be examined. If files of these are in the library, special notes should be made of the dates under which each reference to matter capable of illumination from such sources occurs, and the papers about those dates looked up.*

The student proceeds thus from page to page of this correspondence. The Confederate States are raised to the rights of belligerents (p. 86). To this

* I am informed that several books published by Southern writers since the war contain material as to the attempts of the Southern Confederacy to secure recognition, as, for example, Davis's "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," and "The Southern Historical Papers."

note others will be added subsequently, as, for example, reference to page 92. Page 89 gives several notes, blockade, privateering, etc., which may be referred to notes already made, or taken upon new pieces of paper and afterwards sorted into their proper places. The English government evidently being unwilling to respect a paper blockade and thinking that our proposed blockade could not become anything more, it may be well to examine this subject now, or better to make a note and look it up later. (Prof. J. R. Soley's little book upon "The Blockade and the Cruisers" will be a help in understanding this subject.) On page 89 will be found also the term *exequatur* used of a consul. The student must understand the paragraphs as he goes over them, as well as make notes, and so he must now look up the subject of consuls, which he will find explained in the treatises on international law. (See Woolsey's, p. 169.) Page 98, Mr. Adams's investigations as to the reception of Confederate privateers in British ports.

The student thus proceeds, noting everything which he deems important, but hastening on as fast as possible to the "Trent" affair which he knows to be coming in the distance. If he is a novice in international affairs, his eye will be caught by the case of the British consul at Charleston, Mr. Robert Bunch. He will note pp. 131, 150, 155, 165, and the apparent close of the subject upon pp. 6-12 of Executive Documents for 1862-63. This is, however, a mere episode of the diplomacy.

He now comes to the "Trent" affair itself. The

problem here is to get the facts, the principles of international law, the negotiations, and the adjustment. As the subject was very important, and it is at once evident that, in a nation like the United States, such questions must be discussed by the public, and public discussion will more or less extensively influence cabinet action, it becomes peculiarly important to trace the course of the history in the various public prints. Suppose our student to take the "New York Tribune" as an example of these. He will find the first mention of the matter in the number for Nov. 18, 1861. Not only do the news columns mention the event, but there is a very discreet editorial. Note should be made of the clear perception by Mr. Greeley of the possible bearing of the question on the British contention in favor of the "Right of Search." The files of the paper may now be examined, and notes made of such editorials as that of Dec. 17, where the whole theory of the English upon neutral rights is discussed, and of Dec. 27, where "Naval Precedents" are treated, and of the editorials and official papers contained in the issue for Dec. 30. We find here the full text of the final communication of the Secretary of State, arguing the case and surrendering the prisoners.

The question of the past history of this subject in the United States and Great Britain is suggested to the student. He may now assume a knowledge of that history upon the representations of the official documents with which he is dealing, or he may investigate it more thoroughly. To facilitate speed in disposing of his present theme, he will best con-

sult the treatises on international law for the principles, and some elementary history for the main line of events. He may then turn to the careful study of the dispatches. These will be found for the most part in the volume "Executive Documents," 1862-3. They begin p. 62, and are found in the subsequent context, as well as upon p. 276 f., in connection with dispatches addressed to Lord Lyons.

After these dispatches are considered, the importance of the case suggests more careful examination of the literature of the subject. The student will find the "'Trent' affair" discussed by John Bright, Charles Sumner, Woolsey, who refers also to Marquardsen, *Der Trent-Fall*, Erlangen, 1862. Poole's Index, under the term "Right of Search," will give references to a number of articles in magazines.

We must now leave the student to prosecute his studies in this fascinating theme for himself. The remaining years must be studied after the same manner. The study of the diplomatic documents read in the light of all the contemporary coloring which newspapers, articles, and other sources of information may be able to give him, will soon show him the truth and its meaning as to every special event. The perspective of the events will become more evident as he proceeds. Repeated reviews of what he has already gathered, under the necessity of re-examining certain points to make others clear, will familiarize him with the whole. And at last, from a full mind, with accurate references and suitable quotations of his authorities, he will be able to

present the course of the history graphically, correctly, and in due proportion. He should seek to give a sufficient account of the principal literature, and to correct his own impressions by the opinions given by the most experienced historians. Thus he will add finish and perfection to his work.

For a theme lying on the border between Theology and Philosophy, though properly to be classed as philosophical, we select:—

III. *Augustine's Conception of the Constitution of the Human Mind.*

THE student should receive with this topic some instruction from the director as to its meaning and importance.* The topic in Augustine of greatest importance for the knowledge of all subsequent systems, and particularly those of the Reformation, is the Will. No theologian of experience in the study of Christian doctrine can have failed to see how both forms of expression and substantial elements of doctrine were confused for lack of a clear psychology in every church writer down to and including the Westminster divines. To discover just what confusion entered in at this point, and how language has been influenced to the detriment of the intended meaning by false analogies or false conceptions of the mind, will be to make progress not only in understanding Augustine and his successors, but in criticising their positions fairly, and in estimating the value of the principles they maintained.

* See its place in a list of topics of study by the "Seminary" in Oberlin Theological Seminary, Winter 1888, on page 118 below.

The topic is then to be understood of the faculties of the mind, of its great divisions into intellect, sensibility, and will, and of their mutual relations. The student is warned by his director not to discuss the doctrine of the freedom of the will, since that depends upon this subject for its full understanding, and will be best handled by another member of the seminary. Thus the topic is clearly defined.

How, now, shall the subject be opened? The student may find a few guide-books, as for example Cunningham's "St. Austin" and Überweg's "History of Philosophy." Let these suffice for examples. The former has a chapter upon "Truth and the possibility of attaining it;" but our student soon finds that metaphysical questions are here discussed, and not the simple psychological question which forms his topic. Überweg (American translation, i., 342) gives a few suggestions and references: Augustine distinguishes as faculties of the soul memory, intellect, and will; all passions are manifestations of the will (*De Civ. Dei.* xiv., 6; *De Trin.* x., 13, ix., 4, xv., 22, *De Lib. Arb.* ii., 19). But in general there is no treatment of the subject here. Evidently the topic is new, and must be searched out by the student for himself.

He turns to the sources, Augustine's works, having in the library the edition of Migne. He soon finds the index volume (II), and sets about an examination of its contents.

Has Augustine any special work treating of the soul from which this subject could be studied? The *Operum omnium Index Alphabeticus* (col. 34)

shows him *De Anima et ejus origine* in x. 475; *De Spiritu et Anima*, vi. 779; *De Quantitate Animæ*, i. 1035; and nothing else, nothing also on *Mens* or *Spiritus*.

The student examines these works. He finds the first purely theological in its character, and taken up almost entirely with the origin of the soul. There is certainly nothing here except possibly stray suggestions, and these evidently few. For the present, at any rate, he lays the book aside. *De Spiritu et Anima* is spurious. *De Quan. Animæ* treats of those problems as to the nature of the soul gathering about the idea of extension. In Chap. xxiii. the student notes that sensation is defined, perhaps thus: "Sensation defined, i., 1058, bottom." He also sees that there is some discussion here as to the definition, and follows down the pages till he makes the following note: "Definition of sensation sharpened, i. 1063, mid.—Guarded and settled 1068." The treatise yields nothing more.

