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# Proceedings of the Baptist Congress

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Augusta, Georgia, November, 1910

## Topics

- I. The Place of Prayer in the Modern World-View.
- II. How Shall We Interpret the Holy Spirit to the Life of Today?
- III. The Christian Principle in Modern Criminology.
- IV. The Relation of the Baptist Denomination to the Universal Church.
- V. Can the Distinction between Canonical and Non-Canonical Writings Be Maintained?
- VI. Christian Experience as Testimony for Truth.

# Baptist Congress

Report of Treasurer, William B. Matteson, October  
1, 1909, to September 30, 1910

## Receipts

Balance from Last Year.....	\$ 35.95	
From General Committee.....	\$611.00	
From Annual Members .....	<u>253.00</u>	864.00
Sale of Proceedings.....		126.80
Personal Donations .....		71.00
Fountain Street Church.....	10.00	
Madison Avenue Church .....	172.00	
Central Church .....	15.00	
Red Bank Church.....	<u>10.00</u>	207.00
Collection.....	8.97	<u>\$1,277.77</u>
		\$1,313.72

## Expenses

Traveling Expenses.....	\$268.55	
Proceedings .....	613.71	
Stationery and Printing.....	135.13	
Entertainment .....	88.00	
Miscellaneous .....	<u>122.18</u>	<u>\$1,227.57</u>
Balance		\$ 86.15

Twenty-eighth Annual Session

OF THE

# Baptist Congress

HELD IN

The First Baptist Church  
Augusta, Georgia

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November 8, 9, and 10, 1910

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AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Published January, 1911

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MR. BROWN  
LABORER  
Y. 13002

Composed and Printed By  
The University of Chicago Press  
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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# BAPTIST CONGRESS

## PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

1. *The object* of the Congress is to promote a healthful sentiment among Baptists through free and courteous discussion of current questions by suitable persons.

2. *The work* of the Congress shall be subject to the control of a General Committee of one hundred members or more. The Committee shall be composed of persons who have consented to contribute five dollars or more annually toward the expenses of the Congress.

3. *The General Committee* shall elect a permanent Executive Committee of fifteen persons residing in or near the City of New York, at the meetings of which Executive Committee any member of the General Committee may be present and vote; and to this Executive Committee shall be intrusted, except as may have been already provided for by the General Committee, entire control over the public meetings—e.g., determination of the time and place, the number of days and sessions each day, selection of the presiding officer, the topics, the appointed writers and speakers, the provision for volunteer speakers, and rules of discussion. The Executive Committee shall also secure a full stenographic report of the proceedings, and funds to meet any other necessary expenses.

4. *A Secretary* shall be elected, who shall also be secretary of the Executive Committee, and of the public meetings, the expenses of whose correspondence, etc., shall be met by a tax levied by the Executive Committee upon the General Committee.

5. *The General Committee* shall meet in connection with the public meetings, and when called together by the Executive Committee.

6. *The Executive Committee* shall secure the appointment of a Local Committee in the city or town where a public meeting is to be held, which shall provide a suitable place for the Congress, entertainment for the officers and appointees of the Congress.

7. *Any member* of a Baptist Congregation may become an Annual Member of this Congress, and thus be entitled to all its privileges, and to a copy of the published proceedings, by the payment of the sum of two dollars.

## RULES OF DISCUSSION

1. *The Chairman* of the Congress shall be appointed by the Executive Committee, and on all points of order his decision shall be final.

2. *Any member* of a Baptist Congregation who, by sending his card to the Secretary, shall signify his willingness to speak on the topic under discussion, may be called upon by the Chairman.

3. *All writers* and speakers shall take the platform, address only the Chair, and confine themselves to the subject assigned for the occasion.

4. *No person* shall speak twice on the same subject.

5. *Readers of papers* shall be allowed twenty-five minutes, appointed speakers' twenty minutes, and volunteer speakers, ten minutes. The Secretary shall notify all participants by stroke of the bell three minutes before, and also at the expiration of their time, beyond which no one shall be allowed to proceed.

6. *No paper* shall be read in the absence of its writer, nor shall any paper be printed in the proceedings except it has been read at the meeting.

7. *No resolution* or motion shall be entertained at the public conferences.

† Appointed speakers must not use MS., the object of their appointment being to encourage the volunteer discussion which follows their addresses.

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FIRST DAY

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*Afternoon Session*

Tuesday, November 8, 1910

3:30 o'clock P.M.

REV. M. ASHBY JONES, D.D. (Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Augusta): *Ladies and Gentlemen*: On behalf of the Local Committee I take great pleasure in presenting Dr. S. C. Mitchell, of the South Carolina University, as the presiding officer of this Congress.

DR. MITCHELL: Will the audience please rise and we will be led in prayer by Rev. Birney S. Hudson, of Atlantic City, N.J.

REV. BIRNEY S. HUDSON: We come before Thee, O Spirit of Truth, and crave thy blessing. We seek to know thy mind and to interpret thy purpose; to reach after and apprehend Truth which is eternal. We pray that thou wilt bless us in all of our striving, in all of our reaching after the things above; and in the deliberations of this Congress, now opened for discussion of these things which are vital to the life and to the building up of thy kingdom, may we be consciously blessed. Wilt thou be in the midst of every deliberation, of every session, and that to bless. Make thyself real to us, in the experiences of our souls, and teach us of thy divine self. Lead us in all our contact with thee, whether we are seeking to know those things which satisfy our minds, or while meeting with the problems of busy lives. Teach us and bless us and use us to thy glory, in the name of Jesus who hath taught us to pray—Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy Kingdom come; thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven; give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. *Amen.*

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome is the first word on the program, and we shall now be pleased to hear from Judge Joseph R. Lamar, on behalf of the Christian community.

JUDGE J. R. LAMAR (now Associate Justice U.S. Supreme Court) then spoke as follows:

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Congress:* This is an age of conventions. They gather in every city; they assemble to represent every interest in every walk of life. They are an old story with the church. You may read the record of the first one in the Acts of the Apostles, but it is only in recent times that the world has learned the utility of having men of the same interest meet together to recount their various experiences, suggest cures for evils, and open lines of new enterprise.

Until modern times, the spirit of competition in business converted each man into an Ishmaelite, with his hand against every other man, and especially against those in the same line of business. The guilds of the Middle Ages were banded together for physical protection, but each artisan diligently kept his trade secrets, and nothing would have been regarded as more suicidal to financial interest than for those of a single business to come together and tell each the secret of his success, or ask, with the expectation of being answered, how his mistakes might be corrected and avoided.

But now, all of the various pursuits have their local and national organizations, and many even their international organizations. The trades; the professions; the secret orders; the labor unions; the merchants; the farmers, to say nothing of political parties—all have their representative bodies, meeting at stated times for the exchange of ideas. And the constant increase in number, the interest manifested, and the advantage gained from these gatherings, all attest the value of the "Council"—that ancient device of the church whereby those interested in a common cause gathered from distant regions for a discussion of their common interests.

These modern assemblies were unconsciously modeled on the foundation of the ancient gatherings which, beginning at Jerusalem in the first century, have an unbroken history of 2,000 years under the name of councils, convocations, conferences, and now congresses—each expressing the idea of coming together—the opposite of traveling, which means going forth. And while these gatherings were not helpful in the discussion

of common interests, no one can estimate how much more useful they were, in a day when traveling was difficult, in causing men from distant countries to meet, not as enemies, but as friends, and illustrating that travelers are citizens of a common country. In these gatherings, and in the meeting of the choicest spirits, not of one, but of many lands, the single journey was equal to many; and each, on his return, carried home that something which helped to break the isolation in which communities dwelt, dispelled the ignorance which each nation had of every other, and weakened, if it did not destroy, the prevailing spirit of international hostility.

Now that the means of communication have been so improved, and not the traveler, but the stay-at-home, is the noted man, we are apt to lose sight of the advantage of such assemblies. Yet a cardinal fact in the history of the church itself is the importance of meeting together. It is founded upon a law of the mind and the value of the living voice.

Even a blazing torch makes, by itself, an ineffectual fire which soon expires; but, thrown together with other torches, produces a blaze of heat and light which is equal to more than the mere sum of all the torches which create it. And in no field is the utility of these gatherings so manifest as in the arena where intellectual matters are to be considered, where doubts are to be resolved, and the truth made manifest.

We have examples in the physical world of growth by division, and we are told by the wise man that "there is that which withholdeth more than is meet, which tendeth to poverty." The products of the mind can be given and yet kept. They can be shared without diminishing. It is indeed a fact that

As one lamp lighteth another, nor grows less  
So nobleness enkindleth nobleness.

It is a beautiful truth that the giving away of ideas increases the mutual store of knowledge and wisdom.

The city of Augusta bids you welcome. We trust that you will enjoy your stay among us, that your meeting may realize your highest expectations, that you may, in the fullest measure,

attain the advantage which comes where discussion and even difference sharpen the intellect even as iron sharpeneth iron.

This Congress is supposed to deal with no light or simple problem. The reputation which you have made in the past leads us to expect that you will wade in deep waters. Fortunately for you and for us all the day is past when conventions, like Milton's host,

Reasoned high  
Of Providence, foreknowledge, Will and Fate,  
Fix'd fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute,  
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

But rather may you illustrate the fact that while "truth lies in a well," the oftener it is stirred by those who come to draw therefrom, the clearer and purer and sweeter are its waters.

We are glad to see you and we welcome you to our city, not only in the spirit of hospitality, but because we realize that the influence of a gathering like this is not confined to its own members, but stimulates thought, excites investigation, increases knowledge, and renews the interest of many outside the assembly itself.

A great body moving forward carries with it many lesser bodies, which are involuntarily—perhaps unwillingly—drawn within its powerful and beneficent current. In the account given of the storm on the lake which threatened to engulf the fishermen and their vessel, until the Master arose and stilled the tempest with a word, the evangelist, in a wonderfully suggestive sentence, says that "there were also with him other little ships," and we may picture them to ourselves following in the wake of the blessed vessel, catching the favoring breeze, and gliding over the smooth waters which they had had no part in quieting, but whose blessings and benefits they nevertheless enjoyed.

The world is full of these little ships: hospitals for the sick; homes for the poor; settlements and rescue-stations—little boats, not perhaps calling themselves after His name, but drawn unconsciously into the beneficent current which Christianity has set in motion.

May we experience a similar good as the result of your

meeting with us. May you exert an influence, even outside these walls, that shall make us realize that, like Abraham and Sarah of old, we have entertained angels unawares.

THE PRESIDENT: We shall be pleased to hear from Hon. J. C. C. Black a word of welcome on behalf of the Baptist churches of Augusta.

HON. J. C. C. BLACK: *Mr. Chairman:* This is a body, if not the only one, as I understand it, where one can speak what he feels and thinks. Indulging the freedom of speech, which is guaranteed by your organic law, I am compelled to say that I am embarrassed. Some committee, or Dr. Jones (and I gravely suspect him) has involved me in trouble. I have tried to consider scripturally the part I am to take in this meeting, and have almost come to fear that my orthopraxy will be doubted. The Scriptures tell us that we are to lay apart "the superfluity of naughtiness." We early sent you an invitation to come here as our invited guests, so that no previous engagement could prevent your acceptance. That implied that we would greet you with fraternal cordiality, would be delighted by your presence, and regret your leaving; and now for me, or anybody else, to stand up here and say "you are welcome"—I characterize it as unadulterated naughtiness of superfluity. It seems, however, it must be done in a way, so I have been asked to say that we are glad to see you.

We recall with worthy pride that we greet you on the spot where was born the Southern Baptist Convention, that great religious body, with a constituency of millions at home, and represented abroad by preachers in the churches, teachers in the schools, physicians and nurses in the hospitals, and with other Christian bodies—the army of the living God is marching on to the spiritual conquest of the nations of the world.

This is the day when we are electing congressmen all over the United States, and this suggests some contrasts between the Congress to be elected and this Congress. Will you mind my saying parenthetically that there may be some of you from the doubtful states whom we are especially glad to see? (*Laughter.*) Many of the candidates for that Congress will

wait all night for the returns. While they watch with feverish anxiety and must be tortured with varying reports—now the glittering prize is within reach, and now eluding their grasp forever—you can retire at a seasonable hour with the comforting assurance that you have already been elected, if not from the foundation of the world, yet elected. Many of them have been running for years; they have run as the hunted hare; they have panted as the hart panteth after the water brook! They can sing, "This is the way I long have sought," and after all the returns are in, continue to sing, "And mourn because I found it not." You were not candidates, even at the request of many citizens; like Saul, you had to be hunted, and were found hid away among the stuff. I have great admiration for Saul. He had to be hunted to take an office. Like Cincinnatus, you were called from the plow, where you have been at work through days, and weeks, and months, and deserve to be members of the Society of the Cincinnati. It would be a very narrow critic, with a mean spirit, who would raise the question whether he was prompted more by the love of his country or his aversion to the plow. (*Laughter.*) The presumptions are all in his favor. He stands like every man, presumed to be innocent until he is proven to be guilty, and as we lawyers would say, nothing appearing to the contrary he is entitled to acquital. We look back through the vista of the centuries that have gone and doff our hats to him, and while we regret that his tribe is mighty small, we rejoice in the fact that it has not yet become extinct, and hail you as the legitimate lineal descendants of Cincinnatus of old. There will be no one to meet that Congress at the train, and welcome them to free entertainment during the session, and no one to tender a banquet at its close. Out of the evil practices of the day, there is a suspicion of every member of that body, for he must publish how much he has spent, and for what, and whose money it was. Not so with you; while not candidates in the modern sense, you come like the old Roman Candidati, clothed in a white toga, and unsoiled. There is another fact that must afford you special delight: there is no committee on elections in this Congress; there are no contested seats. The country

will regard with apprehension, if not regret, their meeting, and may rejoice at their adjournment. The seats of many of them cost thousands of dollars, though legitimately expended, while membership in this body may be had for the paltry sum of two dollars, and three dollars more admits to the General Committee, with the chance, if you aspire to it and will move to New York or vicinity, to a place on the Executive Committee; the Committee on Rules, which determines what is to be done and where and when, and how, and by whom. That Congress is somewhat dominated by blind partisanship; what Webster called "the headlong and plunging spirit of party devotion," has some sway. Sometimes the bravest of them are not free to speak what they think, if they think at all, and fear of men rather than the fear of God is before their eyes. They deify popular opinion, which at the foot of Sinai cried for false gods and clamored for the crucifixion of the Christ. Here there is no bitter speech; no petty jealousy; no party lash; no domineering boss; no caucus tyranny; there standpatters and insurgents are in perpetual war; here, for the present at least, we will presume that all are standpatters for the truth, and insurgents against error. There are thousands of men all over the country today who would give all they have, and mortgage their future, to write M.C. after their names. You may add to the degrees conferred by colleges and universities, the D.D. and the LL.D., and the Ph.D. and the Litt.D., the higher title M.B.C.—and what that "B" stands for in the past and present and future, is more than I can tell or conceive. O, you are great and good and ought to be glad and happy.

Now, having said this much in your favor, I further indulge the liberty of speech you allow. My attention has been called to the rules of this Congress. The first that caught and startled and shocked my attention is, that the decision of the chairman on all points of order is final. That is undemocratic, un-republican, un-American, unconstitutional, and un-Baptistic; it out-Herods Herod. That is worse than Czar Reid and Boss Cannon. It has been said that the power of the speaker of the American house of Representatives has no parallel in any parliamentary body of the world. What a

shibboleth it would have been for some of the standpatters when the insurgents were making war on them, if they had known this fact: that here is a Congress of Baptists, a Congress of people, who have stood for religious and civic liberty, from the foundation of the world, and have attested their devotion to it behind prison doors, with a Congress, from the decision of whose chairman, there shall be no appeal. The Speaker of the House of Representatives sometimes, in cases of political exigency, will refuse to entertain an appeal, but I venture to say that the law of no parliamentary body in the world, except this, has such a rule written in its fundamental law. And there does not appear to be any provision for amendments to your constitution. In fairness, however, this should be said in your favor: I have looked over with great interest the proceedings of your previous assemblies, which were accessible to me, and while I did not look especially for that I have not observed that your chairman ever had anything to decide. (*Laughter.*)

You have another rule, that a member cannot speak longer than twenty minutes. None of you seem ever to have felt the agony of a man who has a speech to deliver and is not allowed to deliver it. This distress is only equaled by the man who has none to deliver and will deliver it. The difference is that one is inflicted on the speaker and the other on the audience. There are speakers who cannot start in less than ten minutes after they commence, and there are others who cannot stop within less than twenty minutes after they have finished. (*Laughter.*) But there is one thing in your favor, even as to these harsh and unfeeling rules, and that is, you give the speaker notice when he will be called down. The Secretary has to ring a bell three minutes before the time is up. That is very kind consideration. It gives him time to wing his Pegasus for a final flight, and touch the fuse that will let off his peroration with a loud, if not dazzling, explosion. (*Laughter.*) The purpose of your Congress challenges closest attention, and excites liveliest interest: "The promotion of a wholesome sentiment among Baptists" (and if it gets among them it is very apt to spread to outsiders) "through a free and courteous discussion, not of the obsolete topics of a dead past, but to current topics

of a living, throbbing present, by suitable men." Many a good thing has been spoiled by unsuitable men. Every member, though convulsed with *cacoethes loquendi*, may not speak. Your discussions are the result of intelligent, conscientious study. We not only open the doors of our minds to your presence, but we open the doors of our minds to your thoughts. I do not say that we will give them permanent lodgment, but we will not slam the door in their faces. We invite them to cross the threshold with the assurance that they will receive courteous treatment and fair consideration.

I was about to say your discussions are not confined to sacred truths, but wouldn't that be a great mistake? Isn't all truth sacred, whether it is found by the chemist in his laboratory, or the scholar in his study, or the astronomer in the heavens; whether it is sung by the music of the spheres above us, or written in the books of the rocks beneath us? Isn't all truth God's truth, and ought it not to be embraced and believed and loved and lived? We invite you to this mental hospitality because we have the abiding conviction that the truth, and especially the Christian truth, is indestructible; and this Congress, or any other Congress, nor all the congresses that ever did or ever will assemble, can destroy it. That has been tried through all the years of the world's history. It cannot be legislated, nor reasoned, nor criticized out of the world. Chains cannot bind it; prisons cannot confine it; flames cannot consume it; it has had its dark days; it has had cruel mockings and scourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment; it has been stoned; it has been sawn asunder; it has been slain with the sword; it has wandered about in sheepskins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented; it has wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and in caves of the earth. But it has subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire; turned to flight the armies of aliens. Once it was incarnated in a human person; in a man of lowly birth, born among the beasts of the manger, and crucified between thieves. The hierarchy was arrayed against him, the church and the state were arrayed against him, the Pharisees and the Sadducees, the Herodians and the

Romans were arrayed against him, and they took him and buffeted him from judgment seat to judgment seat; they mocked him and scourged him and they spit upon him. His own chosen friends abandoned him, and his enemies nailed him to a cross and pierced his side with a spear until his heart's blood was shed. Inanimate nature itself expressed its sympathy in the awful and cruel tragedy of his treatment: the sun refused to shine, the earth quaked, the rocks were rent, the graves gave up their dead. They buried him and rolled a great stone over the mouth of his sepulcher and employed sleepless soldiers to watch it. But on the third day he arose again, with the keys of hell and of death in his girdle, and the triumphant shout, "I am he that liveth and was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore."

We hope your discussions will lead you and us, all who hear and all who read the proceedings of this Congress, into a larger, fuller, clearer knowledge of the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent; for this is Life Eternal. (*Applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT: Whenever I think of Augusta—and I have had to think of it frequently since Dr. Ashby Jones became pastor of this church—whenever I think of Augusta there comes up before my mind a group of publicists. That tribe, by the way, is on the increase, not only in the South but throughout the nation: men who are not seeking office, men of trained intelligence, men of disinterested purpose, men of large conviction, keen sympathies, devoted to the public good. Now I venture to say that Augusta has about as strong a group of publicists as can be found in any city in the South. They are somewhat alike to me as I think them over individually.

It has been our pleasure this afternoon to hear two of these gentlemen, and it will be the pleasure of the Congress in later sessions to hear from others. The publicist is much in demand in the South as in the nation. Owing to peculiar conditions, especially racial conditions, in the South, we must rely more and more upon government by influence rather than by office. I believe that our friends from the North will agree that this

is coming about there also. In New York this summer a Georgian, at whose home it was my good fortune to be, was telling me of the fact that the two men then considered as Democratic candidates for the governorship were Mr. Edward M. Sheppard and Mr. Thomas M. Osborne, both of them not office seekers but publicists of the rarest order. And when we think of men like Judge Baldwin, when we think of men like Woodrow Wilson, and the part they are taking in national life, we begin to realize how important is the rôle that attaches to the publicist.

Now I am rejoiced personally, and I think that the audience is, that the Committee, in arranging the appointments of this program, should have furnished us with two such men as those to whom we have listened. I am glad, I am sure, as I am sure the entire Congress is, to be present in Augusta, in this particular church, where the Southern Baptist Convention was organized more than half a century ago. They represented ecclesiastical secession. This body represents national unity, and our hearts respond in every respect to that sentiment. I am sure, too, that I voice the sentiments of the Congress, when I say that every word spoken here will be in the spirit suggested by Lord John Russell when he said, "There is nothing so conservative as progress." That represents, I think, pretty well the attitude of this Congress. The whole of mediaevalism is summed up in one commandment, "Thou shalt not think." We are here to worship a God whose first word was, "Let there be light." We are here to continue the spirit of him who said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," and the Congress therefore represents a large tolerance. It has great faith in the capacities of man to discover the truth, to appropriate the truth, to extend the truth.

These, as I understand it, are the purposes that brought us here, and I feel that the hospitality of this city, and the hospitality of this church, welcome such a gathering, and we appreciate most highly the kind and gracious words in which it has been extended to us. I feel sure that it is your wish that every word that is uttered upon this platform shall be criticized by at least two things: candor, and the love of truth. Judge Black

laid down certain qualifications for those who speak, but I really think that these are about the only two qualifications upon which we insist. We believe that no man can honor God by dishonoring his own reason. We believe with the words of Robinson as he stood upon the deck of the ship whence these pilgrims were to sail to America, to have some part in founding a new republic, are true today, when he placed his hand upon the Bible and said, "I doubt not God hath more light to break forth from this Book." In my opinion Jesus was more distinguished by reason of his faith in man than by reason of his faith in God.

Now these, as I take it, are the purposes that this church and this community had at heart when they asked this company of men from all over the union, representing various shades of opinion in a denomination that, like every other denomination, is seeking to adjust itself to the changed social order, wisely, conservatively, even cautiously, if you please, with some sense of responsibility of the mighty interests that are involved, especially in the leadership of thought. I say this is the spirit, I am sure, in which the welcome is extended to us, in behalf of the community and the church today.

It will be our pleasure at this point to have our Secretary, who in a measure is the Congress, outline to us some of the rules governing the discussions. It is a great pleasure to introduce to you Dr. Theo. A. K. Gessler, D.D., of Landing, N.J.

THE SECRETARY then read the Rules of Discussion.

THE PRESIDENT: The first topic for discussion in the session this afternoon is, "The Place of Prayer in the Modern World-View," and the first of the two writers upon that subject is Rev. E. L. Grace, of Richmond, Va.

REV. EDWARD L. GRACE then presented the following paper:

#### THE PLACE OF PRAYER IN THE MODERN WORLD-VIEW

The impulse to pray is an instinct of the soul. The Master's injunction "that men ought always to pray and not to faint" is written in the hearts of men. The human spirit craves social

intercourse with the Father of spirits. "Thou hast made us for Thyself, O Lord, and our hearts are restless till they rest in Thee." "I would have you go and kneel beside the Moham-medan," says Fielding, "as he prays at the sunset hour, and put your heart to his and wait for the echo that will surely come; yes, surely, if you wait as a man who would learn, who can learn. I would have you go to the Hill Man smearing the stone with butter that his god may be pleased; to the woman crying to the forest god for her sick child; to the boy before his monks learning to be good. No matter where you go, no matter what the faith is called, if you have the hearing ear, if your heart is in unison with the heart of the world, you will hear always the same song far down below the noises of warring creeds, the clash of words and forms, the differences of place, of climes, of civilizations, of ideals, far down below all these lies that which you would hear."<sup>1</sup>

Truly, men of every stage of civilization have believed in the efficacy of prayer. That philosophy which has no place for prayer, in which there is nothing effected through intercourse between man and his divinity, can never rightly be called religion, nor meet the deepest needs of life. But in every age men's views as to the function and value of prayer have been conformed to their general outlook, belief, or attitude toward life—in a word, to their philosophy. It is to be expected, then, that the modern world should hold views of prayer in consonance with its general way of thinking.

We are living in an iconoclastic age. The very foundations of truth are being tested afresh. "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." Only truth is sacred; tradition and dogma must come to the touchstone and be torn to pieces if they stand not the test. Fortunate indeed will we be if we do not sacrifice much that is tremendously worth while in our hasty verdicts as to what is true and what is false. There is much to be thankful for in the fact that today the criticism of prayer is not usually in the nature of the hostile attack from without, but is being conducted by men who are often profoundly religious and whose purpose is conservant and constructive. They recognize that the

<sup>1</sup> Fielding, *The Hearts of Men*, p. 322.

prevailing doctrine is losing the confidence of the modern world, that there is a marked decline in the spirit and practice of prayer, and it is their desire to remove the inconsistencies, refine the crudities, and preserve the essential values of prayer—without which religion becomes only a moral or aesthetic sentiment.

It is not difficult to understand why in this modern age the impulse to pray is so often checked before it finds expression. Instinctive action is performed without reflection. It resembles reflex action in the certainty and promptness of its performance. As life develops in complexity the number of instincts increases and the conflict of instincts arises. This calls for an arbiter of conduct, and reason comes forward to scrutinize impulses, select among them, inhibit undesirable ones, and thus regulate action. Instincts that are habitually suppressed tend to decay. As in the case of other instincts the impulse to pray is brought before the tribunal of reason and our attitude toward prayer will be regulated by its verdict.

Does reason justify prayer? The modern mind is very cautious in its answer. The evidence is not all in and the final verdict must be withheld. Indeed, some phases of our rich and complex life scarcely have been touched as yet in the search for an answer to this question. Speaking broadly, however, the modern world has unquestionably suffered considerable loss of faith in the efficacy of prayer.

The discovery of the reign of law in nature has disturbed faith in the efficacy of prayer for material blessings. Primitive man recognized movement as a result of his activity. He observed that his fellow-men possessed similar powers. He readily inferred that all movement was the result of some will. He put a spirit in things. The co-operation of persons in the accomplishment of tasks naturally suggested the wider co-operation of the less familiar spirits with man. His own will and that of his fellows appeared capricious and he believed that the powers of nature were equally so. They needed to be coaxed, placated, bought over, to obtain their good-will and assistance. Prayer and offerings were the natural means employed in this converse with the spirit world. There has been a disposition on the part of modern man to cast out the spirit. In proportion as phenomena

are seen to be marked by regularity and uniformity, to be free from what might be considered whim and caprice, to be consistent and dependable, there is always a process of depersonalization. This tendency is almost inevitable, even when dealing with our fellow-men. When we make definite, regular use of persons, and always succeed in thus using them at will, they cease to be "persons" for us and fall into the class of "things." Only when there is insubordination, the assertion of a perverse will, can we be brought to treat them again as persons.

Thus in the world of nature a line of division began to form. Slowly but surely the realm of the impersonal was enlarged until it became evident that all phenomena of the physical world fell under the reign of natural law. The man of scientific training and temperament no longer questions that in the world of matter all phenomena are capable of being traced to and adequately accounted for by material causes. Given the material world, with its forces and laws, men of this way of thinking no longer require a God. Thus the Creator becomes merely an absent lord who has taken his journey into a far country, leaving his servants to administer the affairs of his kingdom. From this point of view, answer to prayer involves the return of the absent lord, the upsetting of the regular, orderly processes of nature, the breaking of the chain of causation, the injection of the so-called miraculous. Does this happen? The true scientist will not be a dogmatist on such questions. With him it is simply a question of evidence. But frankly, he does not expect such interference. So strong is his faith in the consistency and uniformity of nature's processes he is driven to search for the physical antecedent when the result is not in accord with his previous experience. For him the rising cloud is the natural sequent of previously existing meteorological conditions, and is not referable to any interposition of providence.

There is another school of modern thought, however, which refuses to depersonalize nature. The God who sits on the far-off circle of the heavens is giving place to the immanent God. Men are now saying. "God's in his heaven," "and God's in his world"—"all's right with the world." He does not need to project himself into his world at times of special crisis—he is

already here. The natural order is the expression of his immediate will. The uniformity of nature's laws is not a uniformity apart from and at times antagonistic to him—it is his uniformity. It is not a question as to whether God can answer prayer but a question as to how he answers it. And the reply would appear to be that he answers prayer through and by means of this uniformity. The lily of the field is given by the Master as an instance of divine providence. God clothes it with radiant beauty that outrivals the glory of a king. But it is rooted in the nourishing soil, drinks the dews of heaven, breathes the earth's atmosphere, and is kissed into color by the sun. God answers its cry for life through nature's uniformity. The sparrow's flight, like that of his new brother, the modern aviator, is possible only through adjustment to and conformity with aerial laws, and violation of these laws, in the case of either, goes before a fall.

Thus it is true that every earnest inquiry for truth becomes a search after God. Pasteur in his laboratory, Geike with the geologist's hammer. Helmholtz with the lens, Newton with the falling apple, Darwin aboard the "Beagle"—these and all kindred spirits have been priests and prophets of God. Too often have such men been narrow in their outlook, skeptical of revelations outside their chosen fields, partial in their grasp of truth, weak in many forms of conduct, but they have been untiring in their devotion to research and unflinching in their loyalty to truth as they apprehended it. Were not they putting to the test our Lord's promises: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you"? The farmer who plants the seed, cultivates the crop with diligence, and harvests it in due time, thus displaying faith in the Lord of the seed, of the soil, and of the harvest will prove to be the successful farmer; while he who neglects these forms of approach will find that he has asked and has not received because he asked amiss. Oral petition for material benefits does not appear to be the effective form of approach. If we would ask for blessings in accordance with his will, should we not use due diligence to ascertain how we should inquire of God?

From this point of view we need not overlook the probability of sometimes receiving blessings which appear to come in miracu-

lous fashion. We are but at the threshold of knowledge about the physical world. With all the boasted achievements of the age it is admitted that we have touched only the fringe of the garment in which God is veiled. The miracles of any age are to be considered as phenomena which baffle rational explanation. In this more sophisticated age we have lost somewhat of the fresh-eyed wonder. We may still see in them the hand of God, but now we hope, sooner or later, to trace the sequent rhythm and understand how such things come to be. We believe that in these phenomena too the uniformity of God's workings will be revealed. Nor is the reverent soul of our modern man more likely to ensnare God in the mesh of law than was the old-time theologian to limit him by those immutable attributes whose violation involved the destruction of the godhead.

Is there any place left under such a view for special providence? Not in the sense that God has special favorites toward whom he manifests capricious partiality. But the current biological theories of development are rooted in a doctrine of providence. A quotation from Professor J. M. Baldwin will indicate the drift of this statement: "Our organism begins with a susceptibility to certain organic stimulations, such as food, oxygen, etc.; these when present give pleasure; the pleasure is, physiologically considered, a heightened vitality in the central nuclear processes; this heightened, central vitality issues in a motor excess discharge; from the resulting abundant and varied movements of this excess discharge those are selected which bring more of these vital stimulations again; and these finally keep up the vitality of the organism, and by the repeated excess movements provide for constantly progressive adaptations."<sup>2</sup> Are not the blessings of providence promised to those who wait on the Lord, who seek his face, who abide in him, and who keep his laws? Confining our views for the present to blessings of a material order, is not the biological doctrine of the heightened life, through interaction between the organism and its environment, suggestive of wide possibilities for a religious interpretation of providence in accord with law? In the realm of the physical the man after God's own heart, the recipient of his bounty, is

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Baldwin, *Mental Development*, p. 180.

the one who cries, "Give me understanding and I shall keep thy law." Thus the line of cleavage in worldly fortune, which we are unable to determine on a basis of oral petition, appears almost unmistakable when we examine this form of prayer in men's approach to God. Let us then insist that, for us, God shall not be eliminated from his world in proportion as we understand the forms of his activity. Let us also bear in mind that religion is not to be judged solely by the acceptance or rejection of some partial expression of faith in the creed of a church. "If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me," is a fundamental truth in scientific investigation; but where honest, earnest men engage in search for truth—for God—he will be found of them that seek him.