Augustine therefore nowhere treats the subject as such. How are we to get at his opinions? The index volume contains also an *Index generalis*, and the student soon finds under the head *Anima* about seven columns of closely printed references to every part of Augustine's works (70-78). Similar collections of references are to be found under *Mens*, *Sensus*, *Voluntas*, etc., etc., so that he soon sees that he has the most perfect pilot into the harbor, provided by the patient industry of the editors of the series.

The work then is to make a classification of the faculties of the mind, to search out those references

which bear most directly upon the constitution of the mind under each head, and then carefully to examine each in its context, and when its meaning is plain and its bearing on the subject determined, to reclassify and rearrange according to Augustine's ideas, and then write out.

Looking under *Anima*, the student soon finds this reference: "*De natura spiritus et animæ nostræ multa ignorare, an vitio dari possit et debeat*, x., 530." That is not very encouraging; but in speaking of the ignorance of the nature of the soul, the writer may say something about the constitution of the soul, so far as known, and so the student makes the reference. Now for a number of paragraphs of references relating to the nature of the soul, its origin, its relation to God, original sin, etc. These are passed over rapidly, but by and by the student is rewarded with the reference: "*Anima non est corpus*, iii., 372, 425, 365. *Anima non est corporea*, iii., 480, 363 f," etc. So he proceeds, gathering every reference which looks likely to yield light upon the subject, till under the divisions of the mind, intellect, sensibility, and will, he has gathered a long list of hints and references. For example, under sensation he may get something which looks thus :

Sensus, v. 255, 574, 624.

What it is, i. 1058, v. 361.

Internal and external, i. 1246.

Senses of the body, iii. 466, v. 428.

Senses from a point in the brain, ii. 519.

(Pineal gland?)

Office, i. 786, x. 770.

Motion from fire, iii. 282.

So he will go on till, having gone through the subject, he can examine his extracts and classify them. When he has them fully in mind and in order, little more will be necessary for the writing of the essay.

There is danger here of too hastily seizing on an expression of Augustine's without clearly understanding what is meant by it. The student must take pains to get the whole bearing of the context, and so far as possible the general drift of the work in which such a reference is found. At first this will demand a great deal of labor, and will consume much time; but as it goes on it will become easier and easier. For example, under the head of sensation, as marked in the first "note" suggested above, it will not do to seize upon the definition given in i., 1058, without further examination. In such writings a wrong definition is often given for the purpose of exercising the interlocutor. Not until the whole thing has been traced through, and the definition found finally "guarded and settled," can it properly be used. Note in passing, that the reference (i. 1058) found in reading the work, appears again in the references obtained from the index. This shows how valuable the index is.

For a suggestion to the student who may follow down this topic for the sake of practice, let me warn him against the implication in Überweg's history of the expression that "all passions are manifestations of the will." Augustine does not mean to say that the passions and the will are inextricably mingled as faculties of the mind, but that the moral charac-

ter of every motion of the mind depends upon the character of the volition, and he distinguishes quite carefully between the wish, the volition, and the resulting motion or passion. See the passage in full, *De Civ.*, xiv., 6, in connection with the preceding chapter, 5.

VI.

THE PLACE OF ORIGINAL HISTORICAL STUDY IN A THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

WE have now finished our explanation and illustration of the historical seminary. The question has doubtless arisen in the mind of many a teacher and student of theology, whether after all, in the three years allotted to theological study, amid the numerous topics going to make up the theological curriculum, there is any time or strength left for this kind of work. Desirable as it may be in itself, is it on the whole desirable in an American theological seminary of the present day? The answer to this question could not be given until the "seminary" itself had been explained. We may now however, knowing what the seminary is, and what it is adapted to do, ask and answer the question intelligently.

The answer will depend entirely upon what ideal a man may have formed of a theological education. If he thinks it to be merely a preparation for the work of converting men and bringing them into the church, "seminary" work is not a necessity, and may be styled injurious because superfluous. Even theological seminaries are somewhat doubtful experiments from that point of view. We shall not discuss this or other theories, but will lay down the

general principle that the ideal theological education adapts itself to the man to be educated, and is perfect when it has given him the best preparation which he can receive in the time allotted to study, for the work of the ministry as it actually is. If this proposition is not sound, all the following reasoning will be of little or no worth. Thus if a man from age, lack of discipline, or linguistic deficiencies cannot learn Hebrew so as to make a successful use of it, the ideal education not only does not require that he shall be dragged through a daily recitation in that language for a year to sustain some artificial "standard," but it demands that he shall not. His time is to be prized as gold, and used with the greatest economy. The student, as an individual with his peculiar history, talents, powers, tastes, purposes, and prospects, is one factor in the determination of what the proper education for him is. The other factor is the actual ministry. It calls for evangelists, for great preachers, for pastors, for organizers, for generals, for teachers, for investigators, for theologians. So various is it; but in all its variety it everywhere calls for men of independent power. The seminary must therefore so educate this student, that whatever particular studies he pursues, he shall gain power.

Now power is only to be obtained by obtaining a good degree of mastery over something. It makes less difference what the subject is, but when in any of the great departments of theological study, the student feels at home, knows what to study and how to do it, and is confident that he can attain re-

sults which are sound and valuable, that man is a scholar and possesses intellectual power. Put him down in the slums of a great city, and he will not be less successful, but more so for this developed intellectual force. Transport him now suddenly to some quiet and cultured parish, where he has to mature the Christian character of men and women whose ancestors fought in Cromwell's Ironsides, and he can adjust himself to the new situation, and soon begin out of original and profound studies, to bring forth those things, new and old, of which his charge stands in need.

We are ready to maintain that the demands on the ministry are greatly increasing, and that the call for men of original power is growing louder and louder, and more and more urgent. That seminary which can see the demand and so modify its methods as to produce in much larger numbers men of independent power, will receive in the multitudes who shall flock to its halls, the conclusive proof of its wisdom and the abundant reward it will deserve.

For, undeniably, the graduates of our theological seminaries are not, in the degree in which they should be, and might well be, men of independent power. How many letters has every theological professor who possesses the confidence of aspiring men, received, complaining that in their pastorates they can find no time for study but such as empties itself at once into the sermon, which is thus made crude and dangerous when fresh, or remains sound only at the price of dulness and vapidity! A wise and fruitful pastorate demands prolonged, profound,

and systematic study. It can no more exist without it than can the broad river of the valley without the branching rivulets of the hills. The constant changes and increasing restlessness of the ministry show that, in general, ministers cannot endure the strain of long pastorates. The fault lies largely in their education, and arises from a defect, however unavoidable hitherto it may have been, in the theological seminaries.

With the better equipment of these institutions, the remedy is now comparatively simple. Arrange the studies of each department into two groups, elementary and advanced; require the elementary; open the advanced to free election; insist that somewhere in the course the student shall go to the bottom of a subject; and you have, if there is any mental foundation in the student, a man of developed scholarship and independent power. If ministers knew how to study independently, they would not fall into the hand-to-mouth habit. If they were taught properly at the seminary they would know this.