If we are driven to give up God in the physical realm, because we believe it is impossible to understand the forms under which he works, may we not have to deny his presence eventually in the realm of the soul? The science of mind has been much slower in its development, for the laws of mental phenomena are not so easily discovered. Long after men were ready to give up their belief in the likelihood of interference with the physical laws of the universe in answer to verbal petition, they felt that in the realm of the mind there was absolute freedom. Here God could work without any regard to law. But psychology is gaining the right to be called a science. In the psychical field we are now told there is no uncaused event. If there be such a thing as mind apart from neural processes it is said to be absolutely dependent on such. It can receive nothing from the outside world except through the channels of sense and can communicate with the world only by means of motor nerves. Beyond the field of consciousness, as it exists at any given moment, in that extra-marginal realm, there are reservoirs of memories, thoughts, emotions, which are the deposits of previous experience. These stores are tapped in the ordinary processes of thought and furnish richness and complexity to our mental life. In that field also there is unconscious mentation, the products of which often erupt into consciousness with startling effect. But there is abundant reason to believe that all these phenomena are regulated by psychic laws.

If it be true that across the outer border of this extra-marginal field mind can commune with mind, without the normal operation of the recognized sense organs, it is reasonable to suppose that in such operation of a mental "wireless" there is none the less a definite, orderly process in accordance with undiscovered laws of thought. Certainly such messages are caught up and harnessed before they emerge into the field of consciousness. It has been suggested that in some such way God communicates himself to the soul of man in prophetic vision, holy raptures, and spiritual communion. If that be granted it is still probable that in such communication and communion the miraculous here, as elsewhere, is to be understood as phenomena which as yet baffles rational explanation, but not essentially incapable of such. It need not be supposed that these laws are not as definite and as uniform in their operation as any other laws in either the psychical or the physical realm. Certainly when these phenomena become part of our consciousness they are as capable of explanation as other mental experiences. Here, even more than in the physical, we are as yet on the threshold of scientific knowledge; but illuminating researches have already been made in the psychology of religion. There have been successful studies of the psychology of prayer, and it is not claiming too much to assert that the "subjective" benefits obtained in prayer are capable of being explained by well-known psychological principles. Let us insist that we are not required to eliminate God from mental life merely because we are beginning to understand the forms of his activity. It were as reasonable to deny personality to man, and view him as a wonderful bit of mechanism, because we have found it possible to formulate more or less successfully a science of mind, as to declare that God has no part in the life of the soul. "Nearer is he than breathing, closer than hands and feet," "For in him we live and move and have our being." "It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure."

There is much interest today in the question of prayer for the sick. The practice of medicine and of surgery have made vast strides in recent years. These improvements have been reached through careful scientific investigations. Men who have

sought truth—asked of God—in the clinic, the laboratory, the dissecting-room, have brought back his answers, to the saving of life. This form of approach has been abundantly honored of God. We do not expect to change the pharmacist's compound or to alter the physiological effect of drugs by prayer. Nor do we expect the unskilful operation of a bungling surgeon to be changed in character by prayer. These things lie in the physical realm, where oral petition does not seem the best approach to God for benefits. On the other hand there are many nervous diseases where the trouble is functional and not organic. It has been found also that many physical maladies have their origin in mental states. Often the mental states, which so seriously affect health, lie in the subconscious life. Usually in such cases drugs are ineffectual and surgery is malpractice. It has been found, however, that these may often be cured by suggestion. Scientific psychotherapy is finding increasing favor with the medical profession.

Hypnotism, Christian Science, New Thought, the Emmanuel Movement, faith cure, mental healing, and other such more or less scientific practices have blazed the trail. With the introduction of scientific methods of investigation and application there is every reason to believe that the future will witness remarkable achievements in the new field. Unskilled hands may strike chance chords on the perfect instrument which will suggest the wealth of harmonious sounds that may be evoked by the skilful touch of the trained musician. May not these crude efforts be a prophecy of how the prayer of faith shall save the sick? Why should not the church ally itself with the best science and claim this right to heal in the faith of God? Surely God is in these partial triumphs of the cruder methods, for we cannot suppose that the Heavenly Father is so jealous of a name as to withhold his answer to those who reach lame hands of faith to him, however dumb their faith may be in formal creeds. But the history of a developing religion shows that the richer revelation of himself and the fuller enduement with power are the rewards given to those who find the secret of his presence and who do his will more perfectly.

Religion should pervade all life. Whenever we reach out

after God, lay hold of him, cling to him who is the source of all life, whether the salvation we seek be physical or spiritual, we engage in a religious act. Prayer is thus the very soul and essence of religion. The impulse to pray is our divine warrant for prayer. The way in which we lay hold of him will be determined by the character of our needs and our idea of the best way to realize their satisfaction. Verbal petition from this point of view is only one form of prayer. But since "thinking is in its very nature a conversation, dependent on language symbols," the familiar vocabulary of prayer is usually a fitting part of almost every form of approach. But this view requires us to enlarge our conception of prayer; to remember that to labor is also to pray. The spirit of prayer will thus inform all of life, the theory of prayer will become reasoned knowledge, the understanding of prayer will enrol it among the sciences, and the practice of prayer will become an art. The modern world would thus have its peculiar view as to the function and value of prayer, but the result should be a realization in our life of the injunction to "pray without ceasing."

THE PRESIDENT: The second writer upon this topic is Rev. George H. Ferris, D.D., of Philadelphia.

REV. GEORGE H. FERRIS, D.D., then read as follows:

#### THE PLACE OF PRAYER IN THE MODERN WORLD-VIEW

There is no denying the fact that we have happened upon a time when many educated men find it hard to pray. This condition seems to arise from two totally divergent causes. One results from the triumphs of knowledge; the other is due to its bankruptcy. One leads to the spirit of the gnostic; the other to the spirit of the agnostic. One rejoices in the departure of all belief in the supernatural; the other is made dumb by the widening of the natural beyond the utmost bounds of imagination. Either of these attitudes is inimical to that effort to enter into communion with the Divine Being, which gives birth to the act of prayer.

We continually happen upon something that reminds us of

the change that has come over the thought of man in modern times in the matter of prayer. I stood, a few years ago, by the little chapel near the Schwartzsee, above Zermatt, in Switzerland. Once prayer was made in this place, that the mountain spirits might be kept from making inroads on the haunts of men. Now the chapel is just a suggestive little relic of a vanished world, whose superstitions have left their broken shells on our shores. The dragons of the Alpine glaciers have disappeared before the inroads of personally conducted tours. With the change has come a spirit of sophistication, of experience with the vanity of wild fears, of confidence in a mechanical explanation of all mystery, that makes prayer an increasingly difficult exercise.

It may have been an easy thing for that ancient poet to pray, who cried out in wonder: "He hangeth the earth upon nothing." The modern man understands all about the matter. He knows that it is merely because "every body attracts every other body with a force that varies inversely as the square of the distance, and directly as the mass." The writer of the 104th Psalm could cry: "My meditation of him shall be sweet," because the writer of the 104th Psalm believed in a God "who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters; who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind." But to an age that realizes that these "beams" are simply "Jurassic sandstone," and that keeps such a careful record of clouds and winds in its Weather Bureau stations, worship is a much more difficult matter. That age has another theory of causality. It does not see "Leviathans" in the ocean, but makes maps of currents and soundings. It does not cry of the waters, "At thy rebuke they fled," but predicts the hour of the tides. So there has arisen a contemptuous attitude toward all forms of religious worship. They are treated as relics of a time of superstition. They are illusions of the child-spirit of the race. They belong to an age that saw something supernatural in the mountain flood, the flight of the bird, the voice of the tempest, and the creatures of the wilderness: Our age does not believe "Behemoth." The "unicorn" is a stuffed specimen, to be seen in any of our museums. It is very natural that with the vanishing of the

sense of the mysterious, there should disappear the habit of prayer.

Despite all this we must not conclude that the sense of wonder has departed from the modern mind. Never was there a time when thought was more appalled in the presence of the great Totality, of which man is but a part. Milton pictured his rebel archangel falling from one end of the universe to the other, and the journey took him "nine times the space that measures day and night." The modern man confronts the universe with a "light-year" as a unit of measurement. He takes something that travels 186,000 miles per second, and then tries to estimate the number of years necessary for it to make a certain trip. One astronomer says that if we were to take the finest spider thread, which is so light that a single pound of it would be long enough to reach around the earth, and try to stretch it to the nearest star, we would have to be supplied with 500,000 tons. The same situation is presented to us by geology, in the widening of the category of time. The figures "4004 B.C." are no longer to be seen on the margin of our Bibles. We are now staggered by speculations as to the number of millions of years in azoic ages, and tertiary and secondary periods. We are told of a kind of slate, existing in vast beds, that were built up by infusoria, a single cubic inch of which contains over a billion of millions of shells. In the presence of such facts we can scarcely fail to find a little sympathy with the man who finds it hard to talk with God, "as a man talketh with his friend." His thought cannot carry him so far. The wing of his imagination wearies. He drops into that form of mental exhaustion which bears the name of "agnosticism."

This is the situation. No man will pray to a great "Perhaps." No man will pray to a depersonalized, immanent Force. Whether religion arose in ancestor-worship, or whether it was "animistic" in origin, matters but little in a discussion of the place of prayer in human experience. A man's god may be the head of his tribe, or the spirit that resides in the sun, or the awe-inspiring energy that dwells in a tree or a stone. In any case it is an objective, personal Power, set over against his own personality. No form of address is possible to this Power that

does not have back of it a sincere conviction of the reality of such an Existence. A fundamental principle can be laid down in the words: "He that cometh to God must believe that he is." The modern man is a little hazy on this point. He finds it easier to explain the facts presented to him by his observation of the universe, and by his reflection on his own experience, from the hypothesis of an immanent Power. But prayer is not an explanation, and just how he can address such a Power is a question. Does the concept of immanence admit of anything but mystical ecstasy, unexpressed and unformulated? When we speak we objectify the one to whom we speak. Psychology brings us to the margin of a great subliminal Influence in our own souls, but it does not leave us in the attitude of devotion. How can we address a resident Influence in our own souls, whose power and workings we are unable clearly to distinguish from our own nature raised to its highest level? Such an act would be very much like using a mirror for an altar-piece. Right here is the heart of the difficulty.

Right here is also the turning-point. The root of the difficulty is due to the effort to form a mental picture of God. We are like the monk who renounced the heresy of anthropomorphism, and then found that he could not pray. "Is God a person?" we ask. Why not? "Personality implies limitation," is the answer. Personality as an individual entity does imply limitation, but personality as a relationship carries with it no such implication. We are victims of our quantitative standards. To the great All we can do no more than apply those conceptions that are highest in our own experience, allowing for such changes and explanations as may arise from the imperfection of our knowledge. One of the highest of these conceptions is unquestionably that of personality, and to think of God at all will therefore be to think of him as a person.

The modern world-view has not escaped the old dilemma. Someone has said that human thinking has never been able to find a place for both man and God in the universe. Two fundamental facts confront the man who would systematize his thinking; first, that he is himself an individual, and second, that he maintains some sort of a relation to the whole. That relation

is not one of such absolute identity as to destroy his personality, nor can he bring himself to believe that what is so essential to him is valueless to God. So he admits the inconsistency. He confesses that thought has not attained its goal. He finds the act of dependence just as necessary as the act of thinking. This dependence manifests itself in a communion, an interchange, a relating of his desires and aspirations to the universal Spirit. This is prayer. We might as well ask, "Why should we eat?" or "Why should we breathe?" or "Why should we think?" as to ask "Why should we pray?" The act itself is elemental.

Whatever science may say as to the nature of the All, the need that gives rise to prayer remains. It is as fundamental as the need that gives rise to science. That there is some Power, not ourselves, that acts upon our souls, is evident. To liberate this Power in our lives, to make it operative through our actions, is a supreme necessity of our existence. Any effort to attain such an end will inevitably result in prayer. We will pray, not that we may have our own desires gratified, but that the desires of God may have free course through us. We will pray, not that the purposes of Providence may be altered to suit our wants, but that our longings may be changed to suit God's purposes.

There is one kind of prayer that has become impossible. The modern man does not try to bend the will of the Almighty into conformity with his own desires, or his individual wants. The awfulness of universal law rests too heavily upon him. Tennyson has put the case with terrible and pathetic truthfulness:

O mother, praying God will save  
 Thy sailor,—while thy head is bow'd,  
 His heavy-shotted hammock-shroud  
 Drops in his vast and wandering grave.

We face the fact with dreadful and irresistible submission that no prayer will change the movements of universal order. The modern man is almost ready to adopt the position of Peter Annet, one of the most radical of the Deists, who declared that praying men are like sailors who have cast anchor on a rock,

and who imagine they are pulling the rock to themselves, when they are really pulling themselves to the rock.

Let us accept the figure. Is there no need of pulling ourselves to the rock? Must we abandon prayer, if we cannot change God? Does the human conscience never need freshening? Is there no demand that our life be brought into a divine captivity? Surely prayer is just as necessary in a stable universe, as in one that is governed by caprice. Men need to fling off the fetters of self, to break loose from the heavy hand of custom, to make their wills the servants of wider sympathies, and to escape the downward drag of things, just as much in that sort of a universe, as in the one believed in by our fathers. From the plea of the savage that the gods may destroy his enemies, to the cry of a moonlit form in the garden, "Thy will, not mine, be done!" is a long journey. Some day we will realize that the journey is not away from prayer, but toward it.

If this be our conception of prayer, there is not a side of our nature to which it does not appeal. Take the claims of the intellect that sometimes are accused of being hostile to the spirit of devotion. Science itself cannot have an ideal, beyond the mere tabulation of facts, that does not verge on the act of prayer. When Huxley declared that the task of the scientist is the pursuit of truth "over the illimitable ocean of the Unknown," he gave an excellent definition. The man who believes such a pursuit in vain will abandon it. The man who persists in it thereby expresses his belief in an Unknown, not only beyond his own knowledge, but beyond all the accumulated wisdom of all the ages of thought. He cries: "O thou Unknown! take my toil, my earnest endeavor, my patient discoveries, and make them count for that Truth, which thou art!" To refuse to say this with the lips, when his whole life is an expression of it, when it is the motive of his investigations and the vision of his heart, is for the scientist to fall below the level of his better self.

So the mind's search for reality verges on prayer. The central and governing motive in that pursuit is the desire to get away from all that is erroneous, to escape the limitations of partial and imperfect conceptions, and to enter into the life of true being. When this desire expresses itself in the form of

words, it is prayer. Thereby we bring to expression the impulse of expansion, the struggle toward liberation, that would carry the mind beyond itself into union with the All. Why should we hesitate to bring to the lips that which every honest truth-seeker feels in his heart? We would not seek truth if we did not believe that such a thing exists. We become religious when we utter that conviction in the form of an open confession, and call that reality, whose existence we have already posited in action, by the name of God. In this there is no inconsistency or unjustifiable assumption. We have already, by the very nature of thought, posited a relation between our thinking and something beyond ourselves. So the spirit by which the ignorant man gets away from his superstitions is the same as that by which the great savant arrives at his discoveries. It is the spirit of prayer. It says: "O Truth, thy way, not mine, be done!"

The same holds true of morals. There has arisen an objection to prayer from the pragmatic spirit of our age. Its method of reasoning grows more and more familiar. "Why pray for relief from uncongenial tasks?" it says. "If we take hold of them with resolution and fidelity we may find them becoming more interesting and beautiful. Why pray for freedom from the limitations of poverty? It is much better to grapple with conditions that forge the chains of injustice and pauperism. Why pray for mitigation of pain or sickness? It is far more sensible to take exercise and have a care to our diet. "The fact is," we are told, "that nearly everything we pray for can be obtained better if we spend the time in activity, rather than in devotion."

With all that is helpful in this matter-of-fact philosophy, there is in it an essential weakness. It ignores the value of prayer in setting before us the ideal. We pray, "Thy kingdom come!" and then strive for better social conditions. We pray, "Give us this day our daily bread!" and then go to our work with higher courage and resolution. The prayer is simply an expression of the ideal, and a recognition of our dependence on the divine Power in its realization. It keeps before us the thought that we are "workers together with God." It saves us again and again from surrender, through the consciousness

that we are acting in unison with purposes that cannot be defeated, and are striving for aims that belong to the Eternal.

"Men," said Goethe, "are only creative in poetry and art as long as they are religious." He might have added *morals*. To keep before the mind an ideal picture is of the utmost importance in every act of moral assent. We carry into the dust and strains of the common life what we have seen on the heights. Every act of disinterested devotion, every dedication to a great principle, every recognition of the power of justice, every manifestation of the spirit of honor is an effort to bring our life into alignment with something beyond itself. It is the act, of which prayer is the verbal expression. When we pray we set these things before ourselves as the goal of aspiration. We put into words what we long to realize in experience. We seek the elevation of spirit, without which they are impossible. So prayer is closely related to every moral achievement. It is a constructive act of the soul, by which the moral life is presented to us in its ideal aspects.

The modern world-view has not altered in the least the need of this kind of prayer. Who can face the life of our day, and not ask grave questions about the spirit of reverence and devotion? The things of the world are ever before our consciousness. The sense of the unseen seems to be vanishing from us. The majesty and meaning of existence, the realization of something beyond our earthly life, appear to be departing from our thought. The contemplative spirit is in ill repute. It cannot live in our atmosphere of self-confidence and common-sense. It is jostled off the stage by our bustling activity. We have but to come into contact with the life of one of our great cities to see how utterly distasteful to the modern man is silence. To meditate, to brood, to let ideas ripen, to bring impulses into contact with great purposes and enduring patterns is painful to him. His mind cannot endure to be alone with itself. His life tends to become thoroughly externalized. The pressure of activities in a teeming civilization is so great that meditation and reverence are in danger of becoming lost arts.

What can save us from this but a revival of prayer? While the spirit of investigation is demanding so loudly to know *that*

*which is*, what will lead us to *that which ought to be*? While knowledge is coldly demanding that we see the *actual*, what will point us to the *possible*? A vision of truth, in its most comprehensive and generalized form, must come to us, and take possession of the particular and the petty. Amid all the unrest and distractions of life the soul must find repose. Influenced on so many sides, drawn in so many directions, swept by numberless changing impulses, it must somehow keep that inner harmony which gives it control of itself. Unless this happens we will suffer mental dissolution, we will lose our contact with the entirety of life, all meaning and purpose will depart from it, and we will begin to live for the moment. The only thing that will save us from this fate is some vision of life's destiny, some contact with a higher hope, some feeling of a creative life streaming in upon our life from the realm of changeless values. This has ever been the gift of prayer. No other way of attaining this end has ever been found. It is not too much to say that if ever it departs from our civilization, with it will go ideals that uphold honor in business, respect for law, love of old institutions, loyalty to great principles, and many other things that are the bonds of social order, and the goals of human endeavor.

Despite the great change that has come over our thought in modern times, the place of prayer is as great as ever. Indeed, it fills a much larger place than formerly. It is an experience of fellowship with the source of our being. It is a vehicle of thoughts and purposes and longings that are too vast, too spiritual, too tender to find expression in any other way. It is an escape from the finite and hurrying world, with its prosaic tasks and its burdened hours. It is a way of putting poetry into our aims and desires. It is a cry of penitence, an expression of hope, a plea of need, a sigh of care, or an utterance of thanksgiving. It is a reaching out of hands of helplessness, in the belief that a Power other than our own can be brought into life's problem. It is a discipline of our emotions, an effort to sink selfish interests in the wide purposes of a larger Being. All these it is, and many things beside.

The modern man realizes, as did the man of old, that we lead a very restricted life. Our thinking is done under very

serious limitations. Our acts are broken efforts, scattered fragments of energy, put forth here and there. We need nothing so much as that memorable hour when a meaning is flung in upon the discrete facts leading to a larger truth; or when a pure glance at the ideal life unifies and transfigures our tasks. In that hour we see. The cloud breaks for one immortal moment. What if it does close up again? In that moment light has come from above.

The modern man realizes, as did the man of old, that no problem is more important than that of life's meaning and object. To let the thought of our place in the universe disappear utterly is the most dangerous thing we can do. When we do that we lead a purely vegetative or animal existence. We sink our higher emotions in the behests and desires of appetite. It may be that this problem is the most difficult that presents itself to our thought. It may be that a final and infallible solution of it is an impossibility. Still, some conception of why we are here, of what we are doing, of whither we are bound, we must have. That conception, belonging as it does to the realm of the ideal, will ever be the gift of some exalted state, of some glorious moment of vision. In a word, it will be a product of prayer.

This, then, is our conclusion. The modern world-view has only enlarged the place of prayer. Without it life lacks background and sky. It sinks into the material things which it handles. The mechanism and routine of a succession of tasks claim it. That there is any higher meaning to what we do, or any spiritual destiny beyond our immediate efforts, never occurs to us. We must succeed now. We must bow to conventions. We must accept conditions. From this relentless drag of compromise and ease, this claim of the cogs and wheels of custom and habit, we can only be saved by a powerful spiritual influence, that serves as a counteracting agent. We must have something to make life lyrical. We must have a ringing appeal from the heights of moral elevation. The universal experience of mankind teaches that these are the peculiar and especial gifts of prayer.

To be sure no act of life has been more abused. Gross superstitions have mingled with its practices. Vindictive pas-

sions have found their way in among the high aspirations and noble impulses. Ecclesiasticism has turned it into merchandise. A foolish faith has treated it as a sort of a divine Charity Board, to give outdoor relief to lazy applicants. But, despite all this, the fact remains that it is the one great power for lifting life above that which is sordid, and surrounding it with the glow of the eternal. Until some substitute has been found, some better way of filling our acts with immortal significance, some nobler method of keeping us true to the pattern made in the skies, we must continue to pray.

THE PRESIDENT: Of the appointed speakers upon this topic, the first is Rev. Rufus P. Johnston, D.D., of New York City.

DR. JOHNSON: *Mr. President:* I am sure you share with me the deep sense of regret at the absence of Dr. Randall who has been chosen to speak upon this topic. In a moment of exuberant generosity, I consented to take his place. My rashness brings my present embarrassment. For what can I add to the discussion after these two brilliant papers? Possibly we may bring the discussion to a little lower level and consider the question in a little more practical light. The writers of the papers are theologians, philosophers, poets, and they have ranged along high and noble levels; but unfortunately those of us in the low grounds have to face practical and concrete difficulties when we pray and when we urge others to pray.

It is a matter of fact that prayer in some form has been a universal practice. Therefore we must look for its primary impulse in some fundamental need of the soul. I say prayer *has been* a universal practice. As to whether or not the need of which it has been the age-long expression has been or can be met by other means in this modern world is another question. In my judgment there is still a large place for it.

In its highest reaches prayer has been the expression of the noblest activities of the mind and heart and will of man. But in the last analysis it has been intensely practical. It always has an end in view. And though the ends may vary in different prayers, prayer itself is a means to an end. It is an effort put forth to produce a result, or to give expression to a state of

feeling produced by results. Prayer for prayer's sake has never been inculcated or practiced.

Now, the question is, What place has prayer in the modern world-view? Is there any end to which it may contribute? Can it still be a cause working toward desired results? Or has the progress of knowledge as to the forces and processes of the world rendered prayer useless and obsolete? Have we found other methods of satisfying the deep instincts of the heart and of meeting its yearning needs? Have we attained unto other and more effective ways of achieving the aid which once came to us as a result of prayer? Or have we learned so much of the universe as to see that there is no aid outside ourselves, no one to look to and yearn for, and therefore no place for prayer?

This much, I think, we will all acknowledge, that our prayers are conditioned by our world-view. If we pray in the darkness of our ignorance, we also pray in the light of our knowledge. As knowledge increases our prayers will undergo modifications. For this reason a man with a modern world-view cannot continue to pray some of the prayers of the long ago. I dare say that most of us retain old forms and phrases in prayer long after they have ceased to have a vital content. They no longer conform to our philosophy or idea of prayer. We are creatures of habit, but we know when we stop to think that in using these forms we are not praying.

The modern man's view of the world-order, his conception of nature and of God's relation to it, his idea of God, his ethical and spiritual ideals, his view of man's nature; in short, all that is comprehended in the term world-view conditions his praying. He would do violence to his intelligence, to his ethical conception of God and himself—to the very highest fruits of the spirit of Christianity, did he seek to pray some of the prayers which in other ages were uttered very earnestly and ardently. For instance, a man with a modern scientific world-view would not sit on the brink of a river and pray for an ax to come to the surface; he would not pray for the shadow to turn back upon the face of the sundial; he would not pray for the sun to stand still; he would not pray that the great dragon might not swallow the sun and that an eclipse might pass. The modern world has

outgrown the possibility of such prayers. Nor would a man with the modern ethical world-view utter ejaculations of delight at the thought of being permitted to take the children of his enemies by the heels and dash them against the rocks. The truth is, there are many prayers, even in the Old Testament, that a modern man could not pray and at the same time be true to himself and God.

It seems to me there are three factors in this question: God, the world-order scientifically apprehended, and man. The query is, What place has prayer in the relations and inter-relations of these factors?

In the modern world-view God is related to the world-order. The forces of nature are operating in conformity to laws which are the expressions of his will and power. So far as our experience goes these laws operate uniformly and, so far as we can apply tests, they operate universally. Like elements have like qualities. Like causes produce like effects. The winds blow, the rains fall, harvests ripen, worlds revolve according to these forces and laws of the natural world. But these forces and laws are God's forces and laws, the expression and method of his immanent presence and ceaseless intelligence and will. They are divine processes for producing certain results and, so far as we can see, these results are produced in no other way. In the wisdom of God this seems to be the best method. And I repeat, that so far as we can see it is the only method. That is not to say that God could not do otherwise; it is only to contend that he does not do otherwise. Doubtless God might send rain out of a crystal sky, but doubtless God never did. "Hath the rain a father?" asked the old writer. Is it an orphan in the universe? Yes, the rain has a father; but it was born in legal wedlock; it is the legitimate child of God born of natural laws and forces.

God is law say the wise.  
 On then, and let us rejoice;  
 For is he thunder by law,  
 The thunder is still his voice.

The natural world-order is but the method of God's working.  
 It is the mode by which he achieves his end in certain provinces

of his universe. Men do not gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles because this is not God's manner of producing them. Neither do they gather grapes when there are no vines and figs where there are no trees for the same reason. If prayer, then, has any relation to grape and fig, it must take the vine and tree into account.

In the next place, *man is related* to the world-order. On one side, at least, he is the product of it. He lives in it, by means of it, because of it. Its uniformity is the sole ground of his security, and the indispensable condition of his progress. He lives wholesomely, progressively, enlargingly, just in proportion as he intelligently understands and adjusts himself to the uniform processes of nature. His science, inventions, arts, and mechanics are valuable and possible only because nature is reliable in its operations. Prayer does not cause the force of gravity to operate. Does he need to pray that steam will expand, that fire will burn, or that an object of certain specific gravity will float in water? Does his praying make the sun to shine or the grass to grow or the tree to put forth leaves? On the other hand, knowing the nature and processes of these things, can he really pray that they will cease to operate? Is prayer an instrument of control or direction in this realm?

I am perfectly frank to say that if I sustained no other relation than that to the physical world-order there would be for me a very small place for prayer. I should then seek to cultivate an attitude of gratitude toward God that he had made Nature's forces and laws to move so reliably, uniformly, and fruitfully, and should only ask for wisdom to enable me to discover their nature and processes in order that I might more intelligently conform to and utilize them. The sun would shine, the rains fall, the flowers bloom, the birds sing, and seed-time and harvest would come whether I prayed or not. My chief relation to Nature would be to study her, to know her methods, and work with her. If I were wise I should not want her laws changed, and if I were foolish enough to ask for their suspension, still God is wiser than I and the laws would continue to operate.

But there is another point of contact between man and God than that which is furnished by the physical world-order—God

has not exhausted himself in the material universe and man has another sphere of being than the flesh. God and man are personalities. And there is a relation of mind and heart and will—a commerce of person which transcends the physical realm. It is here that

Spirit with spirit can meet  
For closer is he than breathing  
And nearer than hands or feet.

Granted, that it is a realm of law and not of whimsical arbitrariness. Yet God in response to the laws of his own being stoops to lift into fellowship with himself the yearning soul made in his own image. Here where God and man meet, here where spirit bears witness with spirit, here where mind responds to mind and heart beats to heart, and will bows to will, here above the rush of matter and the wreck of worlds is the commanding place of prayer in the modern world-view. The discovery is not new. The instincts of man in all ages have led him into this holy realm. All the great prayers, those high pleas which voice the cry of the universal human heart, moved along these lofty levels. And if modern science has driven out of the lowlands of materialism and compelled us to take refuge in these transcendent spiritual heights, I, for one, say, Thank God for modern science.

If then, this is the place, what is the function and purpose of prayer? Here I am sure is need of a reverent revision of many current conceptions. Certainly prayer is not a device to relieve us of toil and watchfulness. It is not an instrument of divine forging, placed in the hands of ignorance and selfishness. It is not a method of escaping responsibility and obligation. It is not a coin by which we can pay the penalty of transgression. It is not a means by which we can make up for lack of morality, integrity, and character. Neither is prayer a device for overcoming God's reluctance and inducing him to do what he does not wish to do—an indirect way of getting ourselves on the throne. Excuse me, Brethren, but we have some phrases which, in my judgment, are the quintessence of irreverence. I hear men talk of "bombarding the Throne of Grace," of holding on to a request with such pertinacious tenacity as to compel

God to yield. A false interpretation of the parables of the "Unjust Judge" and the "Sleepy Neighbor" has seemed to commit Christ to the idea of thus overcoming God's reluctance, while exactly the opposite idea was in his mind.

The purpose of prayer is not to change God, but to bring ourselves into harmony with him. Its end is that he may work through us and we may work with him. It is the supreme yearning of the soul for God, the submission of self to God, and the transcendent joy of being in God—"the submission of man's nothing perfect to God's all-complete." In this intimate and holy intercourse between God and man the human mind is illumined, new visions of truth, new estimates of value, new joys of being dawn upon the soul. In these high experiences contact is made with the infinite reservoir of spiritual power. New forces are released in the soul itself; and thus elevated to a high stage of conscious efficiency the spirit cries, I can do all things through Him that strengtheneth me.

Do you say that such a conception renders the effects of prayer entirely subjective? My reply is, not entirely, but largely, and in the very nature of the case, this must be so. It is I who need to be affected, changed, illumined, not God. In some cases the only effect of prayer must be subjective. In other cases, one prays for a subjective conformity to God's will, that he may be objectively useful in the prosecution of his purposes. I am the instrument which must be pliable and responsive to the Master's use. Prayer is the process by which the soul is kept responsive. Let me illustrate by wireless telegraphy. Here is an instrument at the sender's station and another at that of the receiver. But the two are not in harmony. They are not tuned to the same number of vibrations. The sender may seek to communicate, the air may be full of messages, they beat in vain above the receiving instrument; but a skilful mechanic with a little effort tunes the receiver's instrument, and then thought flashes to thought, and will receives the behests of will. God's messages of love, and courage, and hope, God's messages of revelation and inspiration quiver and throb through the universe. Prayer tunes the human soul to catch, respond to, and execute these messages.

**THE PRESIDENT:** I am happy to introduce the second appointed speaker upon this topic, Dr. W. L. Poteat, of Wake Forest College, North Carolina.

**DR. POTEAT:** The question of discrimination among the aims and objects of prayer has already been discussed. I beg to confine my suggestions to the question of the supposed limitation upon prayer from the scientific point of view, and of course I shall speak rather as a man of science than as a theologian.

For the clearing up of the matter now before us it is important that we inquire into the essential nature of religion. It is to be observed, in the first place, that in human experience religion is universal, that is to say, it arises out of the nature of things. It is as much a natural phenomenon as the sunrise. I am aware that years ago Mr. Herbert Spencer and Sir John Lubbock maintained that there were tribes so low in the human scale as to be destitute of religion. More recently, however, all students of the subject hold that there are no tribes of men devoid of religious sentiments and religious opinion. An eminent authority curtly dismisses Spencer and Lubbock with the remark, "Neither one of the gentlemen ever saw a savage tribe." Religion is, in fact, more distinctive of man than the structural and functional peculiarities commonly relied upon to differentiate him from the animals next below him. It is grounded not only in the nature of man, but also in universal nature; and its rise and history, its elements and varied expression in cult and creed are capable of being reduced to the orderly coherence and precision of science.

In order to get at the fundamental thing in religion as a natural phenomenon, it is necessary that our view include all types of religion from the lowest to the highest. We cannot refuse to accept the mass of ethnological evidence now in hand pointing to the identity of mental construction and action from the earliest and rudest type down to the latest and most advanced. The laws of growth which develop the physical man into the type of the species operate also in the realm of his mind to bring its products into a like conformity. This simple

fact explains the striking similarity of all primitive religious ideas. We have no need to invoke either historic connection or tradition from a common ancestry. The mind of man reacting in practically the same way to the same stimuli will everywhere reach fundamentally identical conceptions.

Now, what is the fundamental and therefore universal reaction of the human mind in the midst of the manifold forms and ordered activities of the natural world? What is the fundamental assumption common to all religions? It is "the recognition that conscious volition is the ultimate source of all force"; the recognition that, behind the phenomenal world and accounting for it, is the invisible, immeasurable power of conscious will, of intelligence, of a Universal Mind analogous to the human mind. A corollary of this fundamental assumption, and of the highest importance, is this: that the human mind is in communication with the Universal Mind. In other words, prayer is of the essence of religion. This recognition is at the foundation of all the primitive religions and, with the curious exception of Buddhism, likewise of the founded religions. From this point of view, the significance of Jesus lies in the personal revelation which He made of the abstract Universal Intelligence as being in sympathetic neighborhood to human need, and in His clearing the way for freer commerce with the Unseen. His companions and first interpreters felt that they had heard, had seen with their eyes, and had handled with their hands, somewhat of the Eternal Life, and that through Him they had freshened fellowship with the Father.

But associated with this essential religious experience, one finds everywhere the tendency to speculate about it. It is of the first importance to distinguish between the religious experience itself and this effort to account for it in terms of intellect. The religious element proper recognizes and opens correspondence with the world of the Unseen Powers, and is no more to be identified with the body of religious theory than is the world of plants to be identified with the science of botany. Of course, religious speculation finds much of its material in the existing stage of culture, and takes form and color from it. In one case this system of speculation issues in fetichism, at a higher

stage in mythology, in a still higher stage in what we know as theology. The pre-scientific theology ranged over well nigh the whole world of fact. It involved cosmogony, ethnology, and history. It had its theory of the earth and of the heavens, of disease, of language, of education. But all these matters were within the scope of science, and when the new science, clear-eyed and victorious, arrived upon the scene, a revision of the body of opinion which had grown up under the sanction of Christianity was inevitable. The so-called religious crisis of the past eighty years was precipitated, and many felt that religion itself was compromised in the enforced surrender of the particular intellectual form in which at the time it found expression. But we have learned that revision of the world-view historically associated with Christianity leaves untouched the essential content of the Christian consciousness, and the former trepidation of Christian apologists, at sight of the unchecked advance of scientific criticism, is now seen to have been without warrant.

And this brings us face to face with the modern world-view. We need to inquire into what it really is and what its relation to religion is. Of course, the new view of the world is the product of the rapid and marvelous extension of natural knowledge. On the threshold of the inquiry we must distinguish between the earlier scientific view of the world and the later. The earlier view put the emphasis upon the mechanical side of things, went far indeed toward restricting the term "Nature" to the phenomena of the physical world, the phenomena which were reducible to a mechanical routine, which were measurable and predictable. Maxwell insisted that the clock, the foot-rule, and the balance were the distinguishing symbols of modern science. The French mathematician declared that a sufficiently developed intelligence supplied with the status of the atoms at any particular moment would be able to predict all future history. And so, the universe was held to be a closed system of inviolable sequences, impersonal, and its own sufficient cause. There was no trace in it of intelligence or free will. God was thrust over the last ledge of mechanical fact, the realm of the supernatural was rolled up as a scroll and flung over the edge of the world into the abyss, and, there being no ear anywhere to hear, prayer

became an absurdity. Science was flushed with its recent conquests, it was in high conceit with its omnipotent method. It was already well advanced in the work of plucking the heart of mystery out of universal Nature, and but a few years more of the unflinching application of the laws of physics and chemistry would finish the business up and set men free from the thralldom of the last superstition. It was dogmatic and arrogant.

But somewhere about 1880, shall we say? this confident and supercilious bearing began to relax. Men began to recognize with increasing clearness that they had been occupied with surface problems whose solution merely led them in to the central mysteries, and before these they stood in helpless impotence. Even in the sphere of physical nature, investigation invariably broke down when the crucial problem was reached. Your chemist can record the sequence of events in his test-tubes, but he does not know what determines the sequence. Your physicist has a glib definition of force as vibrations in the ether, but he does not know what the ether is or what makes it vibrate. He can get no farther than Lord Salisbury's definition, Ether is the nominative case of the verb to undulate. Your biologist beams with delight when he looks up from his microscope where life is advertising its marvelous powers, but he does not know what life is. Your psychologist has a nimble wit and speaks great swelling words about the parallelism of the thought process and the nerve process, but he knows next to nothing of either process and of why they should be parallel, if, indeed, they are. It is precisely at the crucial point in every line of research that the scientific method breaks down. The farther the man of science pushes his questioning of Nature, the more oppressed he becomes with the limitations of science, and the word most familiar to his tongue is "I do not know." The torch of science grows brighter with each passing year and shoots its beams deeper into the enveloping darkness, but the enlargement of the sphere of light multiplies the points of its contact with the unknown. One secret guessed brings to view two deeper ones. Science springs more questions than she solves.

Deep under deep forever goes,  
Heaven over heaven expands.

Moreover, it is now seen that the physical principles and tests which have been so disappointing even in the distinctively physical realm are able to yield us little when applied to the personal realm now at length recognized as a part of the natural realm. Socrates and Shakespeare and Saint Francis have clearly a place in the natural order, and a theory of the sum of things must include them in its purview. In truth, personality is the highest thing in nature, and a view which fails to account for it might well be discarded as accounting for nothing. As Professor Williams James has remarked, the only form of things we directly encounter is our own personal life, and the only complete category of our thinking is the category of personality. The surest knowledge we possess is the knowledge that personality conditions events, and the external world ceases to be intelligible in proportion as it becomes impersonal. In other words, the world cannot be explained except on the supposition, to use Professor Shaler's phrase, that a mighty kinsman of man is at work behind it all. We are finding, with Tennyson,

Nearer and ever nearer him who wrought  
Not matter, nor the finite-infinite,  
But this main miracle, that thou art thou,  
With power on thine own act and on the world.

Science is pushing out into this world of personality, but it has not so much as invented the conceptual apparatus for explaining the phenomena of the personal realm. Atom and ion are symbols clearly inapplicable here. We need not look for the secret of genius or the moral imperative in the bottom of a retort. No mathematician has arisen to give algebraic expression to variations in the states of consciousness. The deep affinity which draws two souls together does not vary inversely with the square of the distance and directly as the mass. It is frankly confessed that the central problem in this sphere of investigation can be approached at present only by way of theories known to be inadequate.

Without going farther into the illustration of the limitations of science, we must agree that the modern world-view has not changed materially the conception of the ultimate reality. The

scientific revolution has operated upon the surface of things. After all, the new world is the same old world, a world of deep mystery and of unexhausted resourcefulness. And human life stripped to its naked elements is the same. Only its machinery, its social and economic clothing, are different. Strip off the veneer of culture and civilization, and we shall see that man's fundamental moral relations and needs remain the same. We stand on a broader and higher pyramid of fact than our predecessors stood on, and we see more things than they saw. But it may well be doubted that we see any deeper into things than the Greeks of old days saw. Besides, the sphere of religion is not the sphere of knowledge, but of emotion; not of thought, but of will; not of truth, but of imagination and feeling. Accordingly, whatever revolution may occur in the realm of science, strictly so-called, religion and its necessary support and expression, prayer, will retain their legitimate place in human experience.

**THE PRESIDENT:** This interesting topic is now thrown open to volunteer speakers. I take pleasure in introducing to the audience Professor Gerald B. Smith, of Chicago, who is the first volunteer speaker:

**PROFESSOR GERALD B. SMITH, D.D.:** It seems to be generally agreed, if we may take as representative the statements of those who have preceded, that the modern world-view allows a place for prayer, as a form of aesthetic wonder at the universe. "When I consider the heavens, the work of thy hands, the moon, and the stars, which thou hast ordained, what is man that thou art mindful of him." There is a place in the modern world-view for the God-intoxicated man. It seems to be agreed, in the second place, that there is a place for prayer in the modern world-view as a very definite means of improving our own spiritual life. If our prayers are sent out as an anchor to the ship, they may pull the ship to the rock, even though they may not move the rock itself. Nobody questions either of these propositions.

But what we want to know is whether prayer for a definite result is answered. What can the man with the modern world-view say concerning this? If I mistake not, thought today is

breaking up that idea of the rigidity of laws of Nature which has held us in bondage. Not long since, in a company of scientific men, the question of miracles was being discussed, and every member of that group, dealing with different sciences, said that there are plenty of things inexplicable by science. But these inexplicable events science does not call miracles. Of course it does not. But the scientist recognizes a large realm of mystery where unexpected and unaccountable things happen, and he knows that his formulas in general are not large enough to account for all things which happen.

Again, our modern psychology is teaching us that our so-called world-view and the formulas which we use in science do not describe things in any hard-and-fast manner at all. They are the tools which we use to establish a vital relationship between ourselves and the universe in which we live, and there is no limit to be placed on the number or the kind of tools which may be used. Science has no dogmatic veto today to place upon the idea of a prayer which can show results. It is simply a matter of the evidence. Now, what is that evidence? I think none of us can read any one of volumes—several of which have been compiled—citing wonderful answers to prayer, without being impressed with the coincidences at least. If we are critically minded we of course wish the evidence on the other side could be collected in similar volumes so as to see how many prayers have gone unanswered. Nevertheless, there is that imposing testimony on the part of people who believe that their prayers have been answered by events which had their occasion in some way in the prayer which was offered.

Now, if it be true that the symbols which we use for interpreting the world are tools by which we gain results in the world—and that is a familiar conception with every science—it certainly is not unreasonable to believe that prayer of the right sort itself may be a means by which we can gain results which otherwise could not be obtained. It is simply a question of the evidence, as I said before. Now, that evidence seems to lead in the direction of trusting that instinct which leads us to pray for things. Our psychologists tell us that the fundamental thing in our nature is personal activity; that that activity precedes knowledge;

that it invents ways by which results are achieved. To picture the mysterious environment in which we live as in the control of a great personality with loves and hates and sympathies, and to reach out toward that personality that we may find from him an answer, is an instinct which we cannot crush out from the human heart. That there is room in the modern world-view for this instinct I firmly believe.

Now, you cannot persuade a man who really prays, that his prayers are not answered. If the thing for which he prays does not come to pass, he yet knows his prayer is answered by a better revelation of the purpose of God. Prayer is the way in which we wrestle with problems of life. Prayer is the way in which we discover the answer which comes from that mystery to which we address ourselves. Let some disaster come upon you, let some crisis meet your life, and though no human being were near, yet you will cry out to some invisible companion to share your perplexity, to answer your questionings, to give to you relief. Now, does not the relief come? For after all, how much more there is in this environment than we can get out of it with our science or our philosophy, or even our religion! I can imagine a cat coming into my study and sitting down with complete cat philosophy and cat science, and summing up the appearance and contents of my books by speculating as to whether rats and mice may there be available for cat prayers and cat activities. And the cat may say there is nothing more than that in the library. But there is actually more there than the cat appropriates. Shall we, then, with our feeble senses, as we stand in the great laboratory of God, feel that we have exhausted all possibilities, and that prayer can only be meditation upon what we already know? Or shall we not with the religious man of all ages dare to cry out our deepest desires and believe that the answer will come, not according to our wisdom, but according to the higher wisdom which watches over us all?

**THE PRESIDENT:** Are there other volunteer speakers? If not, we shall be glad for the pastor of this church or the Secretary to make such special announcements as may be necessary at this time. As we have no special announcements to make, may I

call your attention to the evening session, beginning at 8:00 o'clock? The subject is, "How Shall We Interpret the Holy Spirit to the Life of Today?" and this will be discussed by Rev. Harry E. Fosdick, D.D., Montclair, N.J., and Professor Gordon B. Moore, of the University of South Carolina, and by the Rev. Rufus W. Weaver, of Nashville, Tenn., and Rev. C. C. Brown, D.D., of Sumpter, S.C.

I am sure we all have been profited by the luminous views so succinctly stated by these writers and speakers this afternoon. I really was pained to hear that large numbers of our people, and the pastors of other churches in this region of the country, could not be present to hear these discussions; and I trust tonight, through your efforts, a larger number will be present to hear the discussion at that time.

We will now rise and be dismissed with prayer by Dr. Milton G. Evans, president of Crozer Theological Seminary.

DR. EVANS dismissed the meeting with prayer.

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FIRST DAY

*Evening Session*

8:00 o'clock P.M.

THE PRESIDENT: Certainly we are under obligations to the Committee that formulates these topics for so rich and so timely a subject. The one for tonight is: "How Shall We Interpret the Holy Spirit to the Life of Today?" and the first of the two writers upon this topic is Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, D.D., Montclair, N.J.

DR. FOSDICK then read the following:

HOW SHALL WE INTERPRET THE HOLY SPIRIT TO  
THE LIFE OF TODAY?

In no place has theology done religion such pitiable injury as in its treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. When the New Testament speaks its distinctive and characteristic word about the experience of the Spirit, it means the conscious

presence of the living God in the hearts of men, and that is the very essence of religion. Such an experience is the soul's vital contact with, and inward comprehension of, God. It is the Holy of Holies, where dwells in men the divine Shekinah, over whose mysterious threshold and into whose incommunicable secrets theology ought never to have walked, save with bared head and unsandled feet. The crowning tragedy of Christian theology, however, has been enacted just here in this sacred place. What was once the saving experience of God in the souls of men has been made an insoluble problem of metaphysics—how one can be three, and three one! The botanizing instinct of religious philosophy has taken even this fine flower of the spiritual life and dissecting it, drying it, pressing it, pinning it down, has left it a desiccated and unfragrant thing in its museum of specimens.

To interpret the Holy Spirit to the life of today, therefore, involves the re-presentation of religion as the life of God himself, abiding in spiritual presence within men; and the crying need of this gospel is seen in at least two perennial tendencies in religious thinking.

First is the tendency to look for God chiefly somewhere outside of ourselves. "Where is God?" is the question that rises, not only out of Job's particular exigency, crying, "Oh, that I knew where I might find him!"—it is the question that arises also in the realm of thought when the man of faith endeavors to make for himself and his friends a clear statement about his idea of deity. The distinguishing elements in any conception of God may all be traced back to this primal inquiry concerning God's whereabouts. "God is there," say the pagan tribes, for example, pointing to the Mammoth Cave, to twisted trees, to cloven rocks from which Apollo's vapors rise. "God is there," say the ancient Jews, pointing to Sinai's summit, wrapped in mystery, where God hides their Moses in a cleft, that he may see the back of Deity, but not the face. "God is there," says the mediaeval devotee, conceiving the world still in Ptolemaic terms, and pointing beyond the upturned bowl of the sky, to the seventh heaven, where Jehovah sits surrounded by his choir of archangels. "God is there," says the Deist, gazing back beyond the age-long processes of Nature to the vague figure over the

crest of the first hill, who gave this universe-toboggan its primal shove, and has been watching its sliding ever since. "God is everywhere," says the Pantheist:

He the grain and the furrow, the plough-cloven clod  
 And the ploughshare drawn through;  
 The germ and the sod,  
 The deed and the doer, the seed and the sower,  
 The dust, which is God.

So man, looking near and far, on Olympus, in Paradise, on far-off horizon, in the omnipresent life of the world, have sought for God, as in Jesus' day they sought for his kingdom, saying, "Lo, here and lo, there." And of God, as of his kingdom, Jesus brought this revolutionary truth, "Lo, God is within you." For the whole unprecedented Christian thought of God finds here its secret, that it seeks for Deity, first of all, neither in nature, nor in Paradise, neither in First Cause, nor in Absolute Energy, from which all things proceed, but in spiritual manhood at its best, ablaze with love. Of old they built towers of Babel to find God in his heaven. At the Christian Pentecost they wait for God to break into tongues of flame on their own heads. "No man hath seen God at any time," that is the Christian message. "If ye love one another God abideth in you." "Know ye not that ye are the temples of God, and that the Holy Spirit dwelleth in you?" "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." "If any man will open the door we will come in and sup with him and he with us." "The water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into eternal life." We have "exceeding great and precious promises that we should be partakers of the divine nature."

The Christian experience is in continual danger of drifting from this vital center. In our age, especially, we are prone to find God at the end of an argument and leave him there. We have been compelled by militant agnosticism to put our apologetic armies on the defensive. Finding it impossible to hold the intelligent respect of men without reasonable arguments in the faith's behalf, we have had to draw such inferences from the nature and functions of the material universe, from the necessi-

ties of human thought, the demands of human conscience, and the progress of moral evolution in history, that materialism should be made what indeed it is, a discredited affair. "Atheism," says Sir Oliver Lodge, "is so foolish that I do not know how to put it into words." But God so arrived at, by way of reason, is an entirely external matter. He is a hypothesis to explain the universe. "He sitteth upon the circle of the earth and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers before him." Granted the incalculable value in even such a faith, putting unity into all history and purpose into all life, it is not religion and never can be. Religion begins when we cease using the tricky and unstable aeroplane of speculation to seek him amidst the stars, and retreat into the fertile places of our own spirits where the living water rises, as Jesus said. God outside of us is a theory; God inside of us becomes a fact. God outside of us is an hypothesis; God inside of us is an experience. God the Father is the possibility of salvation; God the Spirit is actuality of life, joy, peace, and saving power. God the transcendent may do for philosophy, but he is not enough for religion.

The other perennial tendency in religious thinking which makes so urgent the presentation of the spiritual life as the life of God existing in us, is the love of harking back to some pre-eminent manifestation of God in history. It is represented among us by the cry, "Back to Jesus." Who, indeed, would not love to go back to him, past all the aberrations of the church and the misinterpretations of his meaning. He is the best we know. The centuries have passed since he was here, with such revolutionary changes in science, philosophy, political ideals, and social customs, that a Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court could feel no more strange than we would feel in another's generation. But no century has outgrown his spirit and character. Through the advances that make children alien from their parents, he has held these sixty generations in his spiritual mastership, and has made the men of twenty centuries feel when they tried to estimate him, that they were meting out heaven with a span and comprehending the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighing the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance. All centuries, all races, both sexes, all ages—how he

seems to balance the virtues and include the ideals of each! We have mountains of virtue and corresponding valleys of defect, but not he. He is the universal character. The white light in him gathers up all the split and fractured colors of our little spectrums. He is the best we know.

Who, I say, would not desire to go back to him? Only let us say it emphatically, that alone is not religion and never can be. It may be simply hero-worship on a sublime scale. For if God the Father is sitting on the circle of the earth, and Jesus the perfect character lived two thousand years ago, there is no vital religion to be gotten out of that. We may stand, then, before the Master with the same sort of worship and reverent admiration that a man who is no painter feels when he sees a Raphael. He knows the work is sublime, but he is not proposing to do anything like it. He is conquered by its beauty, but he knows no possibility of its imitation. If, however, there were a spirit of Raphael that could lay hold upon the man's life and transform him to the master's skill and power, then his admiration would become inwardly effective. It takes the spirit of Raphael to do Raphael's work. If this gospel of an indwelling dynamic is not coupled with our admiration for Jesus, we are like nothing quite so much as a student whom I once saw practising the fingering of the Hallelujah Chorus on an organ from which the power had been shut off. With what accuracy his fingers traveled the keys, I could not tell. Once Handel's soul on fire with the passion for harmony had burned itself into that composition. He had written it upon his knees. But with whatever agility the student's fingers followed the notes, no Hallelujah Chorus came from his organ to praise God and move men. So the record of this matchless character handed to us in the gospels, like notes of music meant to be played over again, is but our despair, if we must attempt its reproduction—on a powerless organ. Our admiration for it is external and ineffective. We fall thereby into a static religion of creed and adoration, but not a dynamic religion of progress and hope. This, then, is the glorious message, where the Christian gospel reaches its climax, and which alone puts fullest meaning into Jesus' perfect life. The spirit of God in Jesus made his quality; and that

same spirit is underground in our lives, striving to well up in characters like his, until we live, yet not we, but Christ liveth in us. The transcendent God and the perfect Son can make a true theology and a lofty ethic, but not a deep religion. God the Father revealed in God the Son must somehow become God the Spirit in us.

There has been no intention here of speaking about the Trinity. Nowhere, indeed, has theology so abused its privilege as in the formulation of that doctrine. Paul, were he here, would have a ponderous mass of trinitarian discussion at which to hurl his bitter charge: "spoiling you with philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men." As a matter of fact, however, what we have been saying is a fair statement of the New Testament experience of a threefold relationship with God. God known as transcendent Father is not enough; God revealed in perfect character is not enough; God the Father revealed in God the Son becomes God the abiding Spirit in us—that is the perfect experience of him. This is the Trinity of the New Testament, the love of God and the grace of Jesus made inward and vital by the communion of the Spirit. The New Testament knows absolutely nothing of distinguishing God's substance without confusing his persons. The apostles never dreamed of running surveyor's lines through God and dividing him off in acreages. Paul would have been utterly nonplussed and mystified by the Athanasian and Chalcedonian formulas. This Greek metaphysical discussion of the Trinity, analyzing the ontology of God, rightly appears to us as an inch-worm, clambering up the Matterhorn in a vain, not to say presumptuous, endeavor to measure the distance to the stars. But the New Testament does know a threefold relationship of the soul with God in religious experience, where we believe in him as Creative Father, adore him as Perfect Character, and commune with him as Indwelling Presence.

The interpretation of this complete religious experience, crowned in the conscious inward communion of the living God, is the great task of the church. This is the preaching of the Holy Spirit. Nor is it impossible even with the practical mind of the modern man to make it constrainingly clear. All life

indeed, from its lowest to its loftiest aspects, is an analogy of man's spiritual dependence on and recreation by, a larger spiritual power. All the difference a dugout canoe and an ocean liner is the difference in man's capacity to appropriate for his own use the powers of the physical world. Emerson's famous illustration of the gigantic Roman conduit made useless and unnecessary by the discovery that water always rises to its own level, so that men straightway harnessed a universal force to do their work, is true of all life. Scientific advance is progressive appropriation of universal energy. When, further, we move into the realm of living organism, we find appropriation changed to its higher form, assimilation, where the tree lives by the earth it saps and the sunlight it absorbs. And when at last you deal with persons, you pass through the appropriation whereby they make electricity and steam their servants, through the assimilation whereby their bodies live, to personal possessions, where not alone in hypnotism does one mind take control of another, but in the sane and beautiful relationship of soul with soul, a mother lives herself into her children's lives until in a certain real sense they could say, We live, yet not we, for she lives in us.

Now all this analogy becomes experiential fact in us, with reference to God. For, granted a theistic interpretation of the universe, how shall we explain the plainest facts of our inward experience without positing this spirit of the living God in us? Not alone is it to be supposed on grounds of probability that a God, who begets children in his own likeness, will hold communion with them, but it is an immediately given fact that he does hold communion with them. What an illustration any spring day is to us? Where does all the restlessness in Nature have its source? Every tree, in discontent, hastens to make buds into leaves, and every blade of grass is tremulous with impatient life. No tree, however, is a sufficient explanation of its own haste and dissatisfaction; no flower has in itself the secrets of its eager growth. The spirit of life is abroad and, crowding itself everywhere on old, dead forms, is making them bloom again. Explain, then, the moral restlessness of our hearts in other wise! We do ill, and are distraught with remorse until

we repent and make reparation; we attain money or talents, and are chased day and night by the urgent call to their spiritual dedication; we hear the acclaim of friends and our deepest heart longs still more to hear God's "Well done;" we conform ourselves to decency and still hear a call for goodness beyond all earthly need; we succeed as the world calls it, and we know it is failure; we fail as the world sees it, and lo, our hearts sing for joy because we know we have succeeded! Everywhere we are confronted with a pulsing life that longs to get itself expressed in us. We cannot get away from God, that is why. He is not far, He is here. This Spirit, for whom there is no better name than the Spirit of Jesus, is our continual companion. We are locked in an enforced fellowship with him. We can call men to witness that there is no friend with whom they have dealings more direct and continual than with him. Every time they open an inspiring book and devoutly study it, this spirit is pleading for entrance. Every time they pray, he stands at the door and knocks. Every time some little one in need, or some great cause demanding sacrifice, lays claim on them, this Spirit is crying to be let in. Men's physical hunger for food, their love for family and friends, are not more direct, concrete, immediate experiences than their dealings with this Spirit of the Lord. He is not God the Father, only; he is God the Spirit, striving to dwell in us and work through us.

Why should this be so mysterious to us? The same thing in an impersonal way, as we have said, is true about our bodies also. They are simply the vehicles and mediums of the larger physical life about us. They have no independent and separate existence. They walk upon the ground; they breathe the air; they drink the water; they eat the food; they absorb through their very pores the dynamic forces of the world, and all their power and quality are thus borrowed and appropriated from the larger power outside.

The experience of the spiritual presence of God is simply our consciousness that our inward and invisible life, the real soul and content of us, is as vitally in touch with the larger spiritual world, personal because spiritual, as our body is with the physical. Is that so strange and difficult to comprehend?

Would not the lack of it, rather, be strange and too mysterious to believe? For this inward and invisible realm of our lives is the reality of us. This is the thing we are. All our outward deeds are but the shadows cast by the thoughts and purposes, the ambitions and desires that throng this inward and substantial world of spirit. The real battlefield, where the issues of this world and the next are being settled, is inward. There where desires clash with duties, and ambitions launch their squadrons against loyalty, is the real battle waged, and all that we call good and evil in the outer world, are but the echo and reverberation of this more real and inward war. Do you mean, then, to say, that though this body, this garment and shadow of the thing I am, this outward and perishable integument and clothes of my real substance, is in touch with, and nourished by, a larger realm of physical power, my inner being is fatherless and unsustained, incapable of re-creation by the larger personal life which is the whole world's soul? No, by every appeal of conscience, by every mysterious aspiration of our souls, by every lofty moment when the "spirit's true endowments stand out plainly from the false ones," by the experience of all saints, crying with George Fox, "I feel inward life welling up within me," we are aware that we are crowded upon by the great spiritual world of God, and can be temples in which his spirit shall take up its habitation.

Indeed, we may even call the psychologists to witness, who today are discovering in the spirit's life precisely those holy and transforming influences of which we speak, and are ascribing them to that mysterious realm which they call the "subconscious self." Powers of joy and peace, transforming influences that renovate character, change disposition, and inspire service do appear in lives, they say, but all these effects, which the New Testament attributes to the Holy Spirit, they ascribe to the subconscious self. Well, there should be no permanent misunderstanding here. The trains that come into Augusta over the Southern Railway always come up through Graniteville, but they do not start there. Graniteville is a substation of Augusta, but you will not get at the secret of a train full of good citizens coming to town, by saying that the presence of Graniteville

explains it. The train came through Graniteville, not from it. You will not solve the mystery of that divine help which all great souls know, by giving names to sub-stations in your own mind. You must go deeper and farther than that. Indeed, it is to be noted that when the psychologists want illustrations of someone with a big enough subconscious self to be worth the studying, they go to a man who has called on God until, like Paul, he is an agent for a spirit greater than himself. The plain path, in a word, for the interpretation of the Holy Spirit to the life of today, lies through the indisputable facts of every man's spiritual life. "There's not a man that lives who has not known his godlike hours."

When thus a man is assured of a divine indwelling, he will not hesitate to read the larger implications of that fact. God is not dead, then, he is alive, and has never spoken his last word on any subject. All that has been is temporary and provisional, looking forward to the fuller revelation. Then the Spirit is leading men into all truth and in society, as in the individual, God is all that liberates and lifts, is all that strengthens, comforts, and inspires." If all the good in me is God in me, all the good in the world is the work of the immanent God there. And where the indwelling God works, there progress is inevitable, new truths must grow out of old truths, new organizations build themselves out of the ruins of the superannuated, and the Golden Age lies ahead whither we are being led by God, rather than behind whence we have come. All evident progress, therefore, all deepening spiritual life and widening brotherhood make the interpretation of the Holy Spirit easier. They are the outward evidences of his presence. But all pretensions of infallibility, all attempts to write "finis" after the third chapter of the book when God intended twenty, or to stop in midstream God's grandly flowing river, saying, "Thus far and no farther," all these efforts to make the church an anchor instead of a rudder, the Bible a boundary instead of an incentive, are the religious man's gross infidelity. They deny the presence of the living God with his advancing people.

This gospel of the spirit is the supreme need of the church today. There never was a time when the church was so busily

engaged in such a multitude of outward tasks, and hardly a time either when the church was more inwardly restless, more spiritually dissatisfied, and in many places, more desperately inefficient. The danger of her practicalness is its superficiality. She is playing Martha in our generation. The Master has come; she rises to serve him. That his will should be done in government, in home and in school, in all philanthropy and good citizenship—these are her anxieties. It is all noble and good, springing from Christian instincts undeniably sublime. But what if, in our business to do things for him, we lose the attentive ear that listens to him and the ready heart that groweth like him? What if, like children, we fall to running many errands for a Father whom we do not inwardly know; and what if, amid the clatter of our hurrying footsteps, the Master once more were saying, "Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful"? For the real power of the church has never been the multitude of her tasks, but the quality of her souls; the real business of the church has never been the multiplication of quantity in service, but the production of quality in men. That men should be born anew, should become the organs and instruments of the vaster spiritual life of God—that is *the* central business of the church, the biggest business of the world.

It is for this, indeed, that men really come to church. The question is not "Why do they stay away?" but "Why do they come?" until no one social custom is much more prevalent than going to church. The church has committed all the sins that can be laid to any institution's door: she has been selfish, formal, worldly, cruel, selling her birthright repeatedly for a mess of pottage, and still the multitudes flock continually to her doors. Only one explanation covers the case—they are hungry for power to live. If you went to your dinner table and received only a lecture on hygiene, would you repeat the operation often? And yet men do repeat the operation in coming to church, for they have been served again and again with lectures on hygiene instead of having set before them tables of spiritual food. And still they come, hoping sometimes against hope that they will get a new inlet of power to help them live.

There is an old story born of the atmosphere of polar regions, dangerous to truth, that once up there, the candle flames froze, and the explorers broke them off and wore them for watch charms; that the flames of the great fire froze, and they wound them like golden ornaments about their necks. So, repeatedly, the burning words of Scripture, the blazing affirmations of old creeds, on fire at first with the passion of souls in touch with God, have been frozen in the church's arctic climate, and handed to men to wear like talismen and amulets external to them, with no saving warmth or light. Creeds, rituals, organizations—how often these frozen forms of life have taken the place of inward, spiritual power, and yet men come, still besieging the doors of the church and crying for strength to live. And the church has the gospel which they need if she will but interpret it to their hearts—the gospel of the Spirit of Jesus. For that is his name. There is no description which so fully does him justice as to call him the Spirit of Jesus. This power who is striving for entrance into, and control over, our lives, is the same power who made the Master's life of patience and ministry, who was the soul in every deed of moral courage or generous service that makes his character sublime. He is no metaphysical abstraction, no barren and uninteresting hypostasis in God. He is the indwelling Spirit, rather, which made the quality of all our Master's virtues so that they come each one, like Moses, with a shining face from out the communion of his heart with God. They carry a glory not their own. They are begotten, not made. Like the sun breaking into the jewel-room of a king, and setting every separate stone ablaze, breaking up the fountains of the beautiful deep in every diamond and sapphire and emerald and pearl, so this Spirit of his, gracious, patient, compassionate, undiscourageable, divine, illuminates with more than earthly glory the separate jewels of his character. You cannot distinguish divine from human there: which is the bay, which the ocean? which is the wind, and which its fragrance? which is the air, and which the sunlight?—they come as one, and the exceeding great and precious promises that we should be partakers of the divine nature are in him fulfilled. The wonderful message of Christianity is just

this message of incarnation, that the God who was in Jesus is trying to become the Word made flesh in everyone of us.

THE PRESIDENT: As many have come in since the topic was announced, I shall repeat it: "How Shall We Interpret the Holy Spirit to the Life of Today?" and the second writer is Professor Gordon B. Moore, D.D., University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.

PROFESSOR GORDON B. MOORE, D.D., then presented the following paper:

### HOW SHALL WE INTERPRET THE HOLY SPIRIT TO THE LIFE OF TODAY?

The return of our Lord to the Father after the fulfilment of his earthly mission was to be followed, according to promise, by further revelations of truth. Accordingly the writer of this paper will undertake to express but a single thought, namely, that the Holy Spirit should be interpreted to the life of our day in terms of greatest, deepest, and broadest Christian culture. If the Holy Spirit be not in the holiest things of earth, in the deepest realities of human experience, in the truest things in the realm of thought, in the highest things in human purpose and achievement, it is a vain task to seek him in the lesser significances of modern life, or even in the sacred Scriptures. And this principle of interpretation should suggest no insinuation against the universality or democracy of religion, as if there were a tacit assumption of class-distinction, an invidious separation of cultured from uncultured, emphasizing a difference due to fortune, or to the mere bounty of circumstances, or to the benign election of providence. The question is one of method. We read the Most High in terms of that which is most high among us, such as the power to reason, the attainment of scientific knowledge, the great practical moral interests of life, our aesthetic ideals, and, in fact, the general results of culture and spiritual conquest.