There is practically no difficulty with this plan. The professor who will vary his work from year to year can greatly increase the range of instruction without increasing his hours beyond his strength. If he prepares a course of lectures 300 hours in length, he may divide it into 100 hours of required work, repeated every year, and 200 hours of elective work of which one-half may be given in each alternate year. This is the German university method

of rotation, and is one of the open secrets of the power of the German system.

In this way room is made for the seminaries,—for they ought to be held in nearly every department. If a student comes to the professor of history and says, “I wish to do my principal work with you,” the professor can introduce him to the seminary, and there can train him to independent power by actually giving him independent investigation to carry on. It is precisely the method to do the work now most needed. It makes the student independent by exercising him in independence!

A plea for history in particular might be entered here. The argument for the study of history suggested in the introduction, applies with equal strength to the ecclesiastical field. It is within the bounds of moderation to say that the American church has an opportunity such as has never before been afforded to Christianity. For the first time on any large scale has the church been set absolutely free from the corrupting and entangling influences of a formal establishment by the State, remanded to her proper sphere, and furnished with both incentive and scope for the display of all her powers. The religious problem of our age is the development among us of a free, catholic, orthodox, aggressive, and successful church, in a sense in which these qualities have never yet been displayed in any form of ecclesiastical life. To seize this opportunity, solve this problem, and render the involved service to mankind, we need all the wisdom which the divine Teacher has stored up for us in any quarter,

and we need most emphatically to know the lessons taught by the total experience of man in the history of the church.

We need equally as much the peculiar results which spring from the original study of history. We are brought as a people into ecclesiastical and social relations so complicated and new in the history of the world, that we need to learn to combine facts and deduce results from them ourselves, before we are qualified to apply the lessons of history to our own case. And further, for American purposes we must have an American church history, that is, one wrought with American problems in mind, and filled with lessons prepared for American use. No European can write a church history which shall be exactly adapted to our needs. The position of Dean Burgon in his book upon "Disestablishment, the Nation's Rejection of God, and Denial of the Faith" may seem self-evident to him, but no American could look upon historical questions from this standpoint, nor can we derive much help from men who do. Again, the elements in church life which interest us are different from those which are of the most interest to Europeans. We wish to know, both for apologetic and practical purposes, the real seat of power in the church. Does it reside always and by logical necessity, in whatever land, and under whatever form of supposed government, essentially in the consent of the governed? We are therefore interested in tracing out many relations and causes which are little appreciated by men trained under other forms of government than ours.

We have at last found out that the European system is not adapted to the new conditions of American life. The two oldest and best established denominations of Christians before the Revolution, the Episcopalians and Congregationalists, have fallen relatively far behind in the progress of denominations in America; and it is now evident that this is so because, among other reasons, they were too European in form, and could not, or did not, perceive the new conditions under which they were placed by the achievement of independence, and so failed to adapt themselves to their circumstances and to deserve success. It was not until a late day that they had fairly shaken off the evil results of their involvement with European ideas and practices, worse than useless in America. Other denominations, like the Baptists and Methodists, which had no history and no complications, began everything anew and pressed on to the attainment of a great success.

For all these reasons it is necessary that the American theological scholar should be an independent student of history, and that he should be trained in the best methods of independent study.

Practically the working of a seminary need not be a difficult thing. Let the professor begin the year with general instruction as to the purpose and plan of the work, and assign topics in some easy subject, preferably in external history, and in sources in the English language. When some little facility in the work has been acquired, and it is evident who of the class will succeed and who not, let the

unsuccessful workers be dropped, and the more difficult themes be introduced. Let the work with the best students be carried through the year, parallel with lecture courses, and when the year is over, it will be found that a degree of power has been gained which can be acquired in no other way.

As to the range of original work which should be undertaken in a theological seminary, it should be as extensive as that performed in any university. The suggestions already given contemplate work which is largely practice work, that is, such as shall train the student, rather than aim to advance knowledge. But this is not enough to satisfy the full ideal of a theological seminary. Practice work may be successfully done in college, and it is a necessary part of the university instruction whenever the preliminary work has not been done elsewhere. The next higher grade of work is where sources already gathered are exploited for new information. Such was the work done in the Johns Hopkins Seminary up to the year 1880.* The highest is where sources have to be discovered, and the results are in the strictest sense new to the learned world. Not until it reaches this work should the theological seminary stop. It can and it ought to contribute to the advance of knowledge. The necessities of the student and of the times demand it.

* See the interesting "Circular of Information No. 2," issued by the Bureau of Education, entitled: "The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities," by H. B. Adams, Ph. D., Washington, 1887.

A short sketch of the work done at Johns Hopkins in the way of exploiting unwrought mines of information, and of advancing knowledge by co-operative labor in an historical seminary, will best illustrate the possibilities in this direction.* This style of work began in the introduction of American institutional history as a distinct branch of historical study. The idea was derived from a seminary in Heidelberg, and was first realized in a series of lectures on the history of the Plymouth Plantations, by Prof. H. B. Adams, the result of researches made on the ground by him during the two preceding years. Such studies were now regularly prosecuted by the seminary, different members going in turn to different parts of the country and studying local institutions on the ground. The results of this work can be seen in the studies issued by the University since 1883, as for example in those for 1885, "Virginia Local Institutions—The Land System; Hundred; Parish; County; Town;" in 1886, "The Puritan Colony at Annapolis, Maryland;" in 1887, "City Government of Chicago." We subjoin in the Appendix lists of topics discussed in this seminary, and will not delay upon them now. Enough to say that in every possible way new sources of history are being opened by the joint labor of these professors and their pupils, and the most that can be derived from them for a truly scientific study of the genesis and character of our institutions is elaborated and published. At the same time the work of practice study among the younger mem-

* *Ib.*, p. 173.

bers of the seminary, and of the exploration of the abundant original material, MS. and other, existing in the university library has been carried on. The most practical topics, such as "Tramps," have been chosen, and in every way the effort to seize upon the yet unexhausted material for the increase of our knowledge, has been vigorously pushed.

All this is possible in theological seminaries, and is as important for the best instruction of theological students as for that of any other university men. It is as important here as elsewhere, we would also urge, for the development and increase of knowledge in the world, to assist in which is also the duty of our theological seminaries. The ministry must always remain one of the great literary classes, and do much of that volunteer work which contributes to the increase of knowledge, but which is rewarded by no pecuniary results. For this, there ought to be competent training in our seminaries.

There is no lack of opportunity for such work, nor valid objection to it. It is plain that the choice of topics for an American seminary should be determined with reference to the fact that it is located in America and not in Germany. American universities should not slavishly imitate any foreign schools, not even the German, however much we may be indebted to them. The writer will confess himself second to none in his respect for German scholarship; but true honor for it does not involve the sacrifice of our independence, nor, unless he is mistaken, is such the result at which the German

professors aim in the great expenditure of time and labor which they constantly make on students from America. Lotze once expressed the great hope he cherished for the future of philosophy in America. A German professor wrote the other day of the special interest he and his colleagues have in our young countrymen. The aim these professors have is to fit the American youth for doing with independent effort the same *sort* of work—not the same work—as is done in those homes and nurseries of science, the great German universities. And so it should be in seminary work. The method is German: the materials and the laborers are American; and the results should be American too. The more exclusively laboratory, or practice side of the seminary, may be properly devoted to doing what others have done, or are doing, to exploring mediæval German history, or the history of the Papacy, or the like. In some libraries the materials may be found for truly original researches on German, English, or French ground. Doubtless if American scholars turn up anything here which really advances science, their German elder brethren will extend to them the hand of congratulation. But in general, the truly original work of historical seminaries must be upon American sources, or be determined by distinctively American needs. In political history the field has proved to be boundless and of intense interest, and the materials reasonably accessible. In church history there is no less truly an original and to a large extent an unexplored, or at

least uncultivated field. This is the proper subject for an American seminary for church history.