The issue involved in the effort to apprehend the mind of the Spirit is nothing less than spiritual self-preservation in the threatening presence of the merciless forces of materialism; not that

any special materialistic theory is in itself formidable, but that a subtle, persuasive materialization of all the interests of life is imminent. The thought of the last century, militant and aggressive to the last degree, has carried man as an intellectual being to the very pinnacle of dignity and grandeur, only by a strange paradox to hurl him thence to Tartarus. As Samson buried himself under the ruins of the temple of Dagon, so scientific thought has concealed the giant thinker under the wearying greatness of things; intellect is exalted beyond measure, but the former glory of the thinker vanishes into nothingness. The scientific verdict so often rendered is that man is dust, and akin to all that is dust. But we cannot surrender our conquests, though we know not well how to save the conquerors. It seems, however, that the present exigencies of spiritual self-preservation are fostering certain habits of feeling and modes of thinking that serve at least a temporary purpose in tiding us over a critical transition; and these may be taken as the opportune promptings of the eternal Spirit, furnishing us at the same time a basis of religious interpretation.

## I

In the first place, you will observe that the spirit of culture in our times expresses itself in an attitude of genial confidence and good-will toward the growth and dissemination of knowledge in all departments of thought and investigation, as if there were nothing to fear from the utmost light. This characteristic of modern culture is taken as a matter of course in all scientific circles; the human mind asserts its rights to be unfettered in the exercise of its powers. It deprecates and repudiates artificial limitation, whether due to authoritative prescription or traditional bondage of any kind. Nothing shall limit the efforts of thought except such barriers as may appear in the nature of things; and even the supposed nature of things will not be admitted in advance and set up as a bar to human endeavor. No guide but the conditions of attaining truth will be invoked; and truth knows no finalities except growing, deepening, widening, advancing finalities, relative to each stage of progress. As soon as we cannot go beyond the views of yesterday, tomorrow's dawn is without hope.

In the religious world it is reassuring to know that the same cheerful confidence exists among the cultured, the same willingness to submit credentials, and to assume unlimited risks before the tribunal of reason, provided reason be interpreted in its deepest sense. It has come to pass that nothing in religion awes the spirit of inquiry, or shakes the conviction that light is good and necessary: and nothing prevails against the interest with which we investigate the nature, the sources, the foundations, the social and individual meaning of religious phenomena of every type, as expressing the soul of man. Nor is this thought-activity incited by a spirit of unfriendliness, or irreverence, as if religion were unimportant, or the vestige of primitive savagery. The further thought penetrates, the more steadfast becomes the conviction that religion will hold its own and conquer in the light of every intellectual struggle. We cannot eliminate a constitutive principle of our nature. Even if we assume that religion is a by-product of intelligence, it has become an inseparable accident of our being. And so this wide and warm friendliness of the modern spirit of culture, pointing to the Holy Spirit's leading, rests upon the belief that what is real truth for the intellect cannot be opposed to essential goodness of soul; that goodness is as truly an expression of the divine reason as scientific thought, while it affords a deeper satisfaction of our spiritual nature. Every form of reasonableness must be comprehended and preserved in the ideal of reason.

Nor should we conceive this ideal of reason as a rigid, statue-like condition of knowledge; eternal truth is truth evolving eternally in one direction, that is, ever becoming more explicit, more articulate, more actual. At any given stage of development ready-made knowledge or acquired truth has only an exemplary significance and an inspirational function; it is a spur to go beyond, to transcend the present moment. The real skepticism of this age is not that which questions the authority and theoretical inspiration of a book; but that which fears knowledge, and refuses to carry a case from high to higher courts in endless appeal, and so sets up an arbitrary last resort. And the true faith of the age is that which follows the light wherever it shines, the eternal

Spirit whithersoever he leads in the realms of reason and goodness.

## II

Another principle of interpretation of the Holy Spirit to our age comes to light in the growing appreciation of the natural as a source of ethical instruction, aesthetic satisfaction, and religious stimulation. The greatest philosopher of modern times said: "Two things fill the mind with ever new and increasing admiration and awe, the oftener and the more steadily we reflect on them: the starry heavens above and the moral law within." But now ions and electrons are as wonderful as the starry heavens, and the moral law within no longer has a noumenal entity behind it, but is a mere fact to be explained by the anthropologist and psychologist. Man has been brought into intimate relation to the world, no longer isolated upon a pedestal of lonely grandeur. While he has emancipated himself by spiritual striving from the thralldom of nature in which he was held fast by fear and superstition, this very effort has reaffirmed his inseparable union with nature, and emphasized his fellowship with all life. The whole background upon which he images himself as the unique and central figure in the sum of being has been so changed that in the vast perspective he occupies almost the vanishing point. But this shock to an immemorial human pride finds its compensation in the thought that it must be more than a worm that can scale the heights and discover its wormhood in the mirror of being. The situation, at any rate, calls for wider and deeper sympathies, and strengthens the bond of fellowship with all that is beautiful and good in nature. And natural goodness is no longer mere splendid vice, as with our forefathers.

One of the obvious results of this profound readjustment of man to Nature, of this resetting of human life on the background of material things and universal law, has been to diminish the relative importance to religion of the extraordinary, in other words, to modify the emphasis which has been placed heretofore upon the miraculous or supernatural. The dependence of a religion upon miracles is a mark of credulity, or of an indisposition to exact the minimum of assumption in accordance with the

highest culture. We must admit the undeniable psychological fact that our religion, particularly as a thought-process, is modified under normal circumstances by all the other processes of knowledge that make up the contents of the mind. The tendency of our knowledge is to coalesce, and to constitute a synthesis of intelligence. Mind is powerless to use disintegrate experiences; and the more insular any given bit of experience, the less meaning it has. Our experiences in general acquire their fullest and richest meaning through their widest reaction and interaction. This law of mind makes against the exceptional in religion, and conditions in a measure the problem of the supernatural as it presents itself to the cultured mind. And if current religious ideas are often rejected there is some compelling influence in the structure of knowledge that demands qualification and discrimination. Nor is this demand in the least arbitrary, but is rather the necessary outcome of unifying intelligence, seeking to assimilate the rare and occasional to the natural order in the interest of meaning and use. It is worth remembering also that there is no religious faith in general; that there is only the faith of individuals, conditioned by their total knowledge and spiritual discipline. Now let us put along with this wide and ever-widening synthesis of being and knowledge the thought that one of the sure interpretations of the Spirit's mind should be sought in the manifestation of real unity, and the whole synthetic movement of the modern world acquires deeper significance.

### III

In the next place, it may be observed that the cultured mind, fashioned in the light of our religion and our historic antecedents, insists upon a close and vital relation between morality and religion. This interpretation of the Spirit to our age must be kept ever in view. As the whole man is lifted up, materially, intellectually, and socially, the cultural effect is to place the emphasis more upon the moral and less upon the mystic element of religion. In the lower stages of culture the bond between morality and religion is tenuous and frail. These two primal interests impose no restraints or mutual imperatives upon each other; we cannot say that religion corrupts morals, or that moral-

ity corrupts religion. Both are expressions of the life as a whole, exponents of a given state of culture, indicating the absence of the unifying influence of thought. It is unnecessary at this point to indicate the exact relation existing between morality and religion, even if it were possible. The oft-quoted words of Kant are that we should perform all our duties as if they were divine commands. This conception supplies morality with religious motives. The critical and less ethical mind of Matthew Arnold gave us the famous definition, "Religion is morality touched with emotion." The great philosopher would reinforce morality by the use of religious motives; the literary critic would subordinate religion to morality, at the same time binding it inseparably to morality. However, the significant fact is that the two interests are vitally connected; and whether religion stands in its own right as a primary interest of the human spirit, or exists as an inseparable accident of morality, appearing when there is occasion for it, matters little. The broader and profounder thought that represents modern culture plus Christian life under the guidance of the eternal Spirit will not tolerate any degree of divorce-ment of these great human interests.

Our Lord, himself the most perfect embodiment of the moral and religious spirit, taught us that the same word which expresses the supreme religious obligation expresses also the supreme moral obligation. On several occasions he even affirms the supremacy of the moral law, teaching us that when religious observance and positive moral duty come into conflict morality has the right of way; that the great indubitable moral necessities of life take precedence over alleged religious obligation; that God is in the advancing ethical order of the world, working the overthrow and permanent undoing of evil and wrong. And this indication of the Holy Spirit's mind we may not hesitate to accept; and interpretation must rest upon some conception of moral immanence. And even knowledge must revise itself herewith in endless endeavor. The mere knowledge-life is a fiction; the Scriptures do not commend knowledge apart from wisdom, apart from a practical moral purpose, apart from voluntary effort to put a rational meaning into life. "And if I have the gift of prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge . . . but have not love, I am

nothing." That is, no amount of non-moral foresight, no amount of non-moral insight to solve mysteries and get to the bottom of things, no amount of intellectual attainment apart from ethical self-realization, can save one from personal unmeaningness. There can be no valuation of knowledge as such. Beyond the dim and flickering light of prophecy, higher than the heights of knowledge, and deeper than the deepest abysses of mystery in the mountain ranges of being, there is a moral Being whose all-conditioning nature is love: and no adjustment of ourselves to the eternal order that ignores this great fact is rational or can succeed. We must interpret in the light of the completely rational self.

Now, it may be that the effort to think our religion in terms of the highest morality, to moralize its whole intellectual framework and symbolism, will create new problems and so enlarge the task of spiritual interpretation. The supremacy of the ethical element in the teaching of Christianity must react upon its dogmatic structure, or that part which thought contributes, and tend to eliminate any idea that is not in accord with the highest ethical principles. How far such a reaction may go without detriment to religious interests, if detriment be thinkable, cannot be settled in advance. The exigencies of spiritual self-preservation are not subject to the laws of logic. But nothing more fatal to a dogmatic conception can be urged than its disagreement with the enlightened moral judgment, its inability to get on with that refined moral sense which is the peculiar product of our religion developed under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This difficulty is felt in dealing with certain ideas of the atonement, of the future state of rewards and punishments, of the divine character, and other current religious notions of traditional orthodoxy. These notions are often fictitious, doctrinaire, immoral, viewed in the light of spiritual development; and no polemical skill will avail to carry these ideas headlong over the deepest ethical sense. Christianity is its own critic. The most destructive critic of the Old Testament was Jesus; the greatest critic of the New Testament is the Holy Spirit, revealed in the unfolding life of reason. A religious dogma set in modern environment must adapt itself or vanish from the thought of men. A doctrine that has no moral

meaning, or an immoral one, that supplies no spiritual need, exists only by the grace of tolerance, whatever antecedents it may claim.

#### IV

Finally, culture in its highest sense combined with the true Christian life represents, so far in the history of the world and at each successive stage of its development, the highest ideal, the clearest interpretation of the Spirit of God, concretely and pragmatically considered. It may be that culture connotes many permutations and combinations of spiritual attainment, and is so variously constituted that an abstract definition would be without value: but one thing may be constantly assumed, viz., that for us it means the existence of the spirit and outlook of the modern world; that one lives in all respects in this age, and feels the throb of the great forces that toil at the imperfections of the world. The transformation thus effected proceeds under the Spirit's interpretation of the Man of Galilee, who is the divine Reason (Logos) as well as the divine Love. Any spiritual interpretation that overlooks this fact, if indeed it is a fact, fails to see with enlightened eyes the glory of the Lord, though there may be withal appreciation of the song that vibrates from hedge and forest and of the fair flowers that blow, of the smile of the starry heavens and all the radiances of the landscape, and of all the triumphs of aesthetic genius and scientific discovery. Surely the emphasis upon our unity with nature abates in no wise the higher spiritual unity with him in whom we live, in whom we love, in whom we strive toward higher things as the ages pass, in whom we search for truth, in whom we create and recreate systems and philosophies, in whom the light is driving back the ancient darkness, in whom all the great transforming agencies of the world are comprehended and directed. The Christian with cultured mind, broadened and strengthened by contact with the new earth and the new heavens, gathers up into himself and assimilates the best in morality, the truest in thought, the holiest in life, and stands crowned with the glory and honor, the concrete, definite, explicit, and most valid interpretation of the Holy Spirit to the life of our day.

**THE PRESIDENT:** The first appointed speaker upon this subject is Rev. Rufus W. Weaver, of Nashville, Tenn.

**DR. WEAVER:** We have listened to papers of remarkable worth—one by a Christian mystic and the other by a Christian philosopher. The one kindled in our hearts a flame and the other brought us face to face with the profundities of the theme from the standpoint of the philosophical thought of our day. Dr. Fosdick limited himself largely to the subject of the Holy Spirit; Dr. Moore limited himself largely to the life-thought of today. There is left to my honored colleague, Dr. Brown, and to myself the first part of the subject, "How to Interpret"; and in order to be perfectly fair to Dr. Brown, I shall limit what I say to the single word, "How."

A scientific and pragmatic age seeketh after facts. The world is weary of religious theories. Theology has fallen into disrepute and doctrinal sermons are no longer pleasing to the few. This age lives in the realm of the will, not the intellect. The present demands that all doctrine and every doctrine shall be presented in the interest of religious efficiency.

Theology as a science has a logical history. Beginning in the second century by vindicating the fundamental ideas of religion, the great theological cycle was completed in logical order with the study of the future life in the nineteenth century. Either theology is a finished science or it is to be revised from beginning to end. The present movement of thought is indicative of a complete revision. The whole world is now interested as never before in the fundamentals of religion. The doctrine of the Trinity comes next. There are many indications that the Christian world is getting ready for its consideration.

Agnosticism has called attention in a powerful way to the limitations of human knowledge. The effect is seen that while man today knows more he is also more keenly aware of how little he actually knows. We differ from the agnostic when he claims that God is the Unknowable, but we agree with the agnostic when he claims that all we can know of God must be known within the realm of human experience. There are four questions that arise when we consider the possibility of a divine

revelation: (1) Is there a God? (2) Can God reveal himself? (3) Does God desire to reveal himself to man? (4) Has man the ability to understand the revelation when God has made it? We answer all these questions in the affirmative. We oppose agnostics, affirming that God can reveal himself. We oppose deists, affirming that God desires to reveal himself to man. We oppose again agnostics, affirming that man can understand the divine revelation when it is made. It is the last affirmation that today is called in question.

The science that deals with the capacity and the powers of the human mind is called psychology. During the past forty years this science has undergone a complete reconstruction. Genetic psychology has succeeded structural psychology and the human mind is now studied as a growth. The genetic psychologist, like the Master, places the little child in the midst and bids us study the child from the moment of his first sensation until he attains the maturity of the fully developed adult mind. During the genesis of his psychic life, the infant is wholly under the control of the sensations that come pouring in from the outer world. His nascent mind, to use the words of William James, "is simply a big, buzzing, blooming consciousness." His first mental act probably is the distinguishing of persons and things. Then is evolved the consciousness of the Self and the not-Self—the subject and the object relation, the relation which has been the point of departure for all modern philosophies. But an equally notable event in the history of the growing mind, an event which has been ignored by all the philosophers and inadequately treated by the psychologists, takes place when the child assumes that other persons have experiences like his own and upon this theory undertakes to communicate with persons. You have seen a little child point to a dog and say with rising inflection, "dog." In his consciousness, the vocal sound "dog" is associated with the thing, "dog." In pointing to the dog, he ejects his experience into that of the person addressed, assuming that this person's experience is in this instance identical with his own. In some such way every child makes his adventures in communication. A common experience and a common vehicle of communication is the basis of all mental development and of all social intercourse. In

speaking to you, I am ejecting my experience into yours, assuming that we have a common speech and in a great measure a common experience as we have faced the problems of life.

To these three elements which appear in every communicating personality, the genetic psychologist gives the names of subject, object, and eject. Viewing these three elements as phases of personality, we call them the subjective selfhood, the objective selfhood, the ejective selfhood; subjective selfhood, the source of all the manifestations of personality; objective selfhood, the sum of all the manifestations of personality, and the ejective selfhood, the adaptation of personal experience to the experience of other persons so that communication with them is made possible.

If God communicates with man, he must adapt himself to the conditions that underlie human communication. The only God man can know is a God like man in the structure of his mind. We have emphasized the fact that man is like God. The time has come for us to reverse the statement and emphasize the fact that the only God man can know is like man in mental structure. The scientific presuppositions of deity calls for a Being in whom there shall appear the subjective-selfhood, the objective-selfhood, and the ejective-selfhood, forming the perfect personality.

We turn now to the historical revelation given in the holy Scripture for the purpose of finding out how nearly the Scriptures and science agree. The Christian idea of God is expressed in the name of Father, Son, Holy Spirit. The Christian definition makes basal a threeness in oneness. The Father is the source of all; and the Son is the revelation of all. God, as Father, is known only through God as Son—"Neither doth any know the Father save the Son and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him." The Father presents God as infinite, eternal, and absolute. The Son presents God as creator, revealer, sustainer of all—"The light that lighteth every man coming into the world;" "the Savior of men;" "the Lord of life." The eternal Christ is God expressing himself within terms of time and space, which expression in the fulness of time, took the form of a human personality, Jesus of Nazareth. Now as to the Holy Spirit: The books of the Old Testament give a conception of the Spirit of Jehovah somewhat similar to the conception of the Great Spirit as believed

in by primitive peoples. The Spirit of Jehovah among the Hebrews was the divine Energy, God going forth in action, aiding men in the performance of their appointed tasks. This idea runs through the Synoptic Gospels, and appears also in the Gospel of John. The conception of God as entering into social relations with man, and upon this foundation making possible inter-communion between God and man, becomes prominent in the closing conversations between Jesus and His disciples. Christianity presents a religion which is nothing more or less than a friendship between God and man, made possible by the companionship of the human and the divine. The basal principle of Christianity is culture through companionship. The appearance of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament marks the genesis of the revelation that God is ready to enter into social relations with all repentant men. The Holy Spirit is the ejective selfhood of God, making possible a commonness of experience between God and man. This is the literal meaning of the phrase, the communion of the Holy Spirit, the experience which God and man hold in partnership, in fellowship, in common. Through the social endeavor of God, the individual is lifted to a higher plane. Because of this psychological relationship with God, the human body becomes the temple of the Holy Spirit; man himself, a partaker of the divine nature, a child of God, an heir with Christ, a member of the divine humanity for which the whole cosmic process was undertaken.

In the epistles of Paul, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is presented with richness of detail. According to Paul there are two essential factors in the Christian life: one the divine Spirit, the other human faith. The two are necessary to the divine life in man. With this statement the psychologist of the twentieth century is in perfect agreement. God, obedient to the fundamental laws governing all communication, ejects his experience into the experience of the individual, reproving man in respect to righteousness, sin, and judgment to come. The revelation made by Jesus Christ, by the natural process of communication, enters man's thought and becomes a part of his intellectual experience. Faith is the recognition of the revelation of Jesus Christ as true and the laying hold of this knowledge as an area of experience

to be held in common with God, and upon the basis of this experience, the establishing of a permanent social relation with God. "If any man love me," says the Master, "he will keep my words and my Father will love him and we will come unto him and make our abode with him." All the revelation of God that man can know is summed up in Jesus Christ. To lay hold of this revelation and make it the determining factor in life is the essential fact in saving faith. God, entering into social relations with man, reorganizing his experience about the great center, Jesus Christ, guiding, teaching, influencing, inspiring, transforming the inner life, is God known in the Christian revelation as the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit is God in social relations with man; that is, God ejecting his experience into the experience of man, and finding in the experience of man an area of identity of experience, and upon this as a basis extending, enriching, and deepening the human experience, so that the area of identity of experience in man and God becomes the greater. God, in this social relation, identifies himself with all the truth which the individual possesses. In this sense the Holy Spirit is the spirit of truth, guiding men into all the truth. The eternal Christ is the sum of all the revelations of God made in terms of space and time. The Holy Spirit takes these revelations and gives to them clearer meaning. The Master says: "He shall take of mine and shall show it unto you." As one personality enters another through communication, reciprocal confidences and reciprocal love, so God enters and dwells in man.

God is the perfect personality, one and indivisible, whose revelation of himself has three distinct aspects: (1) The Father, the source of all revelation. (2) The Son, the sum of all revelation. (3) The Holy Spirit, the interpreter of all revelation in the mind of the individual man. God above us, God with us, and God in us. The Holy Spirit is present in every life; in the disobedient, convicting with regard to righteousness, sin, and judgment to come. In the obedient, extending the experience which is identical with God's experience, and enlarging the area of the commonness of the human and the divine. This interpretation of the Holy Spirit may be to many new, but this is to be said, it is simple, sane, scientific, scriptural, inspiring, and worthy of con-

sideration at the hands of all who are not bound by the shibboleths of dogmatic theology.

**THE PRESIDENT:** The second of the appointed speakers is Rev. C. C. Brown, D.D., Sumter, S.C.

**DR. BROWN** then delivered the following address:

*Mr. President:* I believe the law of these Medes and Persians is, we must not use a manuscript in our address. I have simply brought my crutches along, Mr. President, to help me over the hard places.

"How shall we interpret the Holy Spirit to the life of today?" We folks are very much conceited about our day. We think we have something the world never before had, while yet we make complaint that the ancients have used all of our best ideas. We haven't got much that is new. We must interpret the Holy Spirit to men just as he was interpreted in the early days and in the Middle Ages, and as he will be interpreted when the judgment comes.

But alas, for our mother tongue! What does "How" mean? I was hoping that Dr. Weaver would tell us. Am I to discuss the manner or the means of interpreting the Holy Spirit? One says to me, "Come to my house tomorrow," and I reply, "How shall I get to your house?" by which I may mean, By which road? or, Shall I ride or walk?

This is no easy place for me to occupy. It is a great misfortune for any man to come to be regarded as a specialist concerning the Holy Spirit. I have known cases in which an extraordinary conceit was gendered. Then, too, I have heard doughty doctrinaires pleading with men to have the Spirit-filled life, while I could not drive away the impression that in them there was a large vacuum needing to be filled. You can see, then, how it behoves one to be very careful in the manner and matter of his talk. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit belongs to the inner life.

We ought to be candid enough to confess that to a part of the life of today we can give no interpretation of the Spirit. To the gay and giddy world that goes laughing by, we can speak no intelligible word. Spiritual ignorance is more dense than any

other kind of ignorance. Some ignorance can be laughed at, but not spiritual ignorance.

But how shall we make an interpretation of the Spirit to the life of today? I know of no other answer than to say, We must do so by proper teaching, backed up by proper practice. We must try to make men believe that the Holy Spirit is the one mighty, unseen, energizing power of the world; that since his descent at Pentecost, we have been under his domination; that his presence on earth takes the place of Christ, who has gone away, and also of the Father, who no longer communicates with men, save by the Holy Spirit; that the Holy Spirit is the secret source of life to the believer, and that only those who yield to his influence are fit for a place in the church. If we lay great stress on this last fact, we shall at the same time be maintaining the doctrine—one of the greatest in the world—the one that differentiates the church from the world—the doctrine of the new birth. Just in proportion as we get men to see and understand the doctrine of the new birth, in the same proportion we teach them to despise good works and all human effort as the means of salvation.

But to carry conviction, we who preach must preach in the Spirit. Virtue must go out of us—the people must perceive it and feel it. Peter slunk away in the judgment hall and around the fire; but, after the healing of the cripple at the temple gate, on being carried to another judgment hall, himself now to be tried, he stood forth like a man, unintimidated, unabashed, and Luke explains it all by saying he was filled with the Holy Spirit. It is not too much for the man preaching in the Spirit to say and feel that virtue has gone out of him. The thing happens every day in every year. Here are two pieces of iron—one magnetized, and one not. One reveals a mystical power which the other has not. On the great ocean of the sinful world, the spiritual magnet—the man in the Spirit—can point the travelers to the haven of rest, and he will never point in the wrong direction.

In the New Testament, the Holy Spirit, while neither explained nor defined, is set forth under the commonest similitudes, bringing him down to a level with us. He is likened to water, that cleanses and revives; to fire, that purifies and illuminates;

to wind, that is powerful and unseen; to oil, that heals and consecrates; to rain and dew, that fertilize and refresh; to a dove, that is innocent and gentle; to a seal, that empowers and authenticates. Underneath all this is the clear New Testament doctrine that the Spirit is a person—not a mere influence.

But there are many facts connected with the Spirit which we must accept without understanding them. If I am asked, What is the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, or what are the functions? I will answer, It is God influencing the minds of men. Farther than this I cannot go. I have no philosophy about it, no special theory. God knows the secret way in which mind reaches mind. I do not; you do not. I do not know why words from my mouth wake up thoughts in your minds. I do not know why this mind of mine is like a stringed instrument on which one can play as the harper on his harp. I do not know how eyes full of love set fire to other eyes and kindle them into a responsive flame. But I know it is so. Soul touches soul—feeling awakes feeling. God made us so, and having planted the aptitude within us, he sends forth into our hearts the Spirit of love and adoption, crying, Abba! Abba! Father! Father!

And yet, pulpit teaching is not enough. We cannot induce the average man to invest in a mere theory. Practice is more than preaching. The beauty of the Christ-life, transferred to the believer by the operation of the Spirit, is an argument the world cannot gainsay. Before books full of arguments, before the mightiest defenders of the truth from pulpit or platform, the world stands unabashed; but before the beautiful life, the shining face of those in whom the Spirit dwells, the most blatant skeptic stands awed into silence. There is no argument to meet this, no means of refuting it. Interpretation by life, and not merely by words, is what I mean. This is the Christian's high function—to reveal and interpret the Spirit to the world, just as Jesus was a revelation of the Father to the world. To do this does not require a mind extraordinarily astute. It is not like the labor of one who digs among the ruins of a buried city—exhumes long-entombed tablets—and then, by applying great learning, comes forth to the world to tell what the ancients said and felt and

thought. If this were true, the power and utility of the Spirit in the heart would depend upon our education.

I have sometimes thought that in the man deeply spiritual another faculty is brought into play—another sense—a keener sense—an open ear that is attentive to the gentle influence of grace—a heart that lies open all the time to receive the impressions coming from above.

The Spirit-born are the true masters of Spirit interpretation. I remember now my first wireless message, fifteen hundred miles at sea. I gave it to the purser, and paid the tariff. A German ship that was to pass us in the night would transmit the message to New York. The equipment on our ship could not carry so far. In that night, the message went out. Other ships passed us on the rough sea, but only one received my message—the one prepared to receive it. To the unspiritual, the Bible is all written in cipher.

Interpreting the Spirit to men is a gracious calling. It is revealing the beauty of God. We must try to make the world believe in the great doctrine, that about us, within us, everywhere, there is a mighty, silent agency, like light or electricity, or like that which brings in and drives out the tides, of which every faithful believer may possess himself, and so become a teacher to teach the same truth to others. In this way, we shall best abolish all ecclesiasticism, all sacramentalism, and all sacerdotalism, and lead men out from the rocky and non-productive field where they are gathering and tithing the mint and anise and cummin of their good works, into a superior place of labor, where all the finer and keener and deeper senses are brought into play.

When a man has received into his heart the influence and power of the Holy Spirit, the whole of God, his scheme of redemption, his will and his word are made plainer to him. Many of those who are struggling bitterly with the problems of life, who are at war with God and with themselves, are they into whom the Holy Spirit has not yet entered to make them his temple and abiding place. The world-problems are dark at best, but they are darkest to those in whom there is no heavenly light. And this is what we must teach and seek to induce men to believe. To them the Spirit will then become his own interpreter,

and we shall no longer have to discuss the question, "How shall we interpret the Holy Spirit to the life of today?"

**THE PRESIDENT:** The subject is now open to the audience, and we will be glad to hear from anyone who will volunteer to speak upon it.

If no one volunteers to speak, I shall announce the meeting for tomorrow at 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon. The subject for tomorrow afternoon is "The Christian Principle in Modern Criminology." The writers upon this topic are Judge E. H. Callaway, of Augusta; Mr. Walter Wilbur, Charleston, S.C.; Rev. W. F. Clark, Point Pleasant, N.J. I am sure that discussion will prove interesting and helpful as these today have been in a great degree.

Prayer was then offered and the session closed.

## SECOND DAY

### *Afternoon Session*

Wednesday, November 9, 1910

4:00 o'clock P.M.

In the absence of the President, Dr. Mitchell, Rev. Howard Lee Jones, D.D., the First Vice-President, presided over the Congress.

**THE PRESIDENT:** We will ask Rev. W. S. Jossett to lead us in prayer while we stand.

MR. JOSSETT delivered the opening prayer.

**THE PRESIDENT:** Before announcing the topic for the afternoon discussion I will ask the Secretary to deliver an announcement which he desires to make.

**THE SECRETARY:** In view of the fact that the carrying out of the afternoon's program necessitates a modification of the ordinary laws of procedure, it is necessary, and fair, that a word of explanation should be uttered at this time. The only one of the appointees on this subject who was originally appointed and accepted and stood by his guns is Judge Callaway, of Augusta, Georgia. Other speakers and writers who had accepted notified us at the eleventh hour of their inability to be present. The consequence was that we are compelled to call upon the extreme courtesy and self-sacrifice of gentlemen who have later accepted these positions to help us out on this occasion: Mr. Walter Wilbur, of Charleston, S.C., and Rev. W. F. Clark, of Point Pleasant, N.J. Mr. Wilbur was not notified that he had only twenty-five minutes, and has prepared a paper which will require thirty in the reading. The members of the Executive Committee have been consulted and have for the time being suspended the operation of that law. Rev. W. F. Clark accepted, believing that he was to write, only finding out afterward that it was desired that he should speak. When this fact came to the knowledge of

the Secretary he said to him, "We would be glad to have you appear, whether you write or whether you speak," so that in this case there will be a manuscript, and we will have three writers, instead of two writers and one speaker.

**THE PRESIDENT:** Before announcing the topic and calling upon the first speaker, let me say that perhaps it has not been understood that anyone who under the rules desires to speak is most cordially desired to speak. We have provided pages this afternoon, and if anyone will simply hold up his hand at any time during the discussion, one of the pages will wait upon him and his card will be brought to the platform. We hope that quite a number this afternoon will participate in the discussion. Our topic is, "The Christian Principle in Modern Criminology." The first writer upon this subject is Judge E. H. Callaway, of this city.

**HON. E. H. CALLAWAY** then read the following paper:

#### THE CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLE IN CRIMINOLOGY

Criminology is the science which treats of the nature and causes of crime. Strictly speaking, Christianity has no more place in criminology than in any other science. The only useful service which criminology can render is to aid society in solving its problems for the prevention and suppression of crime and for the reformation of criminals. The only service which Christianity can render in reference to crime is necessarily along the same lines.

But, before we can properly define the sphere of Christianity in this field, it will be necessary to discuss criminology, and to define crime as clearly and accurately as possible.

Crime is usually defined as a "violation of law"—the doing of some act forbidden by law, or omitting to do some act commanded by law. It is essentially an offense against society, a breach of some statute which society through its constituted government has adopted for the interest and protection of its members as individuals, and for the body as a whole. There is no necessary identity between crime and sin, for crime is a violation of man-

made laws, and sin is a violation of divine laws. Crime is not always an infraction of a moral standard as established by Christian principles.

Some text-writers divide crimes into two classes. One is denominated "*mala in se*," including those offenses against the laws of society which are inherently evil and wrong, regardless of statutes, such as murder, arson, and theft. The other class of crimes is called "*mala prohibita*," referring to such offenses as were neither wrong nor improper except for the statute or ordinance prohibiting the same. Striking examples of this class of crimes are those against the state game laws and the federal revenue laws.

But, so far as government is concerned, there is no difference in the sanctity of these two classes of criminal statutes.

In this state, we have no common-law crimes—the government undertaking, in each instance, to define by statute what shall or shall not be done, and to prescribe the penalty for the violation of its provisions.

What are known as common-law crimes coincide more uniformly with offenses against the moral laws than do crimes made such by statute. The state grades crime by the punishment prescribed for its commission. Usually, the crimes punished with heavier penalties are called "felonies," while the petty offenses are called "misdemeanors."

There is no uniform standard of crimes or criminal statutes among the civilized countries of the world, nor even among the different states of our own country. An act which is criminal in South Carolina may be legal and proper in Georgia, or vice versa. Even among the cities of the same state, the municipal ordinances vary as to the acts prohibited and as to the penalties prescribed for their violations.

In the same jurisdiction, the criminal statutes are constantly being changed, and an act which may be lawful today may, by statute or ordinance, be criminal tomorrow.

When we consider that Congress and the legislatures of forty-eight states and the municipal governments of hundreds of cities are constantly adopting criminal statutes, and constantly changing existing criminal laws, without regard to uniformity in the various

states, or even in cities of the same state, and that all who violate these statutes, and many who violate the city ordinances, are reported and classed in criminal statistics, we need not be surprised to learn that statistically crime is largely on the increase.