It will not be understood by this that church doctrine, inasmuch as it deals with materials collected in Europe and for the most part embodied in Greek and Latin volumes, is not to be studied in a seminary for church history. On the contrary, we may possess, and in many libraries do already possess abundant materials for this study, and hence may successfully pursue it. There is in this very line, new and unattempted work for the American theologian. It is an unfortunate result, but a striking illustration of the almost exclusively German character of all true genetic study of church doctrine, that whereas it has been studied minutely as respects the ancient period, or the modern Lutheran theology, the theology of the "Reformed" half of Protestantism, to which most of the American denominations belong, has never received adequate treatment. What approaches to this have been made, are of German making! A good, genetic, thoroughly scientific history of Reformed theology in English does not exist. Here is work for seminaries, and work which Americans, from their position and relative independence of existing party complications in Europe, can do better than any other people.

But there are peculiarly American subjects, and they are of the first importance. There may be those who will deny that we have a history, or be prepared even to throw ridicule upon it. But this is Philistinism, and not science. That great oppor-

tunity now before the American church, has been ours for near one hundred years, and we have been engaged in preparing for it one hundred and fifty years more. If no history can be made in two hundred and fifty years, then none can be made in three hundred and fifty years, and there is no church history anywhere since the Reformation! In fact, however, if any trained historian will read our church history, even as it is preserved in imperfect sketches by the commendable efforts of Punchard, Gillett, Backus, and others, he will see that it has its distinct points of transition, and so its epochs, that it is proceeding from one definite point, and as evidently to another. It is full of interesting problems. This is the age of church comprehension. The Presbyterians have united. The Baptists also. The Methodists are agitating the question of union. Prominent public prints are pressing the union of bodies allied in general form of government and belief, though of the most diverse historical origin, such as Congregationalists and Free Baptists, Episcopalians and United Brethren. This seems like a new thing, and an evidence of a great and growing spirit of Christian brotherhood. It may be the latter, but it is not the former,—it is as old as the century itself. In the year 1801 the general assembly of the newly organized Presbyterian church and the General Association of Connecticut formed the so-called Plan of Union, which was an honest endeavor to secure organic co-operation of these two bodies in the great work of evangelizing the new West, and

establishing there Christian churches. It failed and in 1837 it perished. What was the vicious element in that union? What were the points where defeat was involved from the start? The high-churchman on either side, Presbyterian or Congregationalist, may be ready with his answer; but what has the trained, philosophic historian to say? Up to this day he has never spoken.

So the influence of slavery on the church affords an enticing theme for investigation. Not even in these United States, after the last organic connection of state and church had been broken up in 1833, was the church free from corrupting political or secular influences. In fact, no sooner was one form of difficulty removed, than another began in the rapidly intensifying conflict with slavery. Its outward effects in the division of churches and in the great war, are plain enough. How much had it to do with the paralysis of doctrinal and missionary activity in both North and South? Such questions are still unanswered,—almost unraised.

But peculiarly American topics for seminary study are not exhausted here. We have new and fresh material in the sphere of Christian doctrine,—the Hamlet of the historical drama. New England has been the great battle-field of American theological discussion as Virginia was of the late war. It may be the voice of denominational enthusiasm, but we believe it to be the coming verdict of history, that the New England school of orthodox divines embraces names of true greatness, and has performed services which the Christian church will not readily

let die. At any rate, in New England was the shock of battle with Unitarianism, the controversy with Universalism, there the Baptists arose, there "New Divinity," and "New Theology" have at least made the religious activity of the people evident, and given opportunity for a fresh and vigorous examination of every leading doctrine of Christianity. The "New England Theology" has the most interesting points of contact with the theology of Calvin as distinguished from the Calvinism of his successors. It roots in the past. But under the influence of a vastly more correct psychology than Calvin had, it contributes, as the writer believes, substantially to the solution of anthropological problems with which Luther and Melancthon, and Zwingli and Calvin, and the Arminians and Westminster wrestled in vain. Thus it affords a most important field for seminary work, and one, as the writer has found in his own classes, of intense interest to the average American theological student as he is.

Thus there is at least one special field, largely unexplored but of great importance, which theological students can cultivate, and which without them will probably remain uncultivated. Every theological seminary has some division of it where it can work, and which will probably be entirely neglected, unless it itself takes hold. For example, Oberlin Seminary would naturally turn to the history of the "Plan of Union," as exemplified in the Western Reserve, to the effects of slavery on the American church, for which she has special advantages in her large anti-slavery collection, to the work of evangel-

izing the great West. Andover would attend to many topics in Massachusetts history of great importance for the understanding of the history of the country at large, as for example, the rise of the voluntary system. A good specimen of what can be accomplished in this direction is given in the paper of Mr. S. S. Green on "Voluntary Maintenance of Ministers in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies."

The practical result of such efforts, outside of the immediate result of knowledge and discipline acquired, would undoubtedly be the preparation of a great number of papers on similar topics by students, and ministers settled in various parts of the country, which would be truly scientific pieces of work, available to the historian, instead of the inferior publications which we often find in our church and town histories, in which creditable zeal has often been defeated in its object by improper conceptions of the problem and lack of skill in digesting the materials. This is an object worth all the labor it will cost.

Thus there might grow up gradually under the sympathetic hand of the professional student a scientific and reliable history of the church in America. The plan could be extended beyond any one denomination, and all principal seminaries could be gathered into one grand co-operative effort. Then there could be a national society for church history, where investigators from different seminaries might come together and compare the results of their labors, correct the one-sided views

that any might have formed, and thus produce ultimately that clear and well rounded view of the actual state of things among us which would teach our special historical lesson to the world.

The complete practicability of this calls upon the seminaries to engage in the work with a voice to which they will soon respond.

VII.

THE USES AND LIMITS OF THE METHOD IN COLLEGES.

THE theme has carried us hitherto into the university. It has, however, its application to the American college, since this properly includes within itself both the gymnasium of the German system, and a portion of the university, for the college curriculum comprises both the "gymnastic" exercises which are intended to make the strong man, and those studies which are intended to inform his mind. The German student enters the university ignorant of even the elements of philosophy or chemistry: the American graduate leaves college with a considerable degree of knowledge of them both, and of kindred topics. This distinction is now so fully recognized that in the Columbia "School of Political Science,"—a professional, and so a university department,—students are admitted who have successfully pursued a course of study till the close of the junior year.* It follows at once that if the college includes within itself a portion of the university, university methods are appropriate there just as they would be in the similar portions of the university course pursued in what was formally styled a university.