The changing conditions of environment often call for radical changes in criminal statutes. We have a striking instance of this in Georgia. In 1770, the colonial government of Georgia enacted that :

every male white inhabitant of this Province who is or shall be liable to bear arms in the militia, either at common muster, or times of alarms, and resort on Sunday or other times to any church or other place of divine worship within the parish where such person shall reside, shall carry with him a gun or a pair of pistols in good order and fit for service, with at least six charges of gunpowder and ball, and shall take such gun or pistol with him to the pew or seat where such person shall sit, remain or be within or about said church or place of worship, under a penalty of ten shillings for every neglect of the same ;

and further enacted that :

the church wardens or the deacons, elders, or selectmen of other places of worship of each respective parish, shall be obliged, and they are hereby empowered to examine all such male persons, either in or about such places of public worship, at any time after the congregation is assembled, on Christmas and Easter days, and at least twelve other times in every year ; and if, upon finding any person or persons liable to bear arms and bring them to places of public worship as aforesaid, without the arms and ammunition by this Act directed, but shall not, within fifteen days after such offense is committed, inform against such person or persons so offending, in order to recover the penalty aforesaid, such church wardens, deacons, elders or selectmen, shall, for every such neglect of duty or giving information as aforesaid, forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds.

At that time the colony of Georgia was on the frontier, and its inhabitants consisted of a few small scattered settlements of white people who were in constant danger of surprises and murderous attacks by the Indians. A gathering of the people at church made a tempting opportunity to the savage Indians for a wholesale massacre.

But after Georgia had filled up with white people and the Indians had either been exterminated or driven out, and the

danger from this source had passed, it was then deemed best for the public safety that arms and deadly weapons should not be carried to church gatherings.

So that the legislature in 1870—just one hundred years later—made it a misdemeanor for any person to carry about his or her person any dirk, bowie knife, pistol, or revolver, or any kind of deadly weapon to any place of public worship, or any other public gathering in this state except militia muster grounds, and prescribed as a punishment for a violation thereof a fine of not less than \$20 nor more than \$50 for each offense, or imprisonment in the common jail of the county not less than ten or more than twenty days or both, in the discretion of the judge.

By far the greatest number of criminal statutes adopted by society through its organized government is intended for the protection of property. In many criminal statutes passed for this purpose, we often discern, as the predominating motive, the principle of human selfishness in the individual members of the law-making power who make penal those particular acts which interfere with their peculiar property rights or interests. Sometimes we see the same display of human nature in the severity of the penalties prescribed for violation of statutes protecting particular property rights. Cattle stealing and horse stealing have frequently been punished as capital felonies in states where cattle and horse raising were chief industries, and such offenses were of frequent occurrence.

Most property rights are dependent upon the laws, customs, and regulations of society for their very existence; and society in the protection of the property rights of its members is not always fair and just, and does not always extend the protecting arm of its criminal statutes with equal and complete justice over all the property rights of its citizens. A petty thief who takes enough of his neighbor's property to satisfy his hunger is a criminal and is punished as such; but the man who sells worthless articles or who, by taking advantage of his neighbor's necessities, sells an article for twice its value, or who pays his servant half the value of his labor, or who buys and uses with no intention ever to pay, is just as much an adept in separating his neighbor from his property as the petty thief, but he is not branded by society

or its laws as a thief nor punished as a criminal. The street gamin who throws dice for a nickle is a gambler and a criminal, and must be punished for the protection of society; but the business man who bets on margins in prices of the country's commodities and the necessities of life is a high financier and violates no criminal statute.

There are many methods of daily practice in every community of separating people from their money and property which are dishonest and immoral, and yet the perpetrators violate no penal statute, and the redress offered in the civil courts is grossly inadequate.

We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that society, in addition to ignoring the moral standards established by Christian principles, frequently violates the principles of common justice and fairness, both in defining crime and in prescribing its punishment.

Criminology as a science is of comparative recent origin. Perhaps the earliest distinct treatise on the subject was by Lombroso, an Italian philosopher and professor in the University of Turin, who published his work, *Criminal Man*, in 1876. The striking and distinctive features of his theory are that crime is hereditary and that the criminal is born and not made, and that there are physical marks on his body, indicating the criminal disposition, and its character or nature. A great many scientists and students of crime and criminology have adopted Lombroso's theory either in whole or in part. But there is an opposing school of criminologists who dispute this theory of crime, and who contend that the criminal is not such by inheritance, but as a result of environment, such as social organizations, education, necessity, and opportunity.

It would be extremely unfortunate for society should the officers of government, charged with the enforcement of the criminal laws of the land, adopt either of these theories to the exclusion of the other. For when we consider the wide range of the criminal laws, it would be absurd to say that even the majority of persons who violate them were either born criminals or stamped with criminal marks upon their bodies.

Treason is the highest and most serious crime forbidden by

the laws of a country, and yet, in case of rebellion, if successful, it becomes patriotism and the leader is hailed as a hero; whereas, if unsuccessful, he is a criminal and is punished accordingly. Sometimes an entire community will form itself into a mob, and recklessly destroy human life as well as property. All these people are criminals, for they have violated the most sacred and important laws of the land as well as the highest standards of moral laws, and yet it would be idle to say that they were either born criminals or that they have distinguishing criminal marks upon their bodies.

Some people commit criminal acts involving moral turpitude upon the impulse of a moment. Hardly any of us are entirely free from the danger of violating some criminal law.

Sometimes a man who has lived a long, useful, and blameless life, filled with honorable deeds which inspire the trust and confidence of all who know him, falls in a moment before some overpowering wave of temptation which his moral character cannot resist.

Perhaps both classes of criminologists are partly correct. Some criminals are born, inheriting the vicious tendencies of their ancestors. They come into the world moral degenerates with the natural disposition to violate all the laws of God and man. Upon this species of the human race, Nature may have placed her earmarks and singled them out for identification by their fellow-men.

We witness the same principle of inherited infirmities among the insane and the lunatic, and we are reminded of the threat of Jehovah from Sinai that he would visit the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generations.

But this species is by no means exhaustive of the criminal classes, nor include all or even the worst of the most dangerous types.

Men and women who come into the world unhampered by the sins of the parents, and who have an even chance, so far as heredity is concerned, acquire criminal habits early in life, when their impressionable natures and dispositions are easily susceptible to surrounding influences.

The absence of moral and religious teaching, the influences

and association of wicked companions, the temptations and allurements of gilded vice, frequently make the city child as sure a victim of crime as the sin-cursed offspring of the degenerate father.

While there is more hope for reformation in his case than in that of the born criminal, his surest chance of escape is through change of influence while still young.

It is in this field that the Christian principle, operating through the efforts of Christian men and women, may accomplish great good for society and greater good for these unfortunate children.

Christianity may have no place in criminology, limited as the latter is to the study and investigation of the causes and nature of crime, but it can help society in lessening crime by the spread of the gospel and the development of the Christian principle in the hearts and lives of the individual members of society.

Society will continue to enact criminal statutes, and will continue to punish some of those who violate these statutes, because certain and swift punishment is the surest way of lessening crime. But Christianity cannot join with the state in the work of prosecuting criminals. It has no lot or part in taking vengeance, nor in punishing people. It is a religion of compassion and forgiveness. The doctrine of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, would be out of harmony with the Sermon on the Mount. You may visit and minister to the unfortunate criminal in prison, whether guilty or not guilty, for this is Christian compassion, one of the greatest of Christian virtues, and especially commended by the Savior; but it is no part of Christian duty, or the Christian principle, to put him in prison, to prosecute him, or punish him. Let the state, whose laws he has violated, perform this service. Neither is it the part of Christian duty to take the criminal out of prison, and thus defeat the enforcement of law against crime. The Savior pardoned the thief on the cross, but he did not prevent his execution for his crime, nor did he attempt to do so.

The Christian kingdom is a spiritual kingdom, operating solely through the hearts and lives of men and women, and has no connection whatever with the earthly kingdoms and governments established by man, save and except as its principles influence the character of individual members of society.

Christianity demands a higher standard of both morality and justice than the average sentiment of human society establishes or maintains. It will mold public sentiment and elevate all standards, but only by operation upon the individual. So the Christian principle improves the individual law-maker, and thereby brings about wiser and fairer laws for the benefit of society.

The same results are obtained in perhaps a more marked degree by the operation of the Christian principle in the character of those members of society who are selected to administer and enforce the criminal laws of the state. The quality of justice administered by the judge and juror will be ripened and seasoned by the influence of the Christian spirit.

But the great field for the operation of the Christian principle in the suppression of crime is upon all the individual members of society without limit or classification. Christianity has neither weakened nor nullified the importance or binding force of the Decalogue. On the contrary, its teachings inculcate a greater respect for Government and its laws, especially those forbidding offenses involving moral turpitude. It strongly condemns envy, jealousy, personal revenge, sordid selfishness, avarice, injustice, dishonesty, and all the worst passions of human nature, which are the frequent parents and producers of crime.

The Christian spirit is incompatible with both sin and immorality, and its birth and growth in the hearts of men, women, and children will ultimately destroy the criminal tendencies in true Christian converts.

THE PRESIDENT: We will now have the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Walter Wilbur, of Charleston, S.C.

WALTER WILBUR, ESQ., of Charleston, S.C., then read as follows:

### THE CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLE IN MODERN CRIMINOLOGY

In a wonderful sense we are standing today at the threshold of awakening history. There are dim questionings that come from some mysterious where, indistinct murmurings of a social order in troubled unrest, fearful and difficult of assembling, frag-

ments of thought inconsistent and well-nigh unintelligible oft-times—but always concerned with the glowing question of the century into which we are entering—the question of man's responsibility for man.

The question presents itself in a thousand forms. At one moment it is raised in the cry of the widow and the orphan, victims of a pauperism whose existence is just beginning to be recognized as a challenge directed at the very base of our civilization. At another moment it may come up in the protest of laboring men, amalgamated into a great collective voice, insisting upon rights to reasonable hours of labor, and reasonable conditions of labor. Or the question may become involved in the cry of the capitalist himself, demanding from public opinion in as direct terms as he dares, the right to earn money on a purely economic basis, untrammled by the growing restraints of a paternalistic public sentiment. In all its forms it is one question at bottom, To what is man entitled at the hands of his fellow-man? How far shall society actively concern itself with the welfare of the individual?

Let me at the outset express a frank regret that I have not had more time for the preparation of this paper. If it were unreasonable to ask for fifty, fifteen years, at least, would have been a fairer portion of the great cycle which environs a world history within which to study an epochal movement. The thing of which I must write is such a movement, and in its beginnings. Today it is but the presentiment of what it forecasts. Its interpretation calls for the perspective of the prophet, rather than of the historian. It is as difficult of definition as is the modern socialism of which it is itself a significant phase.

But even today all is not uncertainty. From here and there in the social body have come answers, whether on the social, or economic, or industrial, or religious side, that startle one with their radicalism and their vigor of assertion. The mere verdict of tradition and of established convention holds men less and less, not because they have become irreverent but because, as never before, they have become seriously thoughtful.

We are here immediately concerned with but one phase of this adjustment of relations between society and the individual—that

expressed in society's attitude toward its criminal class, its class of outcasts. What has society to say to the question of man's responsibility for man as applied to this class? The response we shall discover here is of itself of striking, even if not unique, significance. Say that we find the key to the growing solicitude of society toward the working man, in the still crude but tremendous power of labor organizations, demanding for the laborer, in no uncertain terms, rights which an advancing civilization has taught him to recognize and to dare to claim. But who has organized in collective protest the graduate of the slum and of the jail and of the penitentiary? Who has made, on his behalf, a plea for an economic readjustment with its argument that the plea, if unheeded, shall be enforced by a cessation of his activities? Society's response is not to the criminal but to a doubt society itself has raised. Both are the index of a new and a striking point of view self-produced in society, the imputation of rights where no rights were claimed, the postulation of a duty where no duty was invoked.

For well-nigh two thousands years there has been a something stirring in the minds of civilized nations which we have termed Christianity. Its manifestations have been multiform almost as the sands of the sea. But in the midst of diversity there has been the same germinal unity which makes of the whole pageant of human history so tremendous a drama. The continuity of Christianity is historically established. However expressed, it has been always the Christian religion. Whether a "dog of an infidel" perished by the sword, or an Albigensian heretic shrieked in agony in the torture chambers of the Inquisition, or a witch of Salem was confronted with the murderous dilemma of death by fire or death by water, it is always "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen!" The links in the chain of historical Christianity are unbroken. The articles of faith are essentially identical today with the apostolic invocations. But there has been a growth as well. The saints of yesterday have become the fiends of today. We know this as the reflex of the Christian influence, its gradual realization in the minds of men. It is the story of the growth of an Idea—an Idea of God, an Idea of man.

The message of Christ, while itself an affirmation, involved a protest; and because a negative which is understood is more easily translated into conduct than a positive half realized, it was the protest of Christianity that first received large emphasis in history. In past centuries, the thunders of Sinai had found expression in a decalogue of things "That shalt not" do, long before the moral sense of Israel caught the ethical significance of her code. This was Israel's message of protest, which, unrelieved by any more vital and affirmative interpretation of God's will, became a message of personal self-righteousness, and produced in the Sadducees and Pharisees the intolerant, hypocritical religious leaders of the days of Christ.

How nearly history repeated itself! The first work of the Christian church was the development and stimulus of the individual conscience, in ethical directions. Receiving its commission in the midst of a degenerate and corrupt civilization, the tables of the law were given new compulsion for the followers of Christ, the church made its attack upon society itself. Men, caught in the fires of a spiritual regeneration, sought first and foremost to cast off the "Old Adam," and, with an identity of impulse, to repudiate the world. Christianity not only involved social ostracism, but a necessary separation of the "Christian" from the "world" in which he found himself. "Worldliness," a word by which martyrs are now made, was then the impossible mingling of men whose consciences had been quickened into life, with a society which overwhelmingly condoned and practised abuses which they could no longer tolerate. To the early church, the "world" was not, primarily, an opportunity for service, but a threat of contamination. The monastery, the nunnery, the celibacy of the priesthood—all gave a grotesque but consistent definition to this early dichotomy of the church and the world.

While Christianity still cost something, there was but little danger to its message in this emphasis upon exemplary conduct in its followers. The church was still close to the warm humanity of its founder and the fires of persecution but solidified character and kindled the sense of eternal values. The church, if firm, was not self-righteous, and it had a message, even if a crude message, of human hope. It attracted men and women to itself

in ever-increasing numbers until, at last, it became a mighty force, a force to be reckoned with even by the empire itself. Then it was that the church and the empire formed an alliance.

In its hour of greatest strength, the church was annexed to the throne of the Caesars. The standards of moral conduct, and the formula of faith, became officialized, made imperative. The will of the Caesars became sponsor for the execution of the will of God.

With the removal of the element of sacrifice, the deterioration of Christianity at once began.

Again the chosen of God became "careful in tithes of mint and anise and forgetful of the weightier matters of the law."

The alliance between church and state soon came to mean a tremendous emphasis upon form and a corresponding subordination of spirit. All the affirmative message of the cross was suffocated in the smoke of altars and lost in the superstitions of a paganized theology.

The alliance between the church and the state did not mean a reconciliation between the church and society. The basis of alliance was the relegation of Christianity to a definite and fixed place. The religion of Christ was to be substituted for the religion of Jupiter and Venus; the religion of Jupiter and Venus was to be, by no means, expanded into the religion of Christ.

But a society which had adopted the church into its bosom, and had given its unessential dictates the force of inexorable law, must assume at least the form of an aversion for those things which the church denounced. Most vehement of all would be its aversion for those things which the church denounced equally with itself. The church in its own most corrupt days said with society, "Thou shalt not steal." The rights of property, always more sacred than human life, became more than ever a fetish. The more corrupt became the church and the more corrupt became society, the more violent became its anger toward those who sinned against the law of property rights. All the public opinion that there was, stamped the offender, if himself defenseless, as a criminal and an outcast. Days of robber barons and murderous priests saw common men hanged for a few farthings.

The church that said "Thou shalt not steal" was invested with

the power of a state that said "if thou stealest thou shalt surely die"; and neither a paganized church, nor a "Christianized" empire questioned but that, in carrying out this dread alternative, they had fulfilled the whole duty of man.

Such became the doom of the Christianity that was but a message of protest, devitalized, formal, dead.

But here and there from the beginning, within the church in the form of heresies, without the church in the form of defiance, the affirmative message of the cross made its slow impress upon the minds of men. As the church, with its regal pope, the self-appointed vicar of Christ, became more and more arrogant and corrupt, the minds of men were growing. Education, travel, industrial development—all the avenues by which men come into more and more vital realization of the existence of other men, in growingly intimate relations—began to produce a new consciousness, a social consciousness, and a social conscience. These were the days of mental and religious expansion. Reformations began to strike the deadly weapon of thoughtful criticism into the established order—social, industrial, religious. Little by little man was climbing into his destiny. The leaven of Christ's message, his affirmative message, was given more and more a new voice and a new sort of hearing, by men who were reaching God *ex cathedra*. Men began slowly to think of life and religion as a unity. Men began to develop a new sort of responsibility, a responsibility as members of society for the wrongs of society. More fundamental still, the rights of other men began to loom as large as the rights of men who had been born to rights.

We are within our own days now. Within a generation a focalized social conscience turned upon the institution of the debtor's prison—that mighty definition of the subordination of the rights of manhood and human liberty to property—and the debtor's prison has disappeared. Within a generation the institution of slavery was caught in the searchlight of a new sense of social responsibility. An age-old institution, representing untold millions of dollars of property, has disappeared, as an institution, from the face of the earth, so completely that the children of this generation cannot even conceive its possibility, and are embarrassed in the defense of their own fathers. And it has passed,

not as the ephemeral passing of the earth into the face of the sun, which with the night shall be changed again. It is a change forever. The human race has passed the point where men can tolerate the ownership of men by men, in this naked manifestation of the triumph of regard for property over regard for human life and liberty and opportunity.

And now the searchlight of a focalized social conscience is playing, unrestrained, hither and thither in the dark places of society, flooding unspeakable corners with the light of a truth-seeking and sensitive sympathy. It has found the haunts and habitats of the underworld. It has found the criminal as he is.

What has it found? First wonder: it has found men—and women—created in the image of God. It has found them caged like beasts, fed like beasts, treated like beasts, by such other men as of all the social body were not self-esteeming too low to live by traffic so degraded. Having convicted the criminal of some offense condemned by the inflexible criminal laws of a society more intolerant of a discovered than of an existent wrongdoer, society had turned its face away in loathing, and said, with a hypocrisy which has a historical precedent, "See ye to it." And they have seen to it, these "moody torturers," these "experienced wreckers of the mind," these human carrion whom the opportunities of mediaeval criminal law machinery attracted from the dregs and mire of human depravity to their grewsome sport with the souls of men. They have seen to it that all hope, all aspiration, all ambition, all semblance to decency or the faintest glimmer of a desire for decency, perished. Society's penalty for sin against property or against any other phase of society's self-interest—law-protected—was the status of the criminal, and those ministers of the law that do its bidding saw to it that such status meant overwhelming, complete, irrevocable degradation.

Society looked for the crime for which this status had been imposed. Society found that it had sold the life of a man for thirty pieces of silver. And to the question, "Why?" society had no answer, save the traditions of a worn-out creed and a worn-out code. And so society's searchlight revealed a hideous *non sequitur* between the crime and its punishment that violated the first principles of justice. Society began to ask itself for the

criminal, "Did he deserve this? Have we robbed him of rights in a clumsy effort to punish him for a wrong?"

The searchlight worked backward. It found conditions of life that had no place in a society where men had rights. It found social, economic, industrial conditions that discounted the first possibility of an adequate education of the criminal-to-be, in the essential principles of the rights he had violated. The sense of property is not innate. The sense of law and order is not innate. Neither is apt to become acute where want and discomfort and failure of opportunity have sharpened only the animal instincts.

Society turned the searchlight forward. The criminal it had educated, for which it had provided a home, and a schoolhouse, and the conditions of life, and teachers, was infinitely more dangerous, more desperate, more irreclaimable, than the untrained offender of the first trial.

I know not whether Laws be right,  
Or whether laws be wrong,  
All that we know who lie in gaol  
Is that the wall is strong;  
And that each day is like a year,  
A year whose days are long.

This too I know—and wise it were  
If each could know the same—  
That every prison that men build  
Is built with bricks of shame,  
And bound with bars lest Christ should see  
How men their brothers maim—

With bars they blur the gracious moon,  
And blind the goodly sun;  
And they do well to hide their hell,  
For in it things are done  
That Son of God nor son of man  
Ever should look upon!

The vilest deeds like poison weeds  
Bloom well in prison-air;  
It is only what is good in man  
That wastes and withers there:  
Pale anguish keeps the heavy gate,  
And the warder is despair.

Society began to be acutely conscious of a failure of its own, of a menace it had brought to full-grown strength, and of a responsibility.

The infusion of the spirit of Christ's affirmative message into modern criminology is society's answer to the conditions its searchlight has revealed. It is beginning to see the criminal through the eyes of the Christ who himself died as the result of a criminal blunder in society's attitude, who lived a helpful friend to the most degraded in the Galilean multitudes that thronged about him, whose dying words assured a thief of his comradeship in a promised Paradise. Society is coming to see the criminal first of all as a man, with human aspirations and human possibilities. Timidly at first, hesitatingly, it has begun to admit that he should have a chance, and to provide him with opportunities for physical and mental and industrial development. It has begun to do things for him. For younger criminals, reformatories and industrial schools have taken the place of the jail. The machinery of the criminal law, still rusty and creaking, is yet finding opportunities for classification of offenders and discrimination between classes. Society has begun to give things new values and to see them in new relations. Society has begun to say that her own first responsibility is not self-protection, but service; that it means more that men shall be saved than that property rights shall be inviolable.

One immediate result of this new point of view is tremendously significant. Sweeping this country from shore to shore, already entrenched in England, and destined soon to control in the courts of Europe, has spread a new doctrine, or an application of an old doctrine so new as to make it seem almost revolutionary. It is the doctrine of the parental responsibility of the state for the child. Again, Christ stands in the midst of the doctors with a little child in his arms. The child, it is now said, is the ward of the state. If a child of suitable parentage commits a misdemeanor, its parents correct it, as a part of their parental responsibility. And so, if a child of the slums does wrong, the state, its foster-parent, will correct it. The erring child must no longer be called criminal. He is an erring boy, a delinquent, and the state, through appropriate tribunals, through

appropriate methods, will reach his fault and put him straight. And so the state will examine into the conditions of the child's life and, if they should be altered, the state will alter them. The state will give to the child the advantages, so far as it can, of a suitable parentage, an adequate education, opportunity for the inculcation of moral principle, and respect for law and order. The child must not be allowed to become a criminal.

What does this mean? The state is the aggregate of the social conscience it represents. If the state is to be *in loco parentis* to the delinquent child, society has recognized in itself the duty of providing the child with the advantages of a normal childhood and suitable education, as his right. This is to say that each little member of the social body is entitled to the opportunity to make of himself all that can be made.

But the leaven of a sense of social responsibility is still working. Society, having recognized its guardianship of its children, is beginning to ask itself with troubled conscience, "Am I my brother's keeper?" and to give that question an answer. We are hearing today of suspended sentences, indeterminate sentences, probation, for adult offenders. Society is not only *in loco parentis* for its children; it now recognizes obligations, if only of charity and mercy, to all members of the class called "criminal."

The problem of the best interest of those hardened in crime and annealed in the state's own furnaces, the jails, is more difficult of solution than the problem of erring childhood. The menace of the jail had no power to produce virtue. It only destroyed the instinct for virtue, it only dried up the well-springs of human confidence and trust. But in spite of the difficulty of approach, the leaven is working toward the solution of even this problem. The doors of the social body are slowly opening wider to the ex-convict, to him who, though once fallen, wishes to live straight in the future. There is greater reluctance on the part of humanity to commit men to the iniquities of prison discipline. Capital punishment is beginning to wear many of the aspects of murder. And it may be that we are on the eve of greater revelations still in the development of brotherly love and human fellowship as manifested in society's solicitude for the weakest and most dangerous of its members. Society is remembering that

Jesus once said: "I come to call not the righteous but sinners to repentance," and "I am not sent but unto the *lost* sheep of the house of Israel." If discipline there must be, and discipline of some sort there must be, if our civilization is to be preserved, it must not be vindictive but constructive. There must be a new spirit and a new method where the discipline is applied. As in the case of the children appropriate tribunals and methods must be provided, tribunals and methods appropriate, not to the mere cessation of the criminal's wrong-doing, not to his mere effectual removal as an active menace to society, but to his reclamation. Already the state is thinking in terms of the criminal's opportunity, not primarily of its own safety. Its own safety may follow. "He that loseth his own life, the same shall find it." But the primal motive is a broadening sympathy. The state is seeking the kingdom of heaven, where all these things—social safety, health, honesty, efficiency in the body politic—shall be added unto it.

On a tomorrow, not far distant, the controlling note in criminology shall not be emphasis of the degradation of wrong-doing, but of the possibilities of righteousness. The minions of the police force, the jail, the penitentiary will be shorn of their opportunities to brutalize and destroy the souls of men. The status of "outcast" will be abolished. As in the children's courts all over the land, stress is being laid with a significant emphasis on the fitness of the judges and probation officers for the delicate work entrusted to them, as they supply the indispensable personal element of human sympathy and co-operation in the protection and education of the child by the state, so something of the same emphasis will be laid upon fitness in the men who deal with our adult offenders against society's dictates. In the near future men may be called of God to be police officers, and jailers, and magistrates, and judges in criminal courts, as unmistakably as they are now called to be ministers and doctors and teachers and lawyers and journalists.

The leaven of Christ's affirmative message of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God is working in society today to the end that the interests of the many shall be made identical with the interests of the few, and the welfare of the

few shall be the responsibility of the many. So long as there be a life in all the world in darkness, shorn of opportunity, in want or distress, without its chance, or without its thousandth chance, to rise and start toward the destiny that is in Christ, so long will the social conscience be troubled. It is the sign and the penalty of the saved that the cry of the unsaved shall sound ceaselessly in their ears. And social safety, industrial safety, moral safety, have come to have a controlling place in any definition of salvation. The securing of these has come to mean the Christian responsibility of society toward its every member.

"He that seeketh his own life, the same shall lose it." A vindictive society but evolves and multiplies toxins that destroy it. But let that mind be in society which is in Christ Jesus, with passionate yearning for the development of the fullest possibilities of its every member, and the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Toward such an end the world is surely moving. Already the world-heart beats faster for the welfare of its children; already the day of a broader application of human sympathy and co-operation to the least of these, Christ's brethren, is at hand. When the outcast shall become the very center of the ministrations of a solicitous social body, the criminal class will be no more. The child criminal already no longer exists. Into the broader light of a day of complete social regeneration, through the constructive power of the human love, "a little child shall lead them."

THE PRESIDENT: We shall now have the pleasure of hearing Rev. W. F. Clark, of Point Pleasant, N.J.

REV. W. F. CLARK then read as follows:

#### THE CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLE IN MODERN CRIMINOLOGY

The wording of our topic is a happy one and makes necessary but little preliminary clearing of the ground. It is only fair, however, to premise that what one may deem essentially Christian another may call decidedly the reverse.

Then too, because we can see the principles of modern criminology more clearly by contrasting them with those which they

seek to supplant, it will be well to make such a comparison. Let us do this and seek the principles of the modern, as opposed to the old, criminology.

The essential feature of the new attitude toward criminals is the value put upon the criminal. Instead of placing all emphasis on the protection of society from the criminal the new criminology seeks to protect the criminal from society. In a majority of cases it considers society the offender and the criminal the victim. The criminal is conceived to be *not* an enemy of unusual power arrayed against the state, but a weakling against whom society has so arrayed itself as to crush his littleness into still smaller compass. Instead of the criminal creating vicious conditions, the criminal is conceived to be created by vicious circumstances—circumstances very likely to have been created by the eminently respectable members of society.

The old criminology looked to the protection of property and of statutes; the new looks to the protection of the man—especially the man who is already a victim of property rights and property statutes.

The new denies the value of the old deterrent system, claiming it is not suited to the ailment. It asserts that the homeopathic principle does not apply in the sphere of morals. It proclaims that it is idle to take a man (or more likely a boy) whose brain works badly because of slum conditions and hope to cure him by placing him in worse than a slum environment. The indictments of the new criminology against society are heavy. It alleges that the occasional criminal is at the mercy of the professional one in the person of the policeman, the jailer, the ward boss, and the economic and political systems that make these guardians over him. It alleges a discrimination against poverty that is both uneconomic and immoral. It claims that under the old system the waste of men and money is defenseless and cruel. It claims that the deterrent system puts the occasional offender in a school of crime, teaches him that society and law are his enemies, and practices him in every form of treachery and lewdness. It says the deterrent system ruins the occasional offender and debauches the society that employs it. It says that the laws are in many cases the only agent in creating criminals; that by the complexity

of the law and the variations of law in the several states what is a misdemeanor in one state is a crime in another. It charges that children of no particular moral training are treated as confirmed reprobates when the offenders are at worst non-moral, certainly not vicious. It arrays these indictments against a background of prison horrors so black, so unspeakable, that we are convinced that, Christianity aside, in the interests of common decency, some features of the old criminology must be destroyed, such features, for example, as the fee system, the punishment of children with old offenders, some features (at least) of the peonage system, the appointment of officials through political favor instead of on the basis of merit, the unlimited power of punishing criminals, the third degree, solitary confinement, the treatment of untried persons as if guilty, capital punishment, the unsanitary conditions of the common jails. These things today as set forth in the reports of the Prison Reform League compose the list of crimes perpetrated by society in connection with the treatment of criminals—a list, let us say, that is darker than is exhibited on the calendar of any criminal court.

The change of position here involved is radical in the extreme. It is like Jesus' condemnation of the Scribes and Pharisees—the religionists of his day. He called the sinners the hopeful soil and the religious teachers the hopeless set. So the modern criminology sees the criminal as the victim and society the offender, and it is not surprising that society feels a little injured at this view of the case. But the heart of the new criminology is the heart of the gospel. Its burden is the value of the human soul.

The gospel was intended to supersede the law. The modern criminology would supplant what has been known as law. The interest is the individual, the human being. The offenses committed by men or boys are not to be regarded as demanding punishment because property has been destroyed or laws broken. The offense involves human relations, the welfare of human beings, the psychology of human minds. *These* are to be looked to. If a boy steals, the conditions in which the pressure of life caused the boy to steal must be examined. It is not enough to know the offense committed and the legal penalty attached. It is relevant and necessary to know the boy's home life, the eco-

conomic conditions in which he is found, the hygiene of his home life, the character of his companions, the moral teaching or lack of teaching he has received. Knowing these things, a wise judge will seek to remove the causes of evil and, where that is impossible, he will place the lad in another environment, a better one, not a worse one. This procedure may not conform to the law and the statutes of the Jews or of our criminal code, but it is most assuredly the embodiment of the teaching of "the Sermon on the Mount." The new criminology says with Jesus, "Of how much more value is a man than a sheep," how vastly more valuable is a man than a bit of property! Nor is modern criminology to be charged with disregarding the *offense*. The offense is still a fact and it is to be reckoned with; it is to be corrected by correcting the conditions which render it possible; it is to be corrected by developing the offender in mental and moral power, so that he will not wish to repeat the wrong. By the use of the suspended sentence, probation officers, and industrial schools, the offender is to retrieve his error without first being branded and placed beyond the pale. The offender is not placed in a group of hardened criminals that he may be warned against total depravity, but he is inspired by a vision of his own value and of his power in righteousness. He is taught to know the infinite resources of human devotion for triumphing over evil.

In all this the value of the man, the priceless character of personality, is brought into high prominence. Where the old treatment aimed to destroy the power of initiative, "to break the will," the new treatment aims to make a man value himself, cultivate his will-power, develop his initiative. This high valuation of self, development of will, cultivation of initiative are all necessary to the conquest of evil. This was Jesus' method. He spoke to men oppressed by harsh political and economic conditions, telling them they were sons of the ever-living God; that the ruler of rulers was their Father; that oppression was a small thing to endure if a man had the heart of a prince and was heir to eternal mansions; that men should value themselves because God cared so much for them as to number the very hairs of their head.

Closely related to this belief and method of modern criminology is its belief that the criminal is largely of the subnormal

instead of the supernormal type. He is young in years, undeveloped in character, or abnormally developed, and so is at a disadvantage in the sharp competitions of life. Thus he falls into special temptation or becomes the victim of some dire necessity. A man (or more likely a boy), who has thus fallen would under the old system serve a term in some jail or penitentiary. Under the incubus of such an experience, weaker in will, practically ostracized from society, hounded by the guardians of the law and suspected by all, he returns to a struggle so much more desperate than that in which he before succumbed that the way back to prison is the path of least resistance.

Judge Cleland, of the Maxwell Street District, Chicago, reports eighteen women who had served over one hundred terms each and one man who was committed for the two hundred and first time (*Crime and Criminals*, p. 236), and after each imprisonment the victims were returned to society weaker, less desirable members, than before. The offender is thus made a habitual criminal by due process of law and at heavy expense to the state. And the person thus educated in crime is more than likely, in his first offense, a mere child. "It is said that over half the inmates of the reformatories, jails, and prisons in this country are under twenty-five years of age. Some authorities say under twenty-three" (*Crime and Criminals*, p. 254). When the repeating propensities of criminals is considered (the fact that 70 per cent of first offenders come back to prison for other terms) it will be seen how young the first offenders must be. Judge Lindsey tells, as typical, of a little truant in jail awaiting deportation to Golden. The jailer sent word to the judge at night that the boy was hysterical and was calling upon the judge for help. "I went to the jail. Inside, the steel doors were opened and the steel bolts withdrawn, one by one, with a portentous clanking and grating. It was as if we were about to penetrate to some awful dungeon in which a murderous giant was penned—so formidable were the iron obstacles that were swung back before us and clashed shut on our heels. And when I reached, at the end of a guarded corridor, the barred door of Harry's cell, there, in the dim glow of a light overhead, the boy lay asleep on the floor, his round

little legs drawn up, his head pillowed on his tiny arm, his baby face pale under the prison lamp. The sight was so pitifully ridiculous that I choked up at it. It seemed such a folly—such a cruel folly—to lock up a child in such a place of lonely terror” (*The Beast*, p. 140 f.). This may stand to us as the type of first offenders. And out of these little ones, at great expense, by a process of revengeful punishment for the infraction of statutes our habitual criminals have been made.

Judge Lindsey regards children as non-moral as for the most part young savages, not to be judged before the law as strong, adult, civilized men. They are just children and many of them are weak. Nothing is to be done with these children that does not aim at strength, morality, and the inculcation of all Christian virtues.

Colonel Griffith bears testimony to the fact that even the murderers whom he encountered in jail were on the whole a good sort and in general far superior in morality to the prison officials. Of course this would not be likely to be true of any but first-offense men.

The treatment of these children by modern methods Judge Lindsey described thus: “We impress them with the need of doing right, because it is right, because it hurts to do wrong, because only weak kids do wrong—not because wrong is punished; for *that teaching*, I believe, is the great error of our ethics. The fear of punishment, I find, makes weak children liars and hypocrites and, with the strong ones, it adds to the enticements of evil all the sweetness of forbidden fruit.”

Surely this attitude is also the heart of the gospel. Sinners were told by Jesus of a tender shepherd, of an anxiously waiting father, of infinite, exhaustless patience and blessings and love. A sinner is to Jesus one of God’s backward children. He came not to judge them but to save them. He called them to repentance, he cured them, he saved them from sin because sin was crushing out their lives. They are only children; they are the backward ones, the little ones.

Naturally we are under compulsion to examine the modern criminologist’s denunciation of *punishment for punishment’s sake*. For the modern criminologist condemns this principle

root and branch, condemns it in application to the criminal, in application to those supposed to be warned by it, and in application to the society that employs it. He says it is worse than worthless in practice and no better in theory. Much of Christian teaching runs counter to this position, but again we have to confess that the heart of the gospel accords with the modern view. Moreover; some of our best thinkers in theology and science are substituting the word *discipline* for *punishment* in all God's work in the world. God disciplines but never exacts a penalty is the assertion of J. McLeod Campbell, Charles Cuthbert Hall, and many others. The seeming hurt that comes from a moral wrong or from an infraction of nature's laws is never for our hurt, but always for our instruction. It is the admonishing word that our ears hear behind them saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it," when we turn to the right hand or to the left. There are still thousands who would teach punishment temporal and eternal as God's assertion of his righteousness, his majesty, and his holiness. Gentler souls do not so read Revelation, yet there is perhaps a large majority who do. With this majority the modern criminologist would take issue. He would say that the only possible reparation one can make for weakness is to win from weakness to strength. The only way to pay the penalty of a fault is to reform. The only thing that the state can rightfully do with any criminal is to reform him. Revenge for a wrong does but add another wrong. Severe, unjust, ill-adjudged penalties for offenses great and small debauch the society which exacts them. Hangings prove not to be deterrent; the society that employs them becomes thereby cruel, inhuman, criminal.

On the contrary, the policy of treating suspects as if innocent and convicts as unfortunate delinquents to be reformed by fresh air, healthful occupations, cheerful, sane companionship, the inculcation of moral principles, the vision of the spirit of man rising triumphant over every temptation, has a working efficiency that astonishes even its advocates.

Judge Lindsey reports under the old system the return to jails and prisons of 65 per cent of first-offense victims. Under the new system only about 5 per cent fail of permanent reforma-

tion (*The Beast*, 330). This is for Denver. General statistics are not so good, but they are still splendid. Under the old system there is failure with 70 per cent and under the new of only 25 per cent (*Crime and Criminals*, p. 248).

Is it possible that Christian teachers have been making a mistake in preaching hell fire? That Lindsey is right in pronouncing fear the "father of lies" (*The Beast*, p. 133)? Let us grant that all the terrors of a burning brimstone marl are literally true and that God's unsullied purity demands the feeding of this furnace with countless lost souls; but if public hangings, the electric chair, foul cells, solitary confinement, impossible prison fare, the black-snake whip, bull rings, straightjackets, vicious prison officials, the "humming-bird," the "third degree," walls of pistols, guns, and steel bars do but increase the stream of hardened vice, and if the treatment of offenders as men of fewer advantages and less strength than others transforms our culprits into strong, helpful, industrious citizens, *practically* the latter course should be pursued; and if the teaching of the horrors of hell makes men's hearts coarse, malevolent, blasphemous, would we not better (*as a practical measure*) forget about the truth of hell and turn our attention to treating sinners as delinquents who need special help? For our business is to seek and to save the lost, so to work upon the minds of sinners as to secure their salvation. Failing this, it will be small satisfaction to remember that we warned them of hell, that we denounced them, and ostracized them. Nor shall we be satisfied to remember that we have been true to the preaching of the faith once for all delivered to the saints if we so preach that faith as to secure the damnation of men rather than their salvation. We cannot consistently preach as a scheme of salvation that which damns more than 50 per cent of its subjects. Have we not then a practical lesson to learn of the modern criminologist?

When the great plague came upon London, men thought it the curse of God and fled in terror before it. But after the first shuddering awe, in the very presence of the countless, unburied hosts, with the death knell always in their ears, men turned to a deluge of selfishness, debauchery, lechery, and vice beggaring

all description. This, in principle, is what the modern criminologist claims is to be expected from the deterrent system.

The old system has failed to make the weak strong or the vicious morally wholesome. The results of the new are little short of the miraculous. Does all the difference lie in the right and wrong of the two theories? Or is there some other explanation perhaps scarcely recognized as yet that accounts for a good deal of the success of the new system?

On examination we find, as we should expect to find, that the practice of the new theory is in the hands of the best and most brainy men of the bench, men select and men elect, men inspired with all the enthusiasm of reform, men who are under the necessity of justifying their every innovation. Many of the fine results are due not to the theory but to the *personnel* of its advocates, and due especially to that essentially Christian principle that we who are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves. In other words we have here strength, devotion, brains, passionate unselfishness, supplementing, curing, saving the weakness, viciousness, lack of excellence among our delinquents. When the theory and practice of modern criminology is more generally accepted and the ranks of its workers include machine men, time-servers, sycophants, will it then be the power that it is now? Manifestly not. We should still expect it to be much more efficient than the old system. But Heaven said that the ranks of workers shall not be burdened with political henchmen, grafters, men who gather as flies to the ointment, for most Christian of all the precepts gathered from the work of reformers is the knowledge that only our best should take care of our worst, only our strongest have charge over our weakest. And here is where the older system was bad—it did not demand the finest men as wardens, jailers, and taskmasters. Indeed it is hard to see how the state could in every instance get a good Christian man to act, for example, as a hangman.

But if your law-breaker is in reality a delinquent, weak mentally and morally, we know—anybody, who will take the trouble to think, knows—that for the watch-care, the salvation of such the finest, most devoted minds of the time are demanded. And

we of the bench, of the church, of the ballot-box may well see to it that no other sort find it profitable to offer themselves. If the modern criminology is to be the force for the Kingdom of God that it promises to be, it must be part of a concerted movement among men to secure the most courageous, gentle, generous, brainy men to preside over the welfare of the imbecile, the unfortunate, the backward, and the really criminal. This, it seems to the writer, is the great conclusion impressed upon him by the mass of revelations of reigns of terror in prison, workhouse, asylum, school, and church. Power over the bodies and minds of men moves swiftly to salvation or its opposite. If we expect salvation such power is to be intrusted only to our very best, strongest, and sanest.

**THE PRESIDENT:** It gives me very great pleasure to ask Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick to speak on this subject:

**REV. H. E. FOSDICK, D.D.:** If a real criminologist, used to the practical work of the courts, could hear our discussion this afternoon, I wonder if he would not accuse us of having gone on a debauch of sentimental idealism. As a matter of fact, however, everything that has been said this afternoon with reference to the tendencies of modern penology, however ideally Christian it may have sounded, has its justification in the facts. There is hardly a more impressive proof to be found anywhere of the validity and practicalness of the ethics of Jesus than in the amazing way in which criminology is accepting that ethic as the basis of its attitude toward the sinners against society.

Society has attempted in many ways to justify its punishment of the criminal. The idea of vengeance, for example, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," long after it was regarded as wrong in the individual, has been looked upon as both justified and desirable in society's attitude to its enemies. Under the feudal system, for example, this vindictive conception of public punishment came to its full expression. If a criminal killed a slave, he must pay a fine; if he killed his overlord, he would forfeit his life; but if he murdered the king, he would be drawn, quartered, or boiled in oil. The heinousness

of the crime was measured according to the dignity of the person against whom it was committed, and the theory of punishment, quite disregarding the welfare of the criminal, sought only vindictively to wreak vengeance for the wrong done. Later, the conception of punishment was formulated in terms of the dignity and majesty of the law, so that the treatment of the criminal, quite disregarding his own welfare, took into account only the desire that the existing system of government should be upheld. For example, under the old German system, if a bull killed a man, the bull was put on trial and executed. No thought of the personal guilt or responsibility of the wrong-doer entered into the system. The ideal was simply to justify and vindicate and protect the majesty of the law. If, therefore, a man committed a crime for which the sentence was a year's imprisonment and he could get twelve men to serve each one a month, the law was justified. So long as somebody suffered to make up for the broken law, nothing else need be taken into account. It is perfectly plain, therefore, that certain substitutionary ideas of the atonement were molded under that administration of the criminal law, and if today they seem impossible to us, it is only because that idea of criminal jurisprudence is entirely abhorrent.

A more reasonable method by which society has justified its punishment of the offender is that the severity of his suffering would deter those tempted to commit similar offenses, but this idea of brutal punishment as a means of scaring possible criminals, has completely broken down. Where, for example, are the old tortures like mutilation and branding, the ducking-stool and public scourging? They have fallen into disuse because it was discovered that brutality of punishment, so far from deterring others, rather begets brutality, and sows the seed for another crop of crimes. Mr. Roberts, an English investigator, conversed with one hundred and sixty-seven convicts under sentence of death, and discovered that one hundred and sixty-four of them had seen public executions for murder. Nothing is more plain in the history of penology than that crime thrives upon severe penalties. In Portugal today is to be found the lowest rate of murders for the population, and if you commit

murder in Portugal you are sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment and a liberal education!

Out of such facts as these has come the modern Christianizing of penology, where neither to take vengeance on the offender, to protect the majesty of the law, nor to scare possible criminals, is the motive behind the penalty, but rather to segregate the offender that he may do no more present harm to society, and meanwhile to throw around him every saving influence that can possibly redeem his life and return him to society again, a useful citizen. In a word, society is taking Christ's attitude toward public offenders, and is giving us an amazing specimen of the socializing of Jesus' ideals. Think what it means that before the National Prison Congress, Dr. Samuel Barrows, the government expert on crime, should say, "We speak of Howard, Livingston, Beccaria, and others, as great penologists who have profoundly influenced modern life, but the principles announced and the methods introduced by Jesus seem to me to stamp him as the greatest penologist of any age. He has needed to wait, however, nearly twenty centuries to find his principles and methods recognized in modern laws and modern penology. We sometimes hear the phrase, 'Back to Jesus,' but when we think how much of the truth and expression of his love for men is yet unrealized, when we think how far in precept and example he is still ahead of us, shall we not rather say 'Forward to Jesus?'" When modern penologists speak in words like these, and attempt to make real their speech in children's courts, in indeterminate sentences and parole, in the transformation of prisons into reformatories, shall not Christian hearts take courage and account these things signs of the times that the kingdom is coming?

**THE PRESIDENT:** Let me announce before our adjournment the subject for tonight, which is "The Relation of the Baptist Denomination to the Universal Church," with the writers and speakers as announced. Let us stand, and I will ask Dr. John E. White to dismiss us.

The meeting was then dismissed by **DR. WHITE.**

SECOND DAY

*Evening Session*

Wednesday, November 9

8:00 o'clock P.M.

THE PRESIDENT: Let us stand and be led in prayer by Rev. A. J. Neilson.

MR. NEILSON delivered the opening prayer.

THE PRESIDENT: The topic for discussion this evening is "The Relation of the Baptist Denomination to the Universal Church." The first writer on this topic, according to the program, is Rev. John E. White, D.D., of Atlanta, Ga., but there seems to be some error in the order, and the first writer will be Rev. Charles H. Dodd, D.D., of Baltimore, Md.

REV. CHARLES H. DODD, D.D., then presented the following paper:

#### THE RELATION OF THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION TO THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH

The topic under consideration appears to assume that actual and perhaps tangible relations exist between an ecclesiastical organization, with distinctive denominational ideals, ordinances, and methods of procedure, and that great spiritual host, within and without the visible church communions, of those who believe unfeignedly upon the Christ and follow him whithersoever he goeth—a host so vast and so unerringly selective that it gathers into itself the truly regenerate of every communion and a church so genuinely the assembly of God that it invisibly assembles together the elect of the human race as one world-dwelling Church Universal. In my humble judgment, if this be the conception hidden in the topic, the word "people" should be substituted for "denomination." There is a great Baptist people, spread now over the face of the earth, and there are various Baptist denominations, as for instance, the Baptists of the United States, the Baptists of Great Britain, those of Canada, those of Australia, and Germany, and Sweden. Rather

striking differences of organization and administration exist between these separate denominational branches of Baptists, but there is a surprising unity of consciousness in the globe-encircling Baptist people, and apart from the mere ecclesiastical features of their constitution in different countries into organized bodies, this common consciousness is the chief point at which the Baptist people stand related to the universal spiritual body of Christ's followers.

However, the expression "Universal Church" may mean all those denominations, jointly considered, of whatever name, with which the Baptist denominations are classed and with which they come in contact as they pursue their own ideals and enlarge their own work at home and abroad. So taken, it repeats a subject fully and ably discussed at the Congress of 1896, when Drs. L. A. Crandall and J. O. Rust advanced their views on "The Relation of Baptists to Other Denominations," a discussion which was rendered pungent and delightful by the characteristic contributions, as free speakers, of the lamented Professor Norman Fox and Dr. J. B. Hawthorne.

While I lean more to the first than to the second of these suggested alternatives, I am in some doubt which to pursue, whether to put "people" in and proceed to figure out, the best I can, what relations exist between typical Baptists, as individual and unique believers, and the spiritual Christendom at large; or to say over again, with up-to-date applications, what has already been so admirably said in a by-gone Congress. Both ranges of thought possess a certain fascination, and one might perhaps, without severe violation of the laws of harmony, effect a merger—to use a strictly up-to-date term—between the two. That would require, however, a quite unusual fairness and impartiality of mind, the temper, in fact, of our good friend who, some years ago, was asked by the Committee of this Congress to present a paper on "The Resurrection of the Body," and replied that he had papers on both sides of the question, and would accommodate the Committee with either one. Or the dilemma might be met in the way in which I once heard a Negro candidate for ordination meet the solemn and yet unexpected question, "How, in your judgment, did the sin of Adam effect

the guilt and downfall of the whole human race?" to which, after much stammering and perturbation, he made answer: "If I knowed, bruthern, jest what you-all wanted me to say, I would sure say it, 'deed I would," a statement which he followed by the tremendously emphatic assertion that, while he could not tell "jest how" the sin of Adam wrought such universal havoc, he was sure that "there was a screw loose summers."

I feel that I shall fail to show *just what* the relations of the Baptist denomination are to the universal church, but I am frank to admit that I clearly see loose screws, not only "somewheres" but scattered around in many places. Of one thing I am pretty certain, as I have already intimated, that the *Baptist denomination*, as a whole, has no relations to the universal church as a whole, has no relations to the universal church clearly enough defined here in America to make it very profitable to dwell upon them. It may not be amiss to remember that we are meeting this very day in the most thickly populated Baptist region of the world and among Baptists who belong to the most enthusiastic and zealous denominational organization anywhere possessed by our people. And yet that same great, almost irresistibly great, organization, able to subdue vast states to its influence, has formally decided to withhold its countenance and co-operation from the only really practical agency among the American evangelical churches for the promulgation of fraternity and the propagation of a national Christian consciousness, namely, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Southern Baptists occupy the anomalous position of being the only well-known body of evangelical Christians in the whole country to stand aloof from this "effort to express the fellowship and catholic unity of the universal church." That fact is sufficiently concrete and near at hand to measure by, and its existence would seem to put beyond question that, as a denomination, the Southern Baptists, at least, do not magnify the importance of close relations with that part of the universal church which operates here in our own land.

On the other hand, I behold the Baptist *people* everywhere in touch with the universal church, everywhere fulfilling a function of sympathy and fellowship and exerting an influence

toward progress, everywhere vitally stimulating the spirituality and enlarging the knowledge of truth and fashioning the integral conceptions, of the universal church. Of that we can also have no doubt. The only matters, then, for examination, are the extent, the intimacy, and the value of these relationships, together with the frank and fresh consideration of such questions as the following: Are the Baptist people as widely, as intimately, as helpfully related to the universal church—the greater spiritual Christendom, that is to say—as they should be? Is the time ripe for a closer affiliation of the Baptist denomination here in America with the universal church, meaning now by the use of that term the evangelical Christendom in its various organized parts? Shall the Baptist denomination become a party to the widespread impulse of consolidation and co-operation and community of interests which is being everywhere manifested in the religious world, especially among the mission peoples of what we call the Orient?

I have decided, in view of the time limit, to take up the first of these questions only, with the conviction that the thing of pre-eminent importance is to secure the widest view of the situation possible. On that account I feel myself compelled to ignore for the moment the fact that there are denominations of Baptists and cling to the greater fact that there is a Baptist people, that they already have multitudinous relations with the universal church, and that the wise treatment of those wide, world-wide, relationships will ultimately solve the pressing questions of ecclesiastical fellowship here in America and on the mission fields.

As I enter on this broadest application of the subject, therefore, it is a pleasure to feel that vistas most enticing are opened by it. The relation of Baptist saints to the saints of all time is a matter of peculiar sweetness and satisfaction. Our typical Baptist saint has always, in every age, been a man of simple, earnest piety, with a place in his heart for every other true follower of the Master, and a feeling of kinship with souls everywhere who were separated unto God in lives of loyal obedience and unaffected love. One of the most spiritual, and at the same time universal, ideas ever cherished by the Baptist people is

that of soul-liberty—the right of each soul to cherish its hopes, exercise its faiths, and practice its beliefs, without fear or molestation. It is almost everything to say, such as has been the tragedy of intolerance within even the church itself, that Baptists have never shed the blood of the saints. They have left all free to tread where conscience has called and, on the whole, have seen God and good in every direction. And this attitude of freedom toward all believing souls goes back to one more spiritual still and not less universal in its character—to the confidence of Baptists in the competency of each soul to know God, to fear him, and to follow his will. This is our immemorial Baptist principle of individualism in spiritual experience. It is the “inalienable right of every soul to deal with God for itself.” Thus the ideas of spiritual liberty and soul-competency are twin conceptions. The one is the converse of the other. And both make for universality. Any soul anywhere can find and know God for itself, and finding and knowing him, should be left free to worship and follow him in its own way. That prepares directly for sympathy with all who are really earnest worshipers of God, whatever the forms and accompaniments of that worship, and for fellowship with them in the spiritual sincerity of their faith. In proportion, therefore, as such an attitude has been maintained among us the tendency to pass over differences and to emphasize commonalty has been manifested. Of the history of the Baptist people it can be affirmed that they have never looked with distrust upon the saints at large. Some individual Baptists have done so, and still do so; certain periods, like the present in our history, have been marked by an unhappy exclusiveness in the relations of some Baptists to other Christian bodies; but, taken as a whole, Baptist history exhibits the catholic temper and shows even an unwonted tenderness toward the universal church in its deepest experiences of grace and in its loyalty to Christ.

Indeed, catholicity of temper is the only attitude that the Baptist people can consistently maintain. With the emphasis they make upon individualism and their appreciation of all spiritual experience, exclusiveness becomes a positive anachronism among Baptists. It does absolute injustice to their central

and cardinal principles. As a matter of fact, believing as they do and feeling as they do because they so believe, Baptists should move to meet the universal church. There should ever be recognizable among them a strong current setting to fellowship with Christians at large, and nothing should so mark them as the presence in all they do of a yearning to be at one with the Christian world. Baptists should be the first to greet every measure that offers a practical hope of unity among Christians. They should directly foster the possibilities of fraternity. It should be their ambition not so much to follow as to lead in all worthy efforts to secure the harmony of God's people and to make the common consciousness of Christendom available for the great ends of ethical and religious influence. What is anomalous is not that Baptists should show an eagerness to do away with unmeaning barriers to Christian union, but that they should be indifferent to and unready to contribute their utmost to it. I am not speaking now of that "artificially devised union" against which a great writer among us has wisely and warningly spoken. Neither am I speaking of what this same writer calls "training the conscience by means of the truth" as the only condition of permanent Christian union, an idea with which in its place and not offered as an apology for exclusiveness, everyone of us would accord. What I have in mind is a fair field of play for the catholicity which slumbers at the very roots of our faith as a people, the recognition by the Baptist people that when they typically represent their own deepest and most consistent principles, they must stand in close and unconstrained relations with the universal church.

As it seems to me, in the last analysis, it is not left for the Baptist people to ask such a question as the one I am now seeking to answer, except for purposes of self-discipline and as an opportunity for the reassertion of their own ideals. What has made us a Baptist people at all has also determined our attitude to the church universal, as being one of such profound sympathy with all who know God in truth that a constant, eager, wistful and earnestly co-operative desire that the people of God may all be one should characterize us. I do not know that Baptists have ever crusaded for Christian union or made it a *raison d'être* of

their existence, but they might well do so. Potentially slumbering in their whole system in greater measure than in any other the world over, lie both the truths and the spirit which will one day lead to the glorious reunion of a dismembered Christendom. Standing alone by themselves, I assert that the Baptist twin conceptions of soul-competency and soul-liberty, if they were consistently lived up to and urgently preached in their divine purity, would set the seal of doom upon about all that now divides the universal church into many and often widely differing visible sections. But the Baptist people, to whom belongs the sole honor of having rediscovered and reasserted these mighty spiritual ideas of the gospel of Jesus Christ, are as unready to stand or fall by them in the presence of their mere ecclesiastical inheritances—things that belong more to organization than spirit—as the universal church is reluctant to put them in the forefront of its splendid career. This, in my judgment, is a pity as great as blindness and folly could make it, for the Baptist people seem to be almost unconscious, on the one hand, of all they have already done to prepare the universal church for organic unity, and, on the other hand, of the critical readiness of that same church to crystallize around principles purely spiritual and to set at one side those which are solely ecclesiastical.

No longer have the Baptist people the monopoly of any truth. Once it was so in the matter of personal faith as the sole human condition of salvation. But it is so no longer. To assert uniqueness is more and more difficult on the part of the Baptist people. They see every one of their "distinctive principles," so called, right rapidly becoming the possession of the general Christian community. They cannot contend as they did once for the mode and subjects of baptism, soul-liberty, divorce of church and state, a converted church, and an evangelistic propaganda the world over. Many other Christian bodies agree with us as to the mode and subjects of baptism. Infant baptism is becoming obsolescent at such a rapid rate that others than Baptists predict its extinction before the middle of the twentieth century. There are thousands upon thousands of immersed believers in the ranks of the universal church, and the ratio probably multiplies every year, while vast denominations represented everywhere in

the world insist as strenuously as do the Baptist people upon a new life of Christ. Religious freedom creeps over the earth and has built itself into every great form of government today. The missionary enterprise is the passion of Christendom. Dis-establishment of state churches goes steadily on from generation to generation, the knell of such unholy alliances sounding in our ears during this our own generation like sweet music at the dawn of a better day. Who has wrought this astonishing change? Not the Baptist people alone, but, when causes are weighed, none would deny that chief honors belong to the Baptist people. And to what will it lead when the planting has ripened and the fields have grown white for harvest? Will it lead to nothing more than a big Baptist world, with just the same arrangements for worship, just the same ordinances as the backbone of its institutionalism, just the same unyielding attitude to liturgy, just the same "architectural fidelity" to the letter of Scripture, just the same over-emphasis of segments of truth? The answer is not "If so, why not?"—but, "*If so, cui bono?*"

But when the work of the Baptist people—if you prefer to put it that way—is finished, the sameness to which I have referred, perhaps rather cynically, will not be thought of. If the Baptist people have a distinctive work, and I am one of those who believe that they have, it is to surpass the place which the gifted Boardman assigned them in his characterization: "Romanism gives play to the sense side of religion; Episcopacy to the aesthetic side; Presbyterianism to the theological side; Methodism to the active side; Quakerism to the passive side; Congregationalism to the independent side; and the Baptists to the exact side." Now it is much to be exact, and Baptist literalism, coupled as it has ever been with the idea of obedience to Christ, is not a thing to fling at, but neither is it a thing to fall down and worship as though it were all. What with all their glowing reverence for the least word that fell from the lips of Jesus, the Baptist people have never made a fetich of form, even when Jesus has commanded a form; they have only been in perpetual danger of doing it. There have been times in their history when the Baptist people were absorbed with those great

divine ideas of soul-liberty and soul competency. Then they made nothing of literal obedience to the mode of baptism and their churches were eclectic. They made everything of the Baptist principle of free personal life in Christ and little of the symbolical expression of that life, and in that they certainly followed Paul, and, under the circumstances, probably quite as closely followed Christ, too, as they would have done if they had divided the intense struggle in which they were engaged for the spirituality of His religion by coupling up with it an appeal for symbol as well as for truth. Later, and in strict fidelity to the same Christ, they added the symbol and backed it as they had done the truth. There was little danger that the truth would be exaggerated, but there have been times—perhaps we are passing through one of them now—when the symbol has been emphasized and the truth neglected.

The Baptist people everywhere make one favorite contention, namely, that they are in the business of restoring the church to apostolic usage. The Baptist movement has really all along been a restoration movement. By restoration they, of course, chiefly mean the recovery of the spiritual nature of the early church, but, going with that great and necessary desideratum, they have laid much emphasis on ordinances and policy. Their separateness from the universal church has been excused and defended on the ground that they were engaged in a work which was essential to the right expression of the religion of Jesus and constituted so great a loyalty to him that they could unite with none except upon the basis of that apostolic teaching and early church usage for which they were contending. And Baptist scholarship has been intrepid and convincing, on the whole, in this chosen field. The Baptist people may well cherish pride over their great scholars and their valuable contributions to accuracy and apostolicity in the knowledge of the early church. But it is not only a fair question, but I insist that it is a question which one can ask without making himself ridiculous as a Baptist, "If the church of Jerusalem and the churches of Asia existed today, the one, say, in Boston and the others scattered through Georgia, would the Baptist people of this country unite with them in associational fraternity, sit with

them at the communion, grant letters to their fellowship, and otherwise count them on a parity with the average Baptist church of today?" Candid examination of the church at Antioch would probably let it in on the ground floor of the Baptist denomination, although there were pretty risky things done by the Antiochians. But Jerusalem, as representative of all the churches dominated by Peter and James, and doubtless John, too—including that close-knit cordon of congregations in Asia over which the aged John ruled as bishop and to which he addressed his Apocalypse—could never get itself recognized by the modern Baptist council, except on the ground of historical sentiment, if there be such a thing. Would the Eutaw Place Baptist Church of Baltimore or the First Baptist Church of Augusta or the Peddie Memorial Baptist Church of Newark, N.J., or the First Baptist Church of Providence, R.I., countenance bodies in which Jesus was still only the Jewish Messiah, where the law of Moses was scrupulously observed in all its minutest details, whose ministers worshiped in a Jewish temple daily and offered the same old Levitical sacrifices which their fathers had observed; where those same ministers enjoined circumcision in their congregations and not only saw that it was "exactly" (apologies to the sainted Boardman!) practiced, but carefully excluded from their fellowship all who had not submitted to that rite, where the Seventh Day was religiously kept and the Christian Sabbath only incidentally observed? Even to bring the matter forward is startling, but why should we be startled by a situation of which we have had knowledge all along? The only reason that I can think of is that, when one faces some of one's contentions in a downright fashion, they frequently lose their sweepingness of character. We all know that the Baptist people of today would have nothing to do with the small Christian business, at least not on the ecclesiastical side, which was done under the shadow of the Temple at Jerusalem. They would treat the churches of Peter and James with more than the coldness they show in some sections of our own country towards the Disciples, who are believed to have dangerous unapostolic ideas and customs, or the Dunkards or the Landmarkers or the Dowjeites—all immersionists, but all for one reason or another outside the

pale of the True Restorationists. The Baptist people should remember that thirty years after the resurrection James declared to Paul that the Jewish Christians were keeping up their Judaism as they had always done, and this good man and typical Baptist pastor ("I speak as a fool") justified them in their course. When, therefore, they urge the universal church to go back to the good old days of the apostles as a precedent condition of ecclesiastical fellowship, they should be decided whether they would as readily unite with them after such a return as now.

The Baptist people have always had orators who loved to claim everything in sight back there in Judea and Asia as belonging to them. Even the gifted Armitage began his history of the Baptists with John the Baptist and swept everything in as he moved eloquently along. It would be giving up the very citadel to most of these denominational apologists to admit that they did not "know everythin' down in Judee." But what are the facts when they are interpreted in the light of present Baptist usage? Antioch *should* have been disfellowshipped by Jerusalem on account of its liberality. And Paul, who did not quarrel with Peter, but simply parted company with him and stayed parted all the rest of his life, *should* have quarreled with him over the narrowness of Jerusalem. That is, both of these courses should have been taken if we approve of bringing that apostolic situation up to date and making it accord with what the Baptist people would now do. Besides all this, it is a matter of very serious doubt in my own mind, whether any of those early churches practiced the things which are now ecclesiastically dear and apparently dogmatically necessary to the Baptist people with anything like the regularity or sense of their importance which they now attach to them. Does anyone who has mastered the Christian origins with something of accuracy believe that baptism was *always* a prerequisite to church membership and the simple memorial supper of the Lord, or that the churches were *always* congregational and independent, or that there was a "Baptist principle" such as Dr. Wilkinson contends for in his idea of an invariable appeal to the Word of God, when there was no authoritative Word of God, except the Old Testament, and an often conflicting oral tradition, in vogue among

the early churches until far into the second century, after everything had crystallized and all sorts of departures from the simplicity of the faith had begun?

I may appear to you in this most inadequate discussion of the relations of the Baptist people to the greater spiritual Christendom to have pleaded for something like an immediate union with the universal church in its ecclesiastical branches. But such really has not been my purpose. I know as well as anybody what the Baptist position has cost to secure and that it is at this moment one of the most precious endowments of the modern world. All its glory is my own with an unbroken line of ancestry in its ministry since 1670 in this country, and I cannot find in myself the slightest desire to disparage the cardinal principles of our faith. Our mission still seems unique and compelling to me. Our work is greater than ever and its promise is phenomenal on every hand. Keen observers believe that even priest-ridden Europe is rising to greet the free and emancipating principles in this our age which were so deeply and tragically sown over its kingdoms in the heroic days of the Anabaptists. The Baptist people should make not less but even more of their tremendously important spiritual inheritances from the Gospels and from early Christianity.