* "Circular of Information," p. 76.

Such work must of course be introduced with a due consideration of the circumstances of each case. Before truly original work is done, there must be a certain preparation for it. If the topic is the external history of any nation, there need not be much special preparation, since the general training of students in their studies, and their observation of the world in which they live, will furnish them the general ideas with which they must operate. But if the study be the history of philosophy, it is evident that there must be some acquaintance with the principles of philosophy, and with the history of philosophy as it is already known, before anything worth doing can be done. So in church history in a theological seminary. External church history may be studied at an early date, when the student is entirely unequal to the study of the history of doctrine.

This general principle being laid down, and always kept clearly in mind, how shall the method of original study be introduced? In history, for example, shall time be taken up with a seminary, which has heretofore been devoted to gaining the first acquaintance with the outlines of the subject, and shall a student's grasp of a great period be thus sacrificed to original work over a very small topic?

Now, in the first place, it is not necessary to sacrifice much of anything to gain this new training, for the study of a text book may be combined with the seminary method. Some ground may have to be sacrificed, and yet for the most part the students will work to so much greater advantage and learn

what they have to learn so much more easily from the greater interest they will take in the subject, that the class will go over nearly the same ground, and do it much better. Or, if, on the other hand, the text book be entirely put aside, the topics, when well selected, will involve each so much collateral reading, and will require so much closer attention to details, that they will themselves prove a better introduction to any limited period, at least, than a text book can possibly be.

An experiment of this kind was tried by Prof. Monroe of Oberlin College for the first time with a class in political economy in the fall of 1887. The work of the class-room in the text book went on as usual; but a portion of the class volunteered to do some extra work after the seminary plan, and they were assigned topics with references carefully made out for each topic, and printed in a pamphlet.* The class worked through these subjects as thoroughly as possible, having such suggestions as they needed from time to time, till the closing review came, when these were read as the daily class exercise, while the review was left to each student to do for himself.

Ordinarily, however, this style of work will come best by itself, and after the elementary work has been done by another class pursuing the common line of college study. We may listen at this point with advantage to the experience of Prof. Adams of Michigan University, now President of Cornell.† He says: "Ever since my observation of the methods

* See Appendix, p. 114 ff.

† "Circular," p. 104.

pursued in Europe, I have desired to introduce into the historical courses of the University of Michigan something akin to the *historische Gesellschaft* of the German universities. At the beginning of the past year [187-172] a favorable opportunity seemed to present itself. After consultation with the president of the university, and with the faculty of our department, I met the members of the senior class and explained the purpose of the experiment. It was found that twenty-seven members of the class desired to take an extended course of historical study, even in addition to the regular work of the senior year. After this expression the faculty decided to place this course in history among the elective studies. It was determined that the work of the semester should be devoted to the study of the growth of the British constitution. Twelve questions, embracing topics of most importance from the period of the Saxons to the reform of 1832, were given to the class, together with numerous references to the best authorities in the university library. The class was divided into sections of from six to ten members each, in order that the work of each member might, as far as possible, be under the direction of the professor. Each section came together once a week for a session of two hours, when one of the members was required to read a carefully prepared essay on the question before him, and each of the other members was called upon to give the results of his own study of the same subject. In this manner, the class gained a good knowledge of the leading events in the

growth of the English constitution and, what was perhaps of scarcely less importance, acquired a more or less intimate acquaintance with the best works that have been written on the civil and political history of the Anglo-Saxon race."

Now this is not original work of the highest type, but it is very well worth doing, and it is the necessary preparation for the best kind of truly original work. Note what is gained by such a method. The class learn to study a subject in distinction from a book. They learn to collect information from many sources, to digest it and arrange it. They learn to criticise it and know the comparative value of different statements. The resulting knowledge is theirs by right of creation from its materials, and not something which has been given them by another, simply. The only essential difference between it and original work among the first sources of information, is that the material is given to the student in a form largely *prepared*, and he is not required to extract the significance from mere hints, or from sources not originally designed to give such a product. It is therefore the best method for initiatory training, and will prepare the student to cope with the additional difficulties of higher work.

Here properly the work of the seminary in a college stops. All the time that can well be bestowed on such work will have been consumed when so much as this is done, and the further prosecution of the method should be left to the university course proper.

Harvard College presents the phenomenon of an

institution which is in a course of development from a college into a proper university. It comprises, therefore, courses which no college standing upon the plane of the old American college can contemplate or, in the writer's mind, ought to contemplate. Yet with due allowance for disparity of aims and purposes, its example will be instructive to other colleges. The last catalogue (1887-88) shows a very interesting development of the seminary system. Under the name of Seminary, or of Special advanced Study and Research, the plan is introduced in the study of the Semitic languages,* Latin,† English, Psychology and Metaphysics, Political Economy, History, ‡ Roman Law, Mathematics, § and of

* This is both a university and undergraduate seminary, though properly all the work done is of a university grade. Last year the following topics were discussed: Jewish Literature of the Nineteenth Century, Jewish Music, Modern Literary Activity in Syria, Translations from the Rhymed Prose Satires of Hamadani, Materials for the Construction of Assyrian History, with references to recent books, Studies in Hebrew Literature, Isaiah and the Assyrian Monuments, A Study of the Book of Job, Hebrew Poetry, and The Druses of Mount Lebanon. See Catalogue for 1887-8, p. 122.

† This course is entitled, "Philosophy among the Romans.—Selections from Cicero and Lucretius."

‡ There are four different courses under this head, embracing topics in Mediæval and Church History, Constitutional Government, American History, and Modern Diplomacy.

§ In the Mathematical Seminary lectures were given on The Discussion of a Trigonometric Surface, The Geometry of Descartes, The Theory of Substitutions, The Discussion of a Riemann's Surface, The Curve of the Third Degree, The Theory of Capillarity, The Deflective Force of the Earth's Rotation, The Discussion of a Differential Equation, Some Equations in Theoretical Astronomy, Infinites and Infinitesimals, Some Theorems in the Theory of Number, and The Curvature of Surfaces.

course, the Natural Sciences. Not one of these seminaries existed fifteen years ago. It is at once evident how varied the possible range of such work is, and how it must and will spread in an institution when it has once been introduced. It meets a want which students have long felt, and which they demand shall be gratified when once they appreciate the fact that it is a reasonable and genuine requirement of the mind. The method succeeds, and its success is the warrant for its existence.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

The following suggestions and lists of topics are designed to open the field of original study to those who are just making acquaintance with it. One of the clearest ways of gaining a knowledge of a new method is to find in what way others are managing it. No attempt at completeness is made, for the object is only suggestion.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—LIST OF PAPERS presented to the Historical and Political Science Association, 1877-79 (Circular above cited, p. 195 f.).

The Village Communities of Ancient Germany and Mediæval England. An Introduction to the Study of New England Towns and the Institutions of Local Self-government in America.

Tramps.

The Economy of Co-operation.

Review of Dr. Woolsey's Theories concerning the Educational Power of the State.

Greek Cities. Fragments from Greek writers, illustrating the historical village community, and the federal constitution of the commonwealth of Greece.

The *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* of Spinoza. A philosophical essay in which Spinoza was presented as the champion of religious liberty.

The Punitive Power of the State. An inquiry into the grounds of legal punishment and an examination of the views advanced in Woolsey's Political Science.

Bribes in Greece.

Incidents of Historical Research in the Department of State at Washington.

The Grand Jury System.

The Ordinance of 1787 for the Government of the North-western Territory.

The Original Conception of the Town as an Institution.

The Influence of Alexander Hamilton in the formation of the Constitution of the United States.

The Maryland State Papers.

The Public School System. An inquiry as to its foundations.

The School System of Connecticut, with Particular Reference to that of New Haven.

The School System of Baltimore.

Are Boards of Arbitration desirable?

The Stone Age.

The Swiss Lake Dwellings.

The Depopulation of Central Greece in the Post-Classical Period.

The National Archives.

A Study of German Social Democracy.

A Review of the Question, "Was Maryland a Roman Catholic Colony?"

Recent Complications in the School System of New Haven.

Notes on Niebuhr's Life and Works.

Lieber's Reminiscences of Niebuhr.

Primitive Aryan Mythology from the Standpoint of Indian Literature.

Animistic Religion an Excrescence not a Germ of Vedic Religion.

The Boundary Controversy between Maryland and Virginia.

Letter from Dr. Wm. Hand Browne upon Catholic Toleration in Maryland.

The First Public Proposal of a Constitutional Convention for the United States.

Methods of Historical Inquiry as pursued at German Universities.

Maryland's Ratification of the Federal Constitution.

The Position of Socialism in the Historical Development of Political Economy.

Moral Insanity as a Cause of Crime.

The Problem for Political Economy in the United States.

Attic Colonization.

Methods of Historical Instruction as pursued at Brown University.

N. B. It will be evident upon a slight examination that the thread running through all this course was the study that was going on in the seminary on village communities. Mark the range of illustration sought of the principles of village organization !

STUDENT LECTURES.—An interesting method of instruction in the undergraduate department of the university is that by means of student lectures. Generally these subjects are given out in connection with courses of instruction by the professors, and when the student is ready, he lectures to the class, in place of the professor. The following are selected topics out of several groups given in the "Circular," p. 201 ff. We give entire groups, as they are more significant than scattered topics would be.

Church History.—Influence of Jewish Ceremonial upon the Christian Church ; Influence of Greek Philosophy on Christian Thought ; Influence of Roman Institutions upon the Church ; the Apostolic Fathers ; the Greek

Apologists; the Latin Apologists; Saint Ambrose; Chrysostom; Saint Jerome and the Vulgate; Saint Augustine and the City of God; Nestorianism; the Clergy and the Laity; the Office of Patriarch; Metropolitan Centers of Church Life; Origin of the Papacy; Artistic Representations of the Growth of the Ecclesiastical Constitution; Leo the Great; Extension of Church Authority into England; Conversion of Germany; Relation of Charles the Great to the Papacy; Otto the Great; International Position of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation; Constitution of the Empire; Territorial Claims of the Empire; Gregory VII. and the Countess Mathilda of Tuscany; the Normans in Sicily; Frederick Barbarossa and his Relations with Italy; Arnold of Brescia; Points of Conflict between the Empire and the Papacy; Fall of the Hohenstauffen Emperors; the Great Councils of the Fifteenth Century.

Mediæval History.—Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul; Life in Gaul in the fifth Century; Monastic Life in Merovingian Gaul; the Northmen; Cnut and Harold Haardrada; Lanfranc and Anselm; the Bayeux Tapestry; Domesday; Results of the Crusades; Origin of Feudalism; Mediæval Cathedrals; Scriptoria and Chronicles; Conquest of Wales; the Coming of the Friars into England; Law-Courts, *circa* 1200, in England; the Albigenses and the Crusade against them; Military and Religious Orders; Montfort in Gascony; London in the Fourteenth Century; Robert Bruce; Life on the Roads in England in the Fourteenth Century; the Popes at Avignon; Froissart; Wyclif's Bible; the Paston Letters; Parliamentary Antiquities in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries; Comparison of the Characters of Louis XI., Henry VII., and Ferdinand of Aragon; the

States General of 1468 and 1484; the Relations of France and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century.

Politics.—England in Egypt; the International Association for the Control of African Trade and the River Congo; France in the Tonquin; the Opening of China; Character of Chinese Diplomacy; the Opening and recent Progress of Japan; Relations between Germany and the Vatican; Papal Policy in America; Who should control the Panama Canal, if there were one; International Congresses; the Question of an International Tribunal; the Diplomacy of the United States *versus* the Indians; the Relation of Political Ethics to International Law; the Theory of a World State; Freedom of the Sea and of great Rivers; the American Fisheries; the Monroe Doctrine in its Relation to the South American Republics; Review of the Present International Relations of the United States.

THE UNIVERSITY "STUDIES."—These studies are so well known to the public through frequent advertisement, as well as through the great circulation which they have obtained, that a list of the contents of the nine or ten volumes of the series in both forms, need not be given here. But this may be said, that they follow out the line of investigation which has been suggested in the list of Association topics already given. They are a long series of studies in the institutional history of America. They should be studied by every teacher who desires to know what he can undertake in this line in his own vicinity. Out of the multitudes of such studies which could be made in American affairs, if a larger number of schools would engage in it, there might come the most valuable as well as interesting results for the whole country.

OBERLIN COLLEGE.—The pamphlet printed by Prof. Monroe for his class in political economy began as follows. We give but a portion of it.

Senior Class—Oberlin College.

VOLUNTEER CLUB IN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

September, 1887.

Mr. —

LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY.

Miss Martineau's "History of England," i. 334 and ii. 54; Thompson's "Political Economy," see word "Machinery" in Index; Newcomb's "Political Economy," Book ii. Chap. vi. Section 38; Westminster Review, vol. 14, pp. 191-210, also vol. 5, pp. 101-130; North American Review, vol. 34, pp. 220-246; U. S. Commissioner of Labor, First "Annual Report," pp. 80-90; Young's "Report on Labor," (44th Cong. First Session, House Ex. Doc. 21.) pp. 176-195; Jevons' "State in Relation to Labor," Chapters ii. and iii.

Mr. —

THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

Newcomb's "Political Economy," Book ii. Chap. xiii. Sections 87-90 inclusive; Bowen's "American Political Economy," Chap. xvi.; George Walker's Article in Banker's Magazine, March, 1868, on "The Advantages of the

National Banking System"; Pamphlet containing the various acts in regard to the National Banks and published by the Comptroller of the Currency; Lalor's Cyclopædia, vol. i. p. 215, Article, "National Banking."

Mr. —

BIMETALLISM.

In favor of the Double Standard.

Jevons' "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," Chap. xii.; Seyd's "Bullion and Foreign Exchanges," Part iii. Chap. iv.; Francis A. Walker's "Money," Part i. Chapters xii. and xiii.; Horton's "Silver and Gold," all parts of the work, but especially Chap. iii.; Monroe's speech in Congress, Feb. 21, 1878; M. Cernuschi's "Or et Argent"; M. Wolowski's "L'Or et L'Argent"; Francis A. Walker's "Political Economy," Part vi. Chap. ix.