But to be consistent with their crucial appeal to those same Christian origins they should recognize that their faith is in itself an irenicon in the midst of the universal church, that no attitude but one of wide hospitality befits their beliefs, that the sacrifice of spirit to form, even where form means the better understanding of spirit will in the end defeat the very object desired, that there is all the difference in the world between exclusiveness and conservatism, that as Antioch did not dis-fellowship Jerusalem or Jerusalem anathematize Antioch, but, despite absolutely antagonistic practices, kept the door open for the leadings of Providence and apparently never thought to close it because of non-apostolicity of custom, so there is a ground for more intimate, for even actual ecclesiastical relations, with the universal church which would do no violence to either conviction or loyalty to the great head of the church. If I were to state the final matter to which I have made reference, namely,

a basis for more intimate relations with the universal church on the part of the Baptist people, I would name this: a greater and more invariable insistence upon soul-liberty and soul competency and the practice in the local church of the ordinances and polity which are now observed by the Baptist people, on the ground that they have a sufficiently strong support in apostolic usage to mark them as having issued naturally from the teachings and example of Christ, either as expressed commands or as homogeneous development; but, since their presentation is an appeal to an apostolicity which possessed striking contrasts in its own operations, there should be no coercion in the acceptance of ordinance either as a condition of membership or as a barrier to fellowship with all Christians.

THE PRESIDENT: We shall now have the pleasure of hearing from Rev. John E. White, D.D., of Atlanta, Ga., the second reader of a paper on the topic under discussion.

REV. JOHN E. WHITE, D.D., then read the following paper:

#### THE RELATION OF THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION TO THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH

The idea of the church, the body of Christ, representing him massively and distributively in the earth, is the most stubborn idea of Christian history. Its persistence through the eddying currents of adverse human nature is one of the great illustrations of peculiar power abiding in everything that was primary and original in Christianity. The vitality of this conception, even when it appeared to be most despised and rejected of men, is the demonstration of the strange force residing in all the propositions which Jesus Christ put forth. For, the secret of the persistence of the ideal of the universal Christian church is that it was projected from him as a passionate, personal desire. It was to that ideal he referred when he announced: "I will build my church." For that he was praying when he entreated "that they may be one so that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me." With that ideal he perpetually identified himself when he commanded: "Go ye into all the world and preach the

gospel to every creature, teaching them to observe whatsoever things I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you always." The apostles cherished it as the organizing idea of the new religion. The strongest pleading of the apostle Paul is against what he considered a scandalous thing—a divided church, a factional and disfigured body of Christ. Back of it always the holy will, back of it always the apostolic obedience, and back of it always the deepest conviction of the highest Christianity. So the ideal of the universal Christian church has been kept alive in the hearts of men. In the period of the fathers when the gospel was passing through the perilous transition into the paganized thought of Greece and Rome, the ideal of an undivided church was carefully safeguarded. The first Greek and Roman theologians collaborated in the earliest creeds and the front of Christianity was maintained unbroken before the mass of pagan resistance. It was when the Church began to conquer that she began to break. The first appearances of schism followed the Roman amalgamation of primitive Christianity with the conceptions of paganism. The imperial purpose of making the church universal sowed the seed which resulted in many a fierce fracture of Christianity long before the Protestant reformation. The reformation, however, judged by its history, was not a unifying process. The dominant tendencies in Protestant progress have not been centripetal but centrifugal. The revulsion against enforced ecclesiasticism encouraged the opened field of licensed sectarianism. The word "Catholic" which meant "universal" had consistently bullied Protestants as late as yesterday. But the prayer of Christ, like the music of the church bells of the fabled sunken city of Is, which the Brittany fisher-folk hear coming up out of the waves of the sea, has never ceased to plead at the Protestant conscience. In the last quarter of a century the ideal of Christian unity has been in a state of increasing revival. At the present moment it is upborne on buoyant tides throughout the world. Providence has proven itself to be the vehicle of Christ's prayer, and progress the hand-maid of his purpose. The wisdom of men at length begins to coincide with the will of God. In an age, of which the watchwords are Efficiency and Economy, the improvidence of wasteful divisions

in the body of Christ is reacting powerfully upon Christian intelligence. The very latest development is tremendously influential. A divided church sent its ambassadors into heathendom. Now, with one voice they have come back to tell the church that the heathen nations are accessible and that the opportunity for Christianity to strike an immediately decisive blow on the vast fabric of heathenism, has fallen into her hand. But they add that the church must get together to make that blow effective. So we are precipitately at the point of having to consider as a practical problem the question of Christian unity. Arising out of the necessities of the situation the conviction is growing at this hour on Christian thought that, beneath all appearances to the contrary, the heart of Christianity is sound and that there is, deny who will, actually in existence a universal church of Christ and that it must and can be better realized.

#### THE BAPTIST ATTITUDE

How stands the Baptist denomination before this very old ideal of a universal church and this very new and rapidly developing situation? It is not a simple matter to answer accurately. It is my conviction that the Baptist attitude is passing through a period of gestation and passing on to a stronger position. Looking at the matter in its present status the candid answer must be that the Baptist attitude is one of suspicion and distrust. As to the old ideal of the universal church the Baptists are related merely academically. As to the situation which is developing, the Baptists are at present the slowest and most indifferent of the Protestant denominations. Their position on the universal church indicates nothing positive except as here and there it appears positively unfriendly. The Baptist denomination has never been profoundly disturbed over Christ's unanswered prayer. They have never been able to make much account of Christ's proposition, "I will build my church." They have always been much more interested in building his *churches* than his church. There is no deep concern in the Baptist denomination whether there ought to be a universal Christian church, except as it might be a universal Baptist church. The point that the unity of Christianity is an essential for the demonstration of the divinity

of Christ is not keenly conceived or popularly appreciated among the Baptists. The fact of harmful divisions in the church has so far but dully appealed to the Baptist conscience. They confess no share of responsibility for it. If the body of Christ is divided they did not divide it. The Baptist denomination does not dispute that there are other Christians and other Christian churches, but they regard them as anomalous. Without any severe pains over the vagrancy of others the Baptists have regarded themselves as the Simon-pure, bona-fide representatives of true Christianity in the world. They are at home in the Father's house, snug and comfortable and somewhat complacent. If the prodigals have wandered off, some of them into far countries, the Baptists have generally been disposed to regard it as emphasizing their own superior fidelity. The sorrow of the Father has appeared as a vindication of their loyalty and has expressed itself right frequently in resentment against the prodigal brethren. These statements fairly represent the popular feeling which has characterized the Baptist denomination with reference to the question of Christian unity. It is my opinion, however, that this does not represent its final position. When I read such earnest and true words as these which I quote from a recent writer, I feel very sure that this does not represent the final attitude of the Baptists: "There are signs in the clouds of the ecclesiastical sky that the church has no rest in her divisions; and the feeling is deepening that all who equally center in Christ and call Him Lord ought to be one. Did he not pray that they all might be one? And will he not fulfil his own prayers? Is not the breath of his power stealing on all the churches? And must we not ascribe their concern for unity to his secret workings? The demonstration before the nations of the world of their actual unity would be nothing less than the inauguration of the kingdom and the reign of Christ: he must reign, 'till all powers and governments are subject to him.' If a strong majority of the churches would declare and manifest their unity, not necessarily in their creeds and forms of worship, but in the one spirit of Christ, those who affect to be under Christ, and stand aloof from unity, would feel that they were rebuked and humiliated. And it would stand revealed that they stiffly and

stubbornly held to the tombs and dry bones of antiquity; and would not allow the living Christ of today to influence them."

I do not believe that the Baptist denomination is to be so rebuked and humiliated. Their first step will be to accept the ideal of unity as the intense and imperious will of Christ, definitely declared in the Scriptures and for which they must work as pointedly as they have worked heretofore for any one of the defined articles of their peculiar contentions. When Margaret Fuller announced to her friend that she had decided to accept the universe, someone tartly answered that it was "very considerate of the lady and the universe should feel duly grateful." That was a stupid witticism. It was a matter of very great importance that she should accept the universe, of importance to Margaret Fuller; besides the universe was a better universe when she got straight with it. It is a matter of great importance that the Baptists should sincerely accept the ideal of the universal church, of importance to the Baptists; besides the church will be more universal when they accept it. The universe was not dependent on Margaret Fuller's accepting it, but it was distinctly creditable to her intelligence that she did so. The universal church may not be dependent upon the Baptists accepting it, but it will be distinctly creditable to their intelligence and probably to their interests when they accept it. If there is a universal Christian church projected of Christ and in spiritual fact recognized by him, the Baptists are not outside of it but in it. If they are in it and a part of it they should know why they are there and what their relations are to others who are there.

#### PROGRESSIVE UNITY BY ELIMINATION

The realization of a genuine unity of the universal church must necessarily come through a slower movement than some of its most ardent advocates have patience for. Simple as it may seem to some, there is a long ways to go and a great many steps to retrace. The ideal must wait upon the practical. The practical must deal with the difficult perversity of human nature. The achievement involves a process, nay, a series of processes. Efforts to force a show of unity by high pressures are sure to prove disappointing in results and reactionary in effect. Starting

on the premise that there is a sound heart of Christianity in all the sections of the universal church, we have still to reckon on very wide separations which have become historically fixed, and on great varieties of heredity and environment which have affected honest thinking among the followers of Christ. One thing is clear. The reform of divided Christianity must begin close to the center and not on the circumference.

The Baptists are in a position at the present time to suggest by illustration the principle and the process by which the factors of ecclesiastical confusion may be reduced. The method is for each denomination to attack the problem of setting its own house in order. The principle is simplification by eliminating the prominence of unessential minor sectarianism within the several great denominations of Christianity.

This movement is now going on in the Baptist denomination. It is a movement, first, to make the overshadowing Baptist principles really overshadowed by realizing them as the simple and clear basis of the Baptist fraternity. We are looking for a working definition of what it is to be a Baptist. We are seeking to separate what is vital and fundamental for Baptists from what is incidental or traditional. It is a movement to define our real principles apart from prejudices which by cherished customs have often become as dominant as principles. Such books as Dr. E. Y. Mullins' *Axioms of Religion* are significant chiefly as answering a demand and contributing to the result of a better-realized Baptist unity. The tests of Baptist fellowship are being reduced by eliminating the mere individual or sectional emphasis as valid criterions of standing in the denominations. The Baptist bedrock is being cleared of its alluvial deposits. This movement is certainly making way for a closer grouping of the Baptists of variant shades of thought and has given almost sensational encouragement to the project of world-wide unity for the regular Baptists. The next step of its logic will be to include the irregular Baptists, of which the United States Census makes a discouraging show. To bring them all on the platform of the Baptist fundamentals, at least to the point of a loose, but well understood, spiritual and denominational relation, is not an insurmountable difficulty when Christ's prayer shall assume the

authority of a Baptist principle. I say that in this movement the Baptists are pointing the way to a progressive unity by partial elimination for the universal church. Let the other great denominations proceed likewise to draw in their divergent groups. It is the logical and consistent practical method for simplifying the front of Christianity. Rome and Greek Catholicism may well bestir themselves at the same task. Imagine Protestant Christianity reduced to less than a dozen outstanding grand divisions which have the right to exist as emphasis on some phase of Christian truth not adequately otherwise cared for. The simile of a Christian army would then become convincing. That spectacle could not justly be accounted "the scandal of a divided Christendom." So far as the Baptists are concerned, they can lend themselves to this movement for Protestantism since they are already involved in it on their own account. By every degree of its progress with them and with other Protestant denominations, the Christian church becomes a force of unit power. Its most effective advocates will not be disposed to waste energies in the futile effort of bringing Romanism and Protestantism into relations, while both have such an array of unsolved domestic problems.

#### WHAT SORT OF UNITY

Another issue is raised about which the Baptist position may be indicated with some clearness. It is the question of what sort of unity should be aimed at in the universal church. We have the proposition strongly pressed in some quarters for organic or ecclesiastical unity. It is based upon the appeal that the corporate conscience requires the surrender of the individual conscience. Its method is to make a basis including so much that the prejudices or principles are all in some part respected. It is clear and final that the Baptists can lend no encouragement to such organic unity aiming at uniformity. But they are permitted by their principles to labor for spiritual unity in diversity. As between denominationalism with its acknowledged values of individual development and its promotion of zeal and heroism, and ecclesiasticism with its deadening consequences, the Baptist choice is made up finally and forever. It is not the fact of sep-

arately organized Christianity, but of spiritually disorganized Christianity that properly disturbs the Christian conscience. The sections of the universal Church might be brought into a formal and mechanical union and still be rotted and rotting with spiritual schisms. Where the most liberal Baptists find it impossible to regard with patience and sympathy many of the propositions for Christian union is just here where they are asked to disregard not only their own historic principle of spiritual freedom, but the very facts of human nature as God designed it. Questions of government, ritual, or polity only perplex and resist the very approaches to interdenominational understanding. They have no proper or important place in the realization of Christ's ideal of a loving and united church. The Baptist denomination will never move an inch toward any forced arrangement of church uniformity either in creed or polity for the mere purpose of proclaiming ecclesiastical peace. It was not that which Christ proclaimed when he said, "I will build my church." It was not that for which he prayed. If uniformity were the sort of unity intended in the divine ideal the Roman church would have secured it long ago. History furnishes more than one interesting page recording the futility of Christian uniformity. It is recorded of the emperor Charles V, when he was in the height of his power, that he determined to make Spain, the Low Countries, and Germany an example to all Christendom of uniformity in matters of faith. He proceeded with apparent success in Spain and Italy, but when he came to Holland he struck the "Thirty Years' War," which resulted in the ruin of Spain. By the Inquisition, by racks and tortures, by imprisonment and death, the emperor tried to carry out his plans. With all his resources it was hopeless. He resigned his crown and retired to the monastery of St. Just. There, in pursuit of his dream, which had become an obsession, he surrounded himself with clocks of all manufacture and design, which he would wind up and set together with exactness. Then he would seat himself before them and amuse himself in insane laughter with the discovery that even wooden clocks could not be so regulated as to keep exactly together for any length of time. The lesson is obvious. God did not make souls to be turned into machines for his own glory, much less for the fanciful unity of

ecclesiastics. But there is a unity of the spirit in the bond of peace for individuals, for churches, and for denominations. The Baptists honor that principle and may consistently work toward its realization in the universal church. There is a common Christian life, a common Christian love, a common Christian zeal, a common Christian cause. There is even a common Christian rallying cry which can bring the Baptists along with all the others to the emergency of the great battle. There is a spirit more powerful than all ecclesiastical bonds. It is the spirit of the living Christ. It can be yielded to to minimize all frictions and sweeten all controversies, even when controversies are necessary in the interests of truth. Consenting to abide this spirit, the Baptists may afford to look for and expect to find something to approve and admire in the most variant division of Christianity. Roman Catholic heroism has its claim upon the honest Baptist conscience. When the founder of the Jesuits said, "Where Jesus Christ is, there is the church," he said that which the Baptist denomination may applaud even in his lips.

#### A FORMAL BASIS FOR SPIRITUAL UNITY

Can the Baptist denomination relate itself to any formal basis for such spiritual unity? I believe it can. I believe it should. I go farther—I believe that the Baptists ought ardently to advocate a defined basis for Christian unity and co-operation. I will even venture to outline the sort of agreements the Baptists might consent to with consistency and gain to themselves and to the truth of Christ. This basis would define three areas of agreement: The area of the absolute Christianity; the area of freedom and debate; the area of practical co-operation. In the area of the absolute Christianity everything might be eliminated except four final principles to be agreed to as the sensitive and inviolable fundamentals of the universal Christian church:

First, The absolute integrity of the Old and New Testament Scriptures as a revelation of the mind of God; as containing all things necessary to salvation and as being the rule and standard of the Christian faith.

Second, The absolute lordship of Christ, the divine and only

begotten Son of God, the redeemer of mankind, and head over all things unto the church.

Third, The absolute sanctity of the human soul as the beneficiary of redemption and as competent to engage the direct and undelegated communion of the Heavenly Father without human interference or assistance, and as immediately and personally responsible to him in all things.

Fourth, The kingdom of heaven on earth, as the objective of all Christian enterprises, the one end and aim of the gospel, that kingdom in the individual soul being its salvation and in society the salvation of the world.

What is there in these propositions not cardinal and absolutely vital to the Christianity of Christ, and what is omitted from them that is absolutely cardinal and vital to the Christianity of Christ? There are of course other important matters of faith and practice, but what one may be suggested which does not draw its sanction from one or the other of these absolute truths?

In the area of freedom and debate where the human mind and soul come for themselves in the exercise of their competency to receive and appropriate revelation there must be an agreed to liberty. Is that not a profound Christian as well as Baptist principle? So in the area of freedom the only exclusion are those which manifestly violate one or the other of the absolutes, the integrity of the Scriptures, the sovereignty of Christ, the competency of the soul, and the objective of the kingdom. Differences of interpretation and deduction would arise over what is violative of these absolutes. But what is soul freedom if it is not the right to feel for and think after and question toward the mind of God? With the great cardinal premises of Christianity settled upon and fixed in unquestioned allegiance, what injury to Christianity is greater than the denial of the soul freedom to seek conclusions for itself? Though it stumble it will stumble up God's great altar stairs. It would mean a very great gain for unity of spirit if such right were genuinely recognized and patiently encouraged. Our Lord's dealing with doubt and question on the part of his disciples ought to have some imperative here. If the area of freedom were so guaranteed to Christians as he guaranteed it to them, controversy over important thought

not cardinal questions of faith and practice would become constructive of the unity of the truth and would cease to be anywhere destructive of the spirit of Christ which is one of the most essential of all Christian truth. The Virginia disputant was right, thought a little awry in his particular exegesis, when he defended his habit of controversy on the ground that the Scriptures declare that "without controversy great is the mystery of godliness." Great is the mystery of godliness and controversy is no sin unless it be sinful. What is needed in Christian controversy is a chance to produce a Christian result. The Baptists have nothing to fear from freedom in controversy. It is violence, bitterness, proscription in controversy which are the very tools of tyranny that a true Baptist should be ashamed to touch. The cogency of the Baptist argument deserves a fair hearing. It wants an opportunity to get at the understanding of those whom it would convince and correct. It needs an unbarricaded approach that it may win their consciences to the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. What Baptists ask from others they should give in full measure, pressed down, and running over.

In the area of practical co-operation the difficulties are not doctrinal between those who have agreed upon the absolutes of Christianity. If the Episcopalians do not co-operate with the Baptists in Christian work or in public worship, for instance, let us be sure that the barrier is not one raised by Christ and that it is only the idiosyncrasy of a prejudice however historic. If the Baptists do not co-operate with other Christian denominations, let us have it clear that their indisposition has no relation to anything Christ revealed, but that it is something in their prejudices, however honestly entertained, and not in their genuine principles that prevents. In the area of co-operation between Christians who avow the fundamentals of Christianity there is but one justifiable limitation. It is this: What is practical, efficient, and economical?

#### BAPTISTS IN THE OPEN

The Baptist denomination cannot avoid its relations to the universal church without the neglect of an opportunity which it seems to me Providence has not opened before any other group

of Christians. But they cannot accept that opportunity if they shall insist on worshipping what Lord Bacon calls "the Idols of the Cave." Two great world movements are on in this earth in the very directions in which the Baptist denomination has preceded the general conscience of humanity. One is the movement which makes the advocacy of Christian unity a hopeful agitation—the movement toward that which is simplest and most primary in original Christianity. The other movement is a universal trend toward democracy. The Baptists must place themselves in the open and be in a position for the sort of recognition as these movements approach their triumph, which belongs to a people who have long seen the triumph from afar and seized it with their eyes. Higher as a consideration than this the Baptists must feel the thrill of the march which is bringing the universal church to the crowning of Christ as Lord of all, of whom did their fathers teach them to say: "He is the head of all things unto the church."

**THE PRESIDENT:** I now have very great pleasure in announcing the first appointed speaker, President W. L. Poteat, Ph.D., of Wake Forest, N.C.

**DR. POTEAT:** I read in the rules of the Congress that the appointed speakers must not use manuscripts, the object of their appointment being to encourage the volunteer discussion which follows their addresses. After listening to these papers, which have covered the whole ground so admirably, I confess to a mischievous impulse to try to stir up discussion, as I believe I could do if I seriously tried, and perhaps we would have a better time if I did that. But in that case I am afraid I might have a little distress of conscience afterward in the feeling that perhaps I had not represented my own bottom convictions on the subject. I leave you to guess which I am doing. (*Laughter.*)

I am the more inclined to that course in view of the reported absence of the next speaker. I want to express my sincere regret that we are not to hear Dr. Hulley, a singularly virile and aggressive and fascinating personality. I beg the Chairman's pardon for saying that, because that was an announcement which he

should have made, but I am making it because I want to be more certain of stirring up somebody else to speak.

The Baptist denomination is a loose association of churches, with larger groups, as Dr. Dodd said, in America—Northern and Southern Baptists, Canada, with similar groups in Australia, Europe, and perhaps elsewhere, and these groups have their affiliated churches in mission lands. And in the pan-Baptist Congress we have now the beginnings among these churches of a world-fellowship, and also the dawning of a consciousness of a special mission to the world.

Now, there are uses of the word "church" in the New Testament, which Baptists quote, as justifying their faith and practice. There are other uses in the New Testament of the word "church" which the Baptists have overlooked, or have misinterpreted. Take some examples: You can find in one of Paul's epistles these two uses: Gal. 1:2, "To the churches in Galatia"; Gal. 1:13, "I persecuted the church of God"; Gal. 1:22 (I believe it is), "I was still unknown by the churches in Judea." The churches in Galatia, the church of Christ, the churches in Judea, all in one letter and in one chapter of one letter. You have a similar diversity of use in the words of Jesus, "On this rock I will build my church" (Matt. 16:18). There certainly is a general conception. Matt. 18:17: "Tell it to the church." There surely is a local body. And in Eph. 1:22, "He gave him to be head over all things to the church, which is his body," which surely is not a local body, for in that case Christ would have as many bodies as there are local churches, which is absurd.

Now these "churches" were obviously local groups of people. There is proof that they were democracies, and that while seeking counsel from others, they were yet capable of independent action. This "church" is that body of all those throughout the world who acknowledge the headship of Christ, and they are conceived as with him constituting one colossal person, he the head, they the members, many members but one body. We see the situation in the New Testament period, and in the New Testament period our topic would have been comparatively simple. It would have been the question of the relation, say, of the churches founded by Paul in Asia Minor with the churches

founded by Peter and James in Palestine; and Dr. Dodd has told us what a cat-and-monkey time they would have if they had really got together.

In our day the question has become very much complicated, and really amounts to this: The relation of an association of churches of a special type of belief and practice to that large, vague aggregation, the Universal Church, which, while embracing generally the confession of the headship of Christ, embraces also highly specialized and sharply differing types of belief and practice. And in answer to that question as it confronts us I wish to say the relation of the Baptist denomination to the Universal Church is in the first place a relation of brotherhood, of unity.

Dr. White has said the Baptists are in the Universal Church. Most assuredly. All people who say "Father" to God, and mean it, and have the right to say it, are brothers to each other. All the people who accept the headship of Jesus, who by the Spirit acknowledge that he is Lord—and no one can confess his lordship but by the Spirit—all these are members of the kingdom in which he is king. And it is only generous to assume that all these who do so acknowledge his lordship are moved by the same spirit of patriotism, of loyalty to him as head.

But the union is closer than that of brotherhood. It is a unity not of organization but of organism, in which all the differing members, discharging different functions, co-operate in the unity of a single person, which is Christ: John B. Tabb and John Clifford; Robert F. Horton and Cardinal Vaughan; R. T. Forsythe and Pius X; Francis of Assisi and John Wesley; John Bunyan and Gregory VII; Philips Brooks and D. L. Moody; Spurgeon and General Booth.

Now the New Testament conception is that these persons are members each in his part, severally members of the body of Christ, and the concern of each should be that there be no schism in the body. And there is the place where you can turn yourself loose in the denunciation of all the sins against unity, the unity of the body of Christ, and how those sins have blackened the course of Christian history.

The Roman Catholics and the Greek Catholics and the Anglicans and all the Protestant bodies, multiplied to hundreds and

hundreds and hundreds since the Reformation—all these have been sinning against the unity of the person of Christ. Here in Augusta the Methodists will tell you that what John Wesley did not know about ecclesiastical statesmanship isn't worth bragging about, and I have a dear friend back there who said that an Episcopal rector in Charleston had told him that there might be other ways for a man to be saved than through the Episcopal church, but no gentleman would take advantage of them. And there are Presbyterians in this audience who positively know that they were foreordained from all eternity to set the rest of us right, and we Baptists just know that we are right! Now I say, brethren, that if there is one thing that is growing clear and glorious in the mind of Christendom today, it is that we are members of the body of Christ, and if members of that body, we are members one of another. And so the first duty of Baptists is to insist on that unity, a unity unbroken, however it may be marred, by any differences of special belief and practice.

Now having said that, I am pledged to say, in the five minutes that remain, that the relation of the Baptists to the Universal Church is secondly a relation of brotherly protest, a protest which grows out of this Baptist conviction and this brotherly contention on the part of the Baptists, namely, that they represent, they present Christianity in universal terms, namely, in the universal terms of faith and obedience. Christianity is the universal religion. How do you make it the universal religion? Why, it is a universal religion by virtue of two facts, the first, that they insist that there is one God, and if there is only one God, all the rest must know him; secondly, that one God has given a measure of faith to every man, and on those two propositions Christianity claims to be the universal religion.

Now Baptists represent universal Christianity in universal terms, and they must affectionately and in brotherly spirit protest against the narrowing of Christianity to any other terms; and that means of course that they must protest against the Roman Catholic and the Greek Catholic narrowing of Christianity in terms of institutionalism; for it is the conviction of Baptists that inspirations are greater than institutions. And then that Baptists must protest against the episcopally organized Christianity

of other communions, for that method of appeal is not universal. There are people that cannot consent to be ruled by a bishop.

And again Baptists must protest in brotherly spirit, in deep Christian affection Baptists must protest against the Presbyterian conception of Christianity, for the reason that it is not universal in its appeal, since it conceives that the Christian church is to be organized in a series of courts. The Baptists must protest against the Congregational conception of Christianity, for that involves religion by proxy in the case of infant baptism. Baptists must protest against the non-ordinance-practicing churches of Christians, like the Quakers, on the ground that while freedom of development as to ordinances is to be observed in the New Testament—and that lays emphasis on the fact that according to the New Testament conception Christian churches were organized in spirit rather than in ordinances—yet you must limit freedom of development somewhere, else you have the Roman Catholic church. I say you must limit your freedom of development somewhere, and where shall you set the limit? I say it is the New Testament, else the Christianity of Christ will evaporate into airy nothings.

Eternal form will still divide  
The eternal soul from all beside.

And you must have form to embody ideals. And the Baptists have got both the ideals and the form and, holding them, they must most affectionately protest, while they insist on their brotherhood with all Christian believers.

**THE PRESIDENT:** It will give us very great pleasure to hear from Dr. Birney S. Hudson, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Atlantic City, New Jersey.

**DR. HUDSON:** My zeal as a Baptist has never been questioned in those regions whence I come. But as I take peculiar pleasure in finding that people follow me as their teacher, and think as I do in some instances, so, on the other hand, I think I take greater pleasure when, often, in my own Congregation, I find someone who differs from my teaching. I discover at least that there is someone, though under my influence, who has independ-

ence enough to think originally and for himself. I am not sure that we as Baptists all think alike. I think sometimes that there is quite as great a difference between us among ourselves, as between us as a body, and other bodies. I take great pleasure in thinking that perhaps as a people we have made a contribution just here in teaching to the world their rights, or in standing for the rights of the world as to liberty of conscience and freedom of speech.

Certainly we all believe that it is the first business of an individual to be a Christian. But I have heard some very zealous people say that, and then by their conduct make it impossible to believe that they were quite conscious when they stated it. No doubt denominationalism has had a very great mission and still has. I am sure that no one of us here is ready to amalgamate with all bodies of Christian worshipers at this particular juncture; but on the other hand the facts which have been apparent to us, mentioned by one of the readers tonight, that other bodies of Christian people look upon us with the feeling that we are the ones who hold aloof when it comes to a matter of comity or of federation or union, is sufficient warrant for us to take particular interest in this subject; and what others think of us, if we understand them clearly, may be a good criterion by which we might judge ourselves at times. Doubtless we know ourselves quite as well as our friends know us, and yet I am sure that we will not know ourselves perfectly until we discover just what others think.

I have thought a great deal about the statement of a leader among us, in the last Congress in New York City, when he said, Walk up and down past these churches and inquire of the first man you may meet, or of any ten men, as to what Baptists believe, and they will tell you almost to a man that Baptists believe in baptism by immersion. Admitting the fact that they do say so, then one of the minor doctrines of the church is magnified in their minds as of chiefest importance in our own thinking. If this is so ought we not to consider the question, Are we really giving precedence to the things we think we are? If in former times we have stood distinctively for Christian liberty, is immersion as baptism the only thing that we stand for distinctively

now? If so, then it seems to me that we have come pretty close to the time when we can look very generously at each other, and the time has then come for us to be gracious, courteous, and cordial and co-operative with our fellow-Christians of other bodies. I want to feel—and Dr. Poteat makes it possible for me to at least—I want to feel that I am a part of the Universal Church, and not simply because I am identified with a religious body known as Baptists, but because I am identified with the forces of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ known as Christians.

The Edinburgh Conference, recently held, is something that we cannot ignore, and the statement of missionary specialists, who there said, that if we could have better concern for the missionary enterprise of each other, so that our work might not be duplicated, the force of the Kingdom would be doubled at once. Baptists have been leaders in things that have been enunciated here tonight, I need not mention them. Let us still continue to be leaders in these things which realize the facts of the Kingdom Universal. Christian unity, for instance; why not take up that as a proposition of our faith and teach that we are interested, at least, in any feasible plan by which the church of Jesus Christ can walk together? Christian comity, courtesy, federation, co-operation, ought to be familiar terms with us, looking toward the final consummation of a united church, tramping steadily onward, to the conquest of the world.

If there were time I would like to mention one other thing which could be greatly served by a co-ordinate church, at least a co-operative church, a Universal Church, and that is the matter of social service; for there is not a community in this land of ours that does not need the hard driving earnestness of a united church, and we cannot solve our problems in our communities by simply doing our denominational work. We must stand together in Christian unity, when we face the ravages of intemperance, when we meet the needs of philanthropy, when we look into the great work that is possible for us to accomplish among people of our own communities and cities. We congratulate ourselves that we receive a score, or fifty, or a hundred members into our churches, but we have not begun to handle the problem of christianization of our communities by accom-

plishing that result. We must socialize the principles and the teachings of Jesus, and we can do that only by proving to the world that we are interested not only in the conversion of the individual to a definite faith in him, but also in healing his wounds, and filling his cup with Christian joy. If minor matters, sometimes considered essential, have hindered the realization of such union or interchange of courtesies as are necessary to highest Christian efficiency of the Church Universal, then we may sometime discover the necessity of radical measures, to demonstrate to others our intended emphasis on Christian teaching.

**THE PRESIDENT:** I am sure that we will take great pleasure in hearing from President Milton G. Evans, of Crozer Theological Seminary.

**DR. EVANS:** No doubt we all agree with the principles enunciated by the two speakers, but let us be concrete. Three years ago a young man, a student for the ministry, a university graduate, reared in an earnest Baptist home, baptized by immersion by an enthusiastic Baptist pastor, educated under the tuition of one of the ablest Baptist college presidents in the North, entered Crozer Seminary. Before pursuing his theological studies, he had been pastor in one of the states of the Middle West. During his pastorate one of the most efficient workers in his church was a prominent business man of the community, a man of undoubted Christian character, of generous helpfulness to the church, and of constant activity in church work. The young pastor wished to win him to church membership, but the Christian gentleman could not see the necessity of immersion as condition of membership, since he had made the requisite confession of faith as to his relation with Christ. In effect he told the pastor, "I accept Jesus Christ as the master of my conscience; I am living a Christian life by the Spirit's help; I am demonstrating my Christian belief by gifts of money and by personal work in your church, but I cannot submit to the rite of immersion." In my classroom one day the student told of his experience in his pastorate, and inquired, "Why should not the church have received him into membership without baptism?"

My reply was, "Young man, you are not the only young pastor that is asking the question. That is the issue we must face in our practical work." What are we as Baptists to do in such situations? Should that young man have lost the efficiency of such possible addition to his working force in the community, an addition that would have made for Baptist prestige, not to say Christian advance, through a strengthened local Christian church? If we answer No, we must take the consequences. If some of us are unwilling to face the issue as opportunists simply, can the situation be met on principles that will win the approval of our common Lord who searches the motives of the heart?

To be concrete, obedience to Christ was not the question with the Christian man instanced a moment ago. He meant to obey Christ, else he could not have said, "I accept Jesus Christ as the master of my conscience." But he had reached the conclusion that the New Testament obligation to be baptized was not an obligation today. And if he had reached that conclusion through his own understanding of the New Testament obligation, and at the same time accepted Christ as his Teacher and Savior, who am I that I should withstand God? It is a cardinal Baptist principle that I, a Baptist, allow that man and his Lord to be judges in that particular matter; and perchance—perchance—the one that refuses to submit to the rite may be a better Baptist than I, because the refusal is an emphatic substitution of the spirit for the letter. For often the most effective way to teach the truth of a symbol is to omit the symbol. I am speaking bluntly in order that we may see the situation, for it is a situation that we are facing in every section of our country, in some sections to be sure more than in others.

Possibly the solution will be found in our definition of Baptists. Emerson uttered a commonplace when he said that to give exact definitions is the mark of an educated man. It would be a good test of our education, if I passed slips of paper throughout this congregation, asking each to write his definition of a Baptist. The answers would make interesting reading. At any rate, a definition must be of another sort than that of the ancient philosopher's definition of man as a featherless biped, else some cruel rival in philosophy plucks a goose and exhibits

it as his adversary's "man." A definition must not rest on long-continued association of ideas that conjoins what are not inherently found together in the word used. The other day I read an incident of a countryman visiting a zoölogical garden and seeing a kangaroo for the first time. In astonishment he sought information of a by-stander. The one questioned replied, "That is a native of Australia." The countryman ejaculated, "And to think, my sister married one of those things last year." The word "native" caused the mental pain of the one seeking information. In some such way the word "Baptist" is misunderstood. It was a misfortune that this word came to be applied to us as a people professing certain doctrines. We were Baptists before we bore that name, for our progenitors in Baptist faith did not at first immerse believers. As everything exists before it is named, so we as a people had a definite history before a given name became attached to us. The dearest thing that ever comes into homelife is born and wins love before the name is given. The mere fact, then, that we happen to be named Baptists, with emphasis on baptism, does not make us Baptists, for others not of our denomination practice immersion. I could be a Baptist without immersion. Hundreds are, for they are immersed on profession of their faith, and we must believe them before we immerse them. That is, they are immersed because they are Baptists, not in order to make them such. And for the reason that, as I understand Baptist history, the following are the tests of Baptist faith and practice: first, Christ alone is sovereign over the conscience; second, no one can call him Lord except by the Spirit, and this Spirit is for all equally; third, the Bible only the way to Christ; fourth, everyone is permitted to read the Bible for himself, and to rise or fall according to the Christ he finds there; fifth, in lieu of the Bible, living epistles, who represent Christ in conduct and speech; that is, Christians are missionaries leading men to Christ; sixth, personal freedom to believe and to teach without interference from any external authority whatsoever; seventh, personal obligation to allow another to believe and to teach whomsoever he may influence, with no attempt on my part to burn him, or drown him, or anathematize him, or to hinder him in his endeavor to win men to Christ in whom all

Christians believe by calling him by any name whatsoever that will alienate part of the community.

My personal confession is, that I am a Baptist and a Christian because I try to obey the Sermon on the Mount—the closing words of it, too; I am a Baptist and a Christian because I hope to hear the words, “Well done,” not because I have been baptized, but because I have “done it to one of the least of these”; and as such I wish to be in the fellowship of believers who profess the faith of all good men in Jesus Christ.

It is in this spirit that I wish to judge any young Baptist pastor, whenever I hear that in the earnest desire of his soul to extend Christ’s kingdom and to spread the historically attested principles of Baptists, he has received, by the consensus of his fellow-believers in his church, into his membership a believer without administering the rite of baptism. These pastors are as zealous as I; they have sufficiently difficult tasks; they have the same Bible and the same spirit as I; they pray equally with myself for the coming kingdom. Why make it harder for them to do their work by insisting that it must be done my way, when my way has not been proved beyond a reasonable doubt to be God’s way?

**THE PRESIDENT:** I have very great pleasure in asking Rev. Dr. George H. Ferris to come to the platform:

**DR. FERRIS:** Unlike Dr. Evans, I rejoice in “glittering generalities” on this subject. It is an excellent thing to commit ourselves first to generalities, to great truths and principles. Then, when the concrete case comes upon us, we may show whether we are loyal to the principle or not. The trouble with this whole question is that, like an ellipse, it has two foci. The problem groups itself about the two principles of liberty and unity. No organization can prosper that sins against either one. The church is not the only institution working at this question. The state faces the same problem. When it begins to formulate an organization out of the great conglomerate mass of discreet individuals, each with his personality to develop, what does it find? It finds an almost hopeless heterogeneity. One man is born for the sea. Another seems built and baptized of God for the solution of

problems in mathematics. Every type and tendency of character presents itself. Imagine a state that was organized on the basis of the kind of unity many are trying to realize in the church. Imagine a society whose rulers said, "Go to! let all men be musicians!" What a mad, bacchanalian festival of piping Pans such a state would be. The fact is the principle of democracy is yet trying to find itself. The state is just beginning to realize that the highest form of unity is that which allows the greatest freedom to the individual to follow his own bent and develop his own character. Some day we must realize that religious unity cannot be obtained by grouping ourselves about a set of abstract propositions, or an ecclesiastical form, or an infallible pope, or an infallible Book, or anything else external and unspiritual. The church must realize, as well as the state, that the highest form of unity is that which allows most freedom to the individual. Its principle of unity ought to be nothing but loyalty and love to a person.

Dr. Evans has said that we ought to be concrete. Let me try. Our church supports a missionary, who is superintendent of the missions of our Northern Board in Japan, China, and the Philippines. The most pressing problem in those lands today arises from the policy of "comity" that has been adopted by the different denominations. We have divided up the field to prevent our work overlapping. Here is the problem that has arisen: The Chinese population being somewhat fluid, a man drifts down from the section assigned to the Methodists into the section assigned to the Baptists. He cannot understand the different versions of Christianity presented to him by this act. If he must be immersed before he joins the church, nine times out of ten, if not oftener, he will drift back into heathenism. The missionaries see the situation, and are pressing us. What do you think of a denomination that dare not face this situation? What do you think of a denomination whose boards and societies keep shelving this problem year after year? Then, in the face of this, we go on talking about the "Great Universal Church," and the coming of "God's Kingdom."

Did you say we must settle this problem within the area of the New Testament? Very well! Let us look at the first bond

of Christian unity. Within the group of disciples we find two men, whose very presence there is suggestive. We find Simon the Zealot, one of those fiery spirits who rose in insurrection against the taxes imposed by the Roman government, and resisted unto blood. We also find Matthew the Publican, whose business had been the collecting of those same taxes. Now, in view of the fact that these men unquestionably believed in a messianic kingdom, we have here a little light. Imagine Simon and Matthew sitting down to formulate a policy for this kingdom in its relation to the Roman Empire. What a happy time they would have had of it! The fact is the only bond of unity they had was love and loyalty to Christ. That held and fused them. All the hot fires of persecution and all the hard blows of opposition only welded them more closely together.

The trouble is we have not realized the largeness of our Christ. The fact that he once was immersed has eclipsed everything else. For three years, from my bungalow in the Berkshires, I have been looking over at a towering form called "Gobble Mountain." My view of it is from the north. It has become one of the familiar pictures of my memory. Not long ago I climbed to another view-point lying to the east. There, against the western sky, was a great, broad, strange summit that at first I did not recognize. It was fully ten minutes before I could persuade myself that this was "Old Gobble." We accustom ourselves to some special view of a majestic truth until we shut out from fellowship and sympathy all who look at it from a different angle. I repeat: We have not realized the largeness of our Christ.

THE PRESIDENT: I take very great pleasure in asking Dr. Rufus P. Johnston, of New York, to come to the stand.

DR. JOHNSTON: Mr. President: It must be conceded that the sessions of this Congress so far have been most interesting and vital. And though familiar with the modern version of the proverb concerning comparisons, I yet venture to think that the trend taken by the discussion this evening renders this the most *practical* of the sessions. The matter of Christian unity does not lie on the surface of the question before us, but it

does lie in its heart. And, what is of greater moment, it lies in the heart of the deepest thinking, the highest yearning, and the strongest praying of good men and women in all the churches.

The problem which must and will find a solution in the near future is, How may a closer fellowship, a freer interchange, a more united co-operation, of Christian workers be brought about? The immediate question before us is, What program do Baptists propose for the realization of such a consummation? All who believe in Christ at all must believe that a deep, vital, essential unity is not only desirable, but that it is also attainable.

Hitherto various efforts at unity have been made, and every denomination from the least to the greatest has its plan of union either expressed or implied. In most cases this plan is very simple, very direct, and easy to be understood. It is that all other denominations come and be swallowed—a union through the process of deglutition. This, in unadorned terms, is the position of Catholic, Episcopalian, Baptist, and all the rest of them. To each of these bodies it has seemed passing strange that the others have not hastened to accept its generous invitation. The stubborn refusal to do so indicated, to the mind of the inviting body, sectarianism, ignorance, unscripturalness, if not absolute depravity on the part of the recalcitrants. But however we may account for it, an unyielding reluctance to attain unity in this simple manner has been exhibited. And so far as one can observe tendencies there does not seem to be the slightest shadow of the shadow of a probability that such an invitation, thus ingloriously to disappear, will ever be accepted by denominations in general. Some other way must be found if unity in any real sense is to be realized.

The moment we begin to speak of unity—co-operative fellowship—and inclusiveness in our church membership, the spokesmen, self-constituted or otherwise, of the various bodies begin to bring forth for exhibition the “indispensable conditions” which must be complied with before such fellowship can be allowed. The one body requires this, the other that, and the third something else, and so on. The Baptist insists on the immersion of the believer as an absolute prerequisite to mem-

bership in his body. Nothing else will possibly do. Everything else is not enough. A clear analysis of these "irrefragable" conditions will show that, in the evangelical bodies at least, they are external secondary matters lying on the outer circumference of spiritual religion, even if they have any contact with it whatsoever. Of all these ultimate conditions it seems to me that those which Baptists set up are least in keeping with the genius, the spirit, and the ideals of the denomination, and that these same ultimate conditions hamper their progress, hinder their message, and thwart their mission to a tragic degree. For of all peoples the Baptists occupy the most advantageous position for effective leadership in the movement toward unity. They are democratic, they believe in the liberty and competency of the individual soul, they insist on spirituality as the life of religion, and on character as the expression of that life. In theory, they are poles apart from sacramentarianism and always have exalted the substance above the form, the spirit above the letter, the reality above the symbol. And yet, when the heart of Christendom is longing for and searching after a way of unity, the Baptists stand unmoved and cry, You can count on us only after you have been immersed. To my thinking, that is the tragedy of Christian history. For with all deference to those who make that demand, I dare affirm that the mission of Baptists is not and never has been the preservation of a ceremony or symbol.

See how we contradict our high claims and betray our God-given genius and privilege.

We boast of individual soul liberty, of the competency of the soul under God; we inveigh against the presumption that would put anything—be it priesthood, institution, or ordinance—between the Father and his yearning child; we put into the hands of men the Bible and especially the New Testament, and we say, Take this, read, interpret, and follow its spirit and precepts. We proclaim a roomy freedom in Jesus for the individual because of the great fact of individual responsibility; but we contradict all that high philosophy and brave talk by excluding from the possibility of fellowship with us all who cannot agree with us on baptism. There may be liberty in other respects, but here not. In other words, we believe in liberty of soul, liberty of New

Testament study, but not in liberty of conclusion with reference to baptism.

And thus we refuse to fellowship men whose lives are redolent with the grace of Jesus, and are rich in fruits of the Spirit. And this is done by a people who through the centuries have in their preaching exalted the spirit above the letter, the vital above the ceremonial, the thing symbolized above the symbol. So long as we turn from our churches and refuse fellowship to men and women of the highest Christian character because they cannot honestly see their way to accept immersion as a prerequisite to membership in the body of Christ, and admit into our fellowship, as we often do, men and women of a very unsatisfactory type of Christian character because they have been immersed, I do not see how we can escape the conclusion that we exalt ceremony above character.

Jesus said, "by their fruits ye shall know them." If our teaching and practice, if our insistence upon immersion, resulted in a higher type of Christian character, if the members of our churches were head and shoulders above all others, if we showed forth a larger liberality, a nobler idealism, a higher consecration, a deeper love for and a more devoted activity in the Kingdom than other bodies of Christians, then we might say this is due to our baptism; and then we might consistently lay claim to a closer conformity to the will of God. But do we develop such spiritual pre-eminence? The truth is perfectly clear, that in making immersion the absolute prerequisite of church membership and an indispensable condition of Christian unity, we are putting our emphasis upon something that is not vital enough to produce fruit.

It is this failure of baptism when put to the pragmatic test, together with the fact that it has been and still is the crux of contention, discord, and dissension in the body of Christ, that makes me wonder, were he here, if he would not utterly banish the whole matter from the field.

Some will doubtless be shocked at such a statement and say, Did not Jesus himself submit to baptism and did he not command that it be practiced to the end of the age? I make bold to ask if he did issue such a command. Let it be readily

admitted that Jesus was immersed. The question is, Did he command immersion to be practiced to the end of time as the absolute essential to membership in the church? If you will take up the Gospels you will find two passages and but two which seem to support this contention. These passages are Mark 16:16 and Matt. 28:19-20. As to the passage in Mark, no scholar today would defend its genuineness. It is useless to quote it as a Scripture proof-text. As to Matt. 28:19-20, grave doubt exists among scholars as to *its* genuineness also. Among the grounds for these questionings is the fact that it contains a clear-cut expression of the Trinitarian formula—a formula not found in any other New Testament book—a formula not connected with any New Testament case of baptism, and nowhere else in the New Testament referred to in speaking of baptism, moreover a formula which in the light of the history of dogma could hardly have come to such perfect expression until long after the death of the apostles, and a formula, be it said, which would tremendously help in the Trinitarian controversy of the early centuries provided it could have been surreptitiously inserted into some New Testament manuscripts. We Baptists cannot despise the results of scholarship on the question of baptism. Now when we add to all this the fact that in the first commission to the Twelve, and later in the sending out of the Seventy, no mention is made of baptism, and that in all his dealings with individuals, and in all his preaching to the multitudes, not once did Jesus say go and be baptized; in view of all this it seems clear that Jesus did not put so much emphasis upon baptism as many are disposed to contend. Do not misunderstand me. I am not saying that Jesus disapproved of baptism. I am not contending that baptism was not practiced. I only insist that Jesus gave it no such pre-eminence in his teachings and practices as to make it the absolute prerequisite of church membership and of Christian unity and fellowship.

Furthermore, our tenacious insistence upon baptism, as we practice it, as the essential condition of church membership, has served to hamper our progress, obscure our message, and limit our ministry to the age. Not merely of our dogged insistence upon immersion is this true, but because the inevitable

result of such an emphasis on ceremony has veiled and devitalized the real thing for which we stand and plead. In order to have a great response, a great plea is necessary. World movements resulting in the progress of the Kingdom must spring out of and minister to deep fundamental yearnings and needs. Spiritual democracy is seeking for a voice. The social movement is looking for a religious interpreter. The spirit of Jesus is crying for release from traditions and externalities, in order that it may voice its message of life. Who is fitted for these things so perfectly as the Baptists—with their history, their genius, and their ideals? And yet, blind to all these fair fields, deaf to all these appeals, dead to all these deep stirrings in the heart of the race, we stand doggedly and say, you must be immersed.

And yet we wonder that we make such slow progress in the cities. The trouble is that we will not minister to a community as such. Take an illustration: There is a community in a city that has no church. The Baptists decide to plant a church there. There is room for but one church. There are many Christian people of other denominations in that community. They attend the Baptist church, give to it, work for it, pray for it. They go to the church and say, We would like to come into this church. and work with you for the promotion of the Kingdom of God. We love Christ. We have been his disciples for years. May we come in and serve him in fellowship with you? The church replies, We are grateful for your help, your prayers, your money, your influence, but we will not take you unless you repudiate your past religious connections and enter *de novo* into the church as though you were just born into the Kingdom. Is it any wonder that other denominations build up strong churches in which there are thousands of Baptists, while the Baptist church ekes out a miserable existence because it ministers to only a segment of the community in spiritual things?

Paul said, "If any man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his." The converse of that proposition must also be true: "If any man hath the spirit of Christ he is his." And this at last must be the basis and the bond of Christian unity. When we come to make the Christ spirit the sole condition of

church membership, and leave to the spirit-enlightened conscience of the individual the questions of baptism and other secondary things—then and only then will we have union in liberty. And no people are so advantageously situated to lead in this great movement as the Baptists.

**THE PRESIDENT:** I take great pleasure in asking Rev. Dr. Rufus W. Weaver, of Nashville, to come to the platform.

**DR. WEAVER:** I have listened with growing concern to the last three addresses; for I am persuaded that these gentlemen, who in scholarship and eminent Christian service are not surpassed by any in our brotherhood, do not represent the great mass of the Baptists of this country. This has led me to ask the question, "Why do I find myself differing with them so radically?" We agree in not raising any restriction regarding the admission into the universal or the invisible church of all who accept the lordship of Jesus Christ, but when we come to the matter of the organization of local churches, bodies that have existence in accordance with well-recognized sociological laws, bodies which are based upon a community of ideas and ideals—immediately differences arise as to what constitutes a local or visible church. Now, that leads to the question, "What is the fundamental principle for which Baptists stand?" I do not know whether you will agree with me or not, but I am persuaded that the fundamental principle of Baptists is simply this: "The religious experience must precede its religious expression, and the religious expression must follow and be in harmony with the religious experience." Now, if that be true, the fundamental issue which we raise is simply that of telling the truth. Our visible organization must in some way declare truthfully, emphatically, uncompromisingly, the religious experience which we make the basis of our organization.

Now, what is that experience? It is commonly called regeneration. It is described in the New Testament very frequently as a death and resurrection. Now when we wish to find a form which shall be the universal expression of this experience naturally we turn to him who makes this experience possible. We stand upon the Mount of Olives and listen to the Master as

he gives to his disciples the great commission. We hear him say: "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you and lo! I am with you even unto the end of the world." In this great commission, there are three separate commands: (1) making disciples of the nations; (2) baptizing the disciples into the name of the triune God; (3) teaching the disciples to observe all things which the Master had commanded. There are many ways by which men may be led to become disciples of Jesus Christ and in the command no one way is prescribed. There are many ways by which the disciples of Jesus Christ may be taught the things which he commanded to be observed and in the command no one way is prescribed. There is but one way however to baptize, for it is a definite, single act. The scholars of the world unanimously agree as to the fact that the form is immersion. The question naturally arises, "Why did Jesus make this form, this rite, an essential part of the great commission?" I have been astounded tonight to hear the sentiment expressed that if Jesus were on earth today he would confess that in this one particular he had made a mistake.

Why did Jesus command the observance of a form? The *raison d'être* of a form is its meaning. The value of a form varies with its truthfulness. The value of a religious form is determined by its being a truthful expression of the religious experience which it declares. In baptism by immersion which is simply a burial in and a resurrection from water, there is a dramatic portrayal of the experience of the soul which we call regeneration. Only the regenerated are disciples of Christ, therefore only the regenerated have the right to membership in the local or visible church; and only in baptism by immersion can the regenerated man give a religious expression of his religious experience that conforms to exactly, and in perfect truthfulness expresses, this experience. As a symbol, baptism transcends the limitations of language and wherever presented, to races differing however widely in speech, the same idea of a burial and a resurrection is expressed. It was necessary that the fundamental truths of Christianity should be preserved and expressed in the simplest

and most perfect form. Baptism preserves the historic revelation—the death and resurrection of Jesus. Baptism epitomizes the Christian faith and expresses the experience of the individual. Baptism is a symbolic prophecy of the resurrection from the dead. Baptism was the mode which Jesus chose to preserve the truthfulness of his message and the experience which the acceptance of his message would produce. At the time he imposed baptism, there was no New Testament; and so far as the words of the Master are recorded, there is no intimation that he felt himself dependent upon the books of the New Testament for the preservation of the church against which the gates of death should never prevail. But he did see a necessity for this form and so he commanded it. Baptism is the Bible which Jesus prepared and every immersion and emersion in the name of the triune God is a newly printed copy of the book. If we see in baptism all that Jesus put into it, we will find enough there for the re-establishment of Christianity on earth if every church were leveled to the ground and every Bible destroyed. It is enough for us that Jesus commanded baptism, but the further reason that leads us to refuse those who seek membership with us without submitting to immersion, grows out of the fact that though they have an experience as genuine as ours, they have not told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; for that can be done only in baptism by immersion. They fail to conform to our fundamental principle which requires that the religious expression shall be in harmony with its experience. On ethical grounds we refuse them fellowship. If any devout Christian man refuses to accept the conclusions of scholarship and conscientiously believes that any other form he may choose is just as valid and as truthful expression of his loyalty to Christ, I welcome him because of the genuineness of his experience into the brotherhood of Christian faith, I recognize him as a child of God, a seeker after truth as honest as myself, but I cannot compromise the church of which I am pastor, I cannot compromise the principle for which my church has always stood and welcome him into membership, for in so doing I would concede to that which does not tell the truth all that I grant to truth itself. Fundamentally baptism is a question

of veracity, and the preservation of truth in Christian symbols is of far greater importance than our growth in numbers.

**THE PRESIDENT:** I will announce the subject for tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock, which is, "Can the Distinction between the Canonical and Non-canonical Writings Be Maintained?" This is a very important subject. The other session for tomorrow will be at 4:00 o'clock. We will now stand. I will ask Dr. Charles S. Gardner of Louisville to pronounce the benediction.

The meeting was then dismissed by Dr. Gardner.

### THIRD DAY

#### *Morning Session*

Thursday, November 10, 1910

11:00 o'clock A.M.

THE PRESIDENT: The Congress will now come to order, and we will be led in prayer by Rev. Mr. Green, of Charleston, S.C.

MR. GREEN offered prayer.

THE PRESIDENT: The subject for this morning is, "Can the Distinction between the Canonical and Non-canonical Writings Be Maintained?" We shall have the pleasure of first listening to a paper by Professor Gerald B. Smith, D.D., of the University of Chicago.

PROFESSOR GERALD B. SMITH, D.D., read the following paper :

#### CAN THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CANONICAL AND NON-CANONICAL WRITINGS BE MAINTAINED?

This question has a formidable aspect to many devout souls. It seems to be striking at the very center of our faith in God's revelation; and a negative answer is dreaded because it would be generally interpreted to mean that we have only a human literature as the foundation of our religious beliefs. It is well, therefore, at the outset to emphasize the fact that the question is proposed not in any spirit of wanton destructiveness, but simply because developments in theological scholarship during the past century or more have made it impossible to evade the issue. One has only to read present-day popular treatises to discover that serious modifications have been made even by conservative thinkers in the conception of the nature of the Bible. There is, in most of these discussions, a commendable eagerness to preserve the religious value of the Scriptures which have for centuries fed the life of the church. But concessions are freely made today which would have appalled our fathers.

It seems proper, therefore, to take account of stock, and to determine just what differences, if there be such, can be affirmed between the canonical and the non-canonical writings.

It may be of value to remind ourselves that we are dealing with only one aspect of a larger question. Any religion in the course of its development establishes certain authoritative writings or rituals or localities in which the presence of God is believed to be more directly accessible than elsewhere. It frequently happens that criticism arising from either religious or scientific considerations compels a modification of theory in regard to the exact nature of the way in which the revelation comes. Disturbing as the necessity for readjustment appears at first, eventually that view of the matter which proves itself least vulnerable to the weapons of a legitimate criticism is also the most serviceable for religious faith. As examples of questions which are similar in import to the one which forms the subject of this paper, we may mention the doctrines of the infallible church, of the sacramental efficacy of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, and the theory of priestly ordination. Can the distinction be maintained between the authoritative church and non-authoritative organizations? We Baptists certainly feel that in our more human and democratic view of the organization of the followers of Christ we have gained religiously as well as critically. Is there no difference between the bread and wine which the priest has blessed and the ordinary bread and wine used for secular purposes? We, at any rate, feel that in abolishing the distinction involved in the doctrine of transubstantiation, we have made a genuine advance in the understanding and the practice of true religion. Is there no essential difference between the ordained minister and the layman? Has the layman just as good a right to utter decisions in ecclesiastical matters as has the man upon whose head have been placed the ordaining hands of the clergy? Again, we Baptists feel that the abolition of the distinction has been a distinct advantage to the cause of religion. It is worth while to remind ourselves of these other aspects of the larger question, in order to reassure ourselves. Church and sacraments and the ministry have been so completely democratized by Baptists that the older Catholic distinctions are

abolished. It is quite possible that a failure to maintain a line of division between the canonical and the non-canonical writings might eventuate in the establishment of a religious faith which later generations would regard as more valuable than the one which their forefathers were so reluctant to modify or abandon. At any rate, a doctrine which is based on the facts is better than a doctrine which is obliged to explain away troublesome facts. Our attempt, then, will be reverently to ask the question whether, in view of the facts at our disposal, we can discriminate between the canonical and the non-canonical writings.

“Can the distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings be maintained?” Just what is *the* distinction? Anything can be distinguished somehow from other things. If not, the things would be identical. Since the writings contained in the Bible are not identical with those outside the canon, it follows that some sort of a distinction can be made. But just what is it that we can say of the biblical writings which we cannot say of others? It will perhaps clear the ground, if we briefly take up certain typical theories of Scripture and inquire whether, in the light of the facts, the distinctions alleged in these theories can stand.

There is no time in this discussion to review the history of the formation of the canon of Scripture. Everyone knows that while the majority of the biblical books came to be universally accepted as divinely inspired, there were some whose character did not compel universal approval. A few of these doubtful books, such as Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, II Peter, Jude, and II and III John, have come into the standard canon of Scripture. Others, such as the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and the Shepherd of Hermas and the Clementine epistles have been excluded from our Protestant canon. The interesting point to be observed in the history of the discussions concerning the doubtful books is the fact that the *idea* of a collection of divinely inspired Scriptures was indubitably held even when it was impossible to say with certainty just where the line should be drawn between inspired and uninspired writings. As a matter of fact, the exact determination of the canon of Scripture was never a burning issue until after the Reformation. The early

church was conscious of possessing in living apostles and prophets a source of authority which we today do not find in any living men. The traditions of Christ's life and work were communicated orally as well as in writing. The early Christians did not feel any exclusive dependence on sacred writings. When, during the second century, Christianity became Catholic in spirit, the belief in the guidance of the church was the foundation of faith. Thus prior to the Reformation inspired sources of revelation besides the Bible were freely recognized. It was only when Luther denied the authority of the church, and appealed to the Word of God alone that there was felt to be any pressing need for defining the exact list of authoritative books. In answer to this demand of the Lutheran Reformation, we have the test established by Catholicism in the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the doctrine of the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit established by Luther and Calvin.

The Catholic theory can be dismissed here with a word. It declares that the voice of the church decides which writings were given by inspiration. The church has been the faithful custodian of the doctrines of Christ and the apostles, and thus can tell us just what books were divinely approved.<sup>1</sup> Catholicism thus has a perfectly definite distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings. One class of writings has received from the church the needed label; the other has not. This decision is final; for human judgments cannot be allowed to modify the divine pronouncements of the church. If one agrees to the major premise of the capacity of the church thus to decide questions, this distinction will doubtless seem satisfactory. But for one who denies that major premise, it seems like an arbitrary way of settling so important a matter.

Luther proposed a practical test. He was primarily interested in the promotion of a vigorous life of justifying faith; his main concern was to discover the sources of such faith. He did not clearly distinguish between the metaphysical idea of an original inspiration on the part of the writer of a scriptural book and the pragmatic test of its present power to inspire faith in God. The distinction which he actually had in mind was be-

<sup>1</sup> *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, Session 4.*

tween those writings which have the power to bring to men the assurance of forgiveness through Christ and those which have no such power. In the application of this test, he uttered his famous dictum concerning the "strawy" character of the Epistle of James. His fundamental interest was the practical one of testing the legitimacy of a writing to be called Word of God by asking whether it actually did utter the forgiving message of God to the soul. But he never applied this test minutely or critically. Indeed, he was convinced that the Scriptures, as a whole, actually spoke to men with this divine compelling power.

Calvin elaborated this same practical test into his famous doctrine of the inner testimony of the Spirit: "As God alone is a sufficient witness of himself in his own Word, so also the Word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit. . . . Therefore, being divinely illumined by the Spirit, we believe the divine original of the Scripture, not from our own judgment or that of other men, but we esteem the certainty that we have received it from God's own mouth by the ministry of men to be superior to that of any human judgment, and equal to that of an intuitive perception of God himself in it."<sup>2</sup> But here again, Calvin was more concerned to show that the Bible inherently has actual power to convince men without needing to appeal to the authority of the church than he was to apply the test which he proposed to both canonical and non-canonical literature. Indeed, the Reformation test as thus formulated by Luther and Calvin has never been actually used as a critical principle by theologians.

Upon serious reflection, it becomes evident that the consistent application of this test proposed by Calvin would wipe out the distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings more completely than would the most radical conclusions of biblical criticism. Does the book of Leviticus speak to modern Christians with any such authority as Calvin supposes? Does any one try to put it into practice? For the promotion of your sense of Christian communion with God would you prefer the Book of Esther to *Pilgrim's Progress*? If you exclude allegorical interpretation, and face the actual message of the Song of Songs,

<sup>2</sup> *Institutes*, Book I, chap. vii.

does it surpass Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* in power to assure you of the reality of God's presence? If we attempt to say that in all parts of the Bible we have a definite assurance of the verities of faith which we can obtain nowhere else, we are led into the most hopeless sophistry to maintain our position. Let me quote a sentence from a noted defender of biblical authority as a sample of this "confusion worse confounded." Says this theologian, "While the record of what is said is correct and exact, that which is recorded as being said may not in itself be right; but it is God's Word that man said it, though what man was recorded as saying may not be God's Word." If this means anything, it means that in some portions of the Bible we have a real revelation from God to the souls of man; while in other parts we have truthful accounts, indeed; but they may be accounts of evil. The only essential difference which remains here between the Bible and other literature is the assertion that in the Bible we always have historically accurate statements, while in other literature we cannot be sure. But we have to distinguish between religious truth and religious error in the Bible no less than we do in other literature. Just what advantage comes from alleged historical accuracy in such a case it is hard to see.

In short, the essentially *religious* test proposed by the reformers fails to establish any clear dividing line between the biblical writings and those of alleged secular origin. In the Bible, as in other literature, the devout reader finds some things which appeal to him with such power that he is lifted into communion with God. He also finds things which perplex him, or which even arouse his protest. The imprecatory Psalms could hardly find their way into a modern hymn-book. On the other hand, one feels no sense of incongruity between the Pauline epistles and the *Confessions of Augustine*. The facts will not warrant that distinction between canonical and non-canonical books which Calvin tried to establish on the basis of the inner testimony of the Spirit. We have a difference in degree rather than in kind.

What about the other tests which have been suggested? Can we, for example, say that the Bible is infallible, while other books are fallible? Nothing is more noticeable than the gradual

disappearance of that word "infallible" from present-day theologies. It is freely admitted by practically everyone today that the writers of the Bible shared the imperfect scientific and historical ideas of their age. The attempt is sometimes made to distinguish between the secular and the theological aspects of biblical teaching, and to maintain the infallibility of the latter even when recognizing the limitations of the former. But critical study is making impossible even this distinction. To mention but one example: the theology of most of the New Testament writers is unquestionably millenarian. Is this theology infallible? The conviction is steadily growing among biblical scholars that the eschatological beliefs of the first century belong to the transient aspects of Christian history. We must, then, recognize limitations in the theological thinking of the biblical writers. But this means that we have abolished the last distinction implied in the word "infallible." If we may judge from present tendencies, the very word will soon be obsolete in theology.

As to the other external marks by which the unique nature of Scripture has been established, these are faring ill in the march of scholarship. As we come to know the literary history of the books of the Bible, it becomes more and more apparent that the traditional beliefs do not rest upon the facts. For example, not one of the historical books of the Bible makes any claim to have been composed either by special inspiration or by any method different from that in common use at the time. The historical books of the Old Testament are frankly compiled from older sources, and the differing points of view of these sources are preserved for us side by side with all their inconsistencies. It is safe to say that if we did not have a priori the notion of a special inspiration we should never dream of attributing to the authors of the books of Samuel and Kings any unusual equipment for their task beyond that possessed by any devout believer in the religious value of the history of his people. On inductive grounds why should we deny the unique inspiration of the Shepherd of Hermas and affirm it in the case of the Book of Acts or the Epistle of James?

In short, those distinctions which theologians have asserted to exist between the Bible and other books simply do not exist.

If, for example, the lost epistles of Paul were to be found, would they now be put into the canon? Certainly not. But if they were known to be authentic, it is safe to say that every biblical scholar in Christendom would use them exactly as he uses the biblical epistles. As a matter of fact, except for the somewhat arbitrary decisions of ecclesiastical councils, the Christian church has never been able to draw a definite line between canonical and non-canonical writings