In favor of the Single Standard.

Mill's "Political Economy," Book iii. Chap. x.; arguments in the report of the "Silver Commission," and in the reports of the "International Monetary Congress" of 1878; Prof. Sumner's writings on that subject; Lalor's Cyclopædia, Article, "Paris Monetary Conference."

Mr. —

SPECIE RESUMPTION IN ENGLAND.

Sumner's "History of American Currency," Chap. ii. page 229; Horton's "Gold and Silver," Chap. vii.; Miss Martineau's "History of England," Vol. i. Book i. Chap. i., Book ii. Chap. iii., and Vol. ii. Book i. Chap. xv.

Mr. —

THE GREENBACK.

Sumner's "History of American Currency," page 197; Francis A. Walker's "Money," pp. 369-375; Upton's "Money in Politics," Chapters 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 18; Reports of Secretary of the Treasury and Comptroller of the Currency for the years 1863-1868, and 1874-1879; Lalor's Cyclopædia, Article, "United States Notes," last part of the Article.

Mr. —

THE PRINCIPLES OF TAXATION.

Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Book v. Chap. ii.; Ricardo's "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation," Chapters vii. to xvii. inclusive; Mill's "Political Economy," Book v. Chap. ii., and also Chapters iii., iv., and v.; Prof. Bowen's "American Political Economy," Chap. xviii.; Newcomb's "Political Economy," Book v. Chap. iii.; Francis A. Walker's "Political Economy," Part vi. Chap. xii.; Amasa Walker's "Political Economy," Book iv. Chapters ix. to xii. inclusive; Perry's "Political Economy," Chap. xvi.; Thompson's "Political Economy," Chap. ix.; Greeley's "Political Economy," Chap. xix.; Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," pp. 367-386 and 387-424.

Mr. —

PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE.

In favor of Protection.

Mill's "Political Economy," Book v. Chap. x. Sec. 1.; Roscher's "Political Economy," Book v. Appendix iii.;

Henry C. Carey's "Social Science," in many places ; Elder's "Questions of the Day," Chapters xiv., xv., and xvi. ; Bowen's "Political Economy," Chap. xx. ; Thompson's "Political Economy," Chapters xi. and xii., and see also the word "Protection" in the Index ; Horace Greeley's "Political Economy" in all parts ; Senator Sherman's Speeches, pp. 1, 121, and 336 ; Judge Kelley's Speeches, consult Table of Contents ; Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," see certain concessions, Book iv. Chapters ii. and iii. ; Smith's "Political Economy," Chap. vii.

In Favor of Free Trade.

Mill's "Political Economy," Book v. Chap. x. Sec. 1 ; Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Book iv. Chapters ii. and iii. ; Cairnes' "Political Economy," Part iii. Chap. iv. ; Sumner's "History of Protection in the United States" ; Perry's "Political Economy," Chapters on "Foreign Trade" and "American Tariffs" ; Grosvenor's "Does Protection Protect," throughout the book ; Bastiat's "Sophisms of Protection" ; Prof. Fawcett's "Free Trade and Protection" ; Newcomb's "Political Economy," Book v. Chap. ii. ; Francis A. Walker's "Political Economy," Part. vi. Chap. xiii. ; Amasa Walker's "Political Economy," Book iii. Chapters iii., iv., and v.

Mr. —

AMERICAN GRAIN IN EUROPE.

See Index to Consular Reports, College Library.

TOPICS FOR A SEMINARY FOR CHURCH HISTORY.—
In connection with suggestions already made in the body of this book, the writer will add a few complete lists of seminary topics in church history. A theological school of any denomination may easily find in its own

history similar collections of topics, the study of which will prove not only exceedingly profitable, but also intensely interesting.

New England Theology (as actually taught in Oberlin Seminary, in 1886).

1. Doctrine of Conversion.
2. The Nature of the Will.
3. Original Sin.
4. The Nature of the Atonement.
5. The Necessity of the Atonement.
6. The Trinity.
7. The Prevention of Sin.
8. Office of the Holy Spirit.
9. System of Hopkins.
10. System of Emmons.
11. System of Finney.
12. Election and Freedom.
13. The Theory of Virtue.
14. Eschatology.

Topics in Augustine (as actually taught in Oberlin, Winter of 1888).

1. Augustine's View of the Constitution of the Human Mind.*
2. Doctrine of the Will as originally created.
3. System of Pelagius.
4. Freedom of the Will subsequent to the Fall.
5. Bondage of the Will.
6. Prevenient Grace.
7. Original Sin, its Origin.

* There might be added, as a connecting link between ancient and modern history of doctrine, a series of papers on the psychology of other church teachers, Zwingli, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and of others like Socinus,—a subject which has never been properly wrought out.

8. Original Sin, its Effects.
9. Guilt of Sin.
10. Predestination.
11. Perseverance.
12. Faith and Justification.
13. Baptism.
14. Relation of the Church to Grace.
15. Trinity.
16. Schism.
17. Relation of Augustine to Tertullian.
18. A group of topics :
 - A. Martin Luther's Form of Augustinianism.
 - B. Calvin's Form of Augustinianism.
 - C. The Augustinianism of Wiclif and Huss.

Practice Topics for introducing the student to this form of study.

1. The Council of Nice.—The chapters of Stanley's History of the Eastern Church relating to this Council could be used as a guide-book, a class carried over the discussion of the original documents, as preserved in Eusebius, Theodoret, Socrates, etc., and then an essay required from each student which should cover the ground, and yet make no statement for which the student had not himself seen the original authority.

2. Hippolytus and his Conflict with the Bishops of Rome.—The material is accessible in English translations, which will expedite matters. The topic may serve as an introduction to a later study of the growth of the Papal power.

3. Original Topics.—These, when not too difficult, may be preferred for introductory work. The following series of inquiries as to the effects of slavery on the American churches, would serve the purpose. It relates to the effect of slavery on the Congregational churches,

but, *mutatis mutandis*, similar lists could be prepared for every other denomination.

1. Samuel Hopkins's Efforts for the Slave at Newport.
2. Slavery in New England.
3. Negro Members of Congregational Churches.
4. Extension of Congregationalism in the Slave States.
5. The Attitude of Anti-slavery Reformers towards the Church.
6. Effect of Oberlin's Anti-slavery Position on its Usefulness in the Western Reserve.
7. Influence of Slavery in effecting the Disruption of the Presbyterian Church.
8. Refusal of Oberlin Students by the American Board, and the General Position of this Organization on Slavery.
9. Oberlin's Independent Missionary Efforts, and their Effects.
10. The A.H.M.S. and Slavery.
11. The early Congregational Churches in Kansas.
12. Relative Attitude towards Slavery of the Unitarian and Orthodox Churches of New England.
13. The Religious Press and Slavery.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—In addition to what has above been said as to Dr. Hart's course, we may add the list of topics employed in his Seminary for 1887-88. We give of these only the first eleven, giving the "larger" topic first, and then the "smaller," which it will be noted is generally a sub-topic under the larger.

1. 1860-65. The Civil Government of the United States. Thesis on: The Outbreak of the War.
2. 1861-65. The civil government of the Confederate States.
3. 1865-77. Reconstruction.—History of the XV. Amendment.

4. 1865-85. Political Parties.
5. 1865-85. Foreign Relations.—Bibliography of American Diplomacy.
6. 1865-85. Social Questions.
7. 1865-85. Questions of State and Local Government.—Government of the Town of West Medford.
8. 1865-85. Workings of the Legislative Department.—River and Harbor Legislation.
9. 1865-85. Workings of the Executive Department.—History of the Veto Power.
10. 1865-85. Workings of the Judiciary Department.—History of the XIV. Amendment.
11. Special Bibliographical Work: Mr. ———, when called upon.

THE SEMINARY IN THE MODERN LANGUAGES.—The following extract from a paper read before the meeting of the Modern Language Association of America at its meeting at Philadelphia, Dec. 29, 1887, by Prof. H. S. White, of Cornell University, on The Teaching of a Foreign Literature in connection with the Seminary Method, will be found full of suggestion.

“The old German Messiahs, the Heliand and Otfrid’s *Krist*, when compared together, show many interesting points of contrast. One may note the differing treatment of the Gospel narrative, and the difference in metrical structure, representing on the one hand the strong and simple alliterative beat of heathen versification, and on the other the influence of the gathering force of the Latin strophe of the Christian hymn, concealing within itself the melodious possibilities of assonance and alliteration with the more perfect melody of finished rime. Looking at the circumstances of the composition of the two poems, there is considered to be in one an eloquent proof of the growth of Christianity among the unlettered peoples of the

Saxon North; in the other, an attempt to resist in the South the influence of a frivolous and pagan literature.

“The poems of Walther von der Vogelweide, when studied in connection with his age, throw interesting side lights upon the social life of his time, and upon the contentions between emperor and pope. Martin Luther’s writings are scarcely intelligible without an examination of middle high German, and in turn assist to an accurate analysis of modern German syntax. To describe the origin of the French or German drama, one must review ecclesiastical literature, and be familiar with the theater of the ancients. The benefit is evident of such courses as Prof. Crane’s lectures at Cornell on French Society in the Seventeenth Century, based upon voluminous memoirs, correspondence, and other literary memorials of that period; or the courses of Professor Elliott at Johns Hopkins, in which the work of the year may be concentrated on a limited period in literary history, or upon the study of a small group of related dialects, or of a few important linguistic monuments. What useful material, for a knowledge of the current impressions in Paris regarding European art and politics is afforded by Heine’s miscellaneous communications to the Augsburg Gazette! What a field, too little cultivated, is afforded by the bulky correspondence of prominent literary characters! Again, not the least beneficial phase of the minute study of the second part of Faust is afforded by the social and philosophical problems suggested, and by the discussion of the relations between the classic and romantic movements as depicted in the “*Helena*.” Not less attractive is the effort to fathom the secret of the many erratic manifestations of genius of which every literature yields attractive and baffling illustrations.

“A legitimate feature of such seminary work may be

the examination by students of new and relevant publications, whether edition or commentary or special treatise, and the presentation of critical notices of their contents. Others desire to discard all adventitious aids, and, leaving unconsidered whatever incrustations have clustered upon the shell, to penetrate to the heart, and to devote the energies of their students to the patient study of the bare untarnished text, the naked thought of the author selected. Such diversities of operations may yet lead to equally profitable results.

“As to the relation of the study of literature proper to the study of kindred subjects, one may say that although the teaching of literature be not the teaching of history or of biography, both are essential as a background; and that inasmuch as the province of what is called *Culturgeschichte*,—a sort of literary biology,—trenches upon literary history, it is also to be considered a necessary concomitant of literary studies.”

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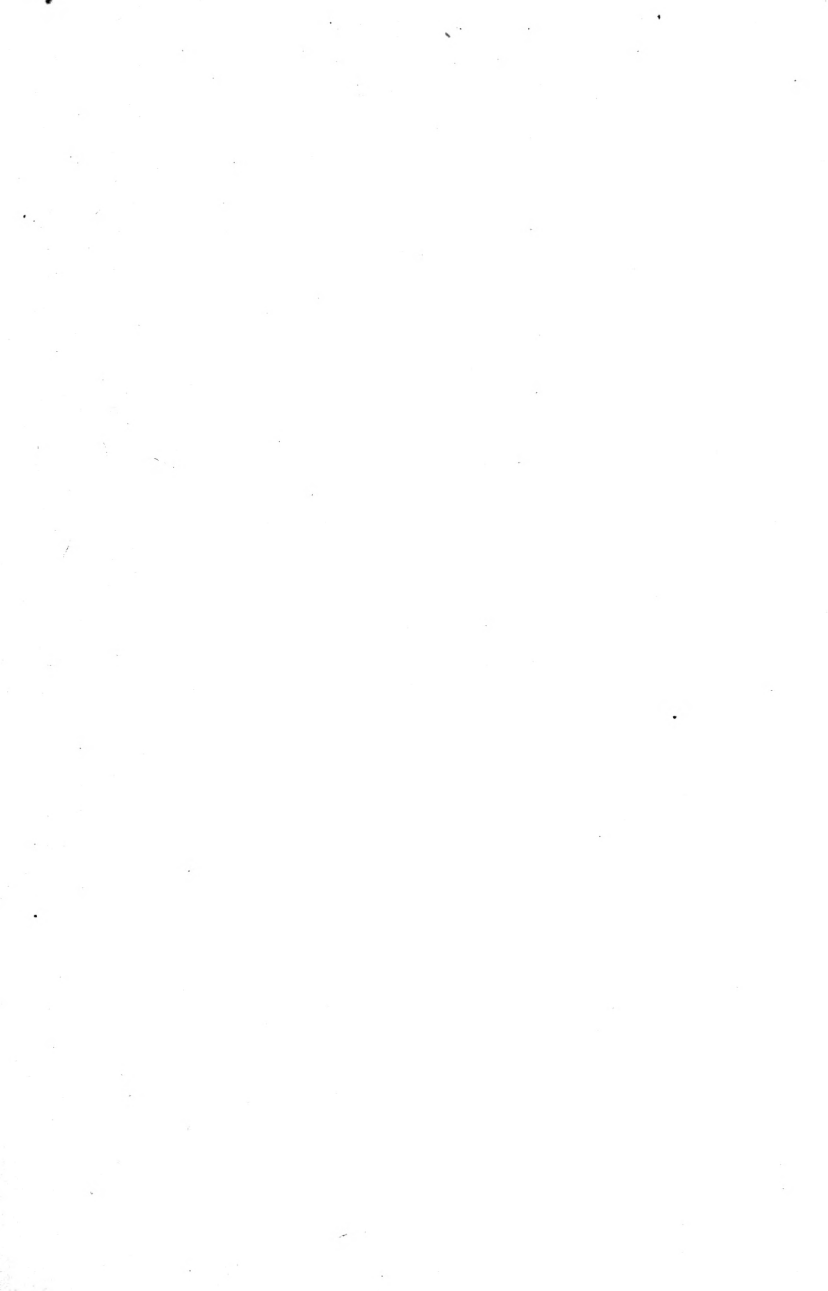
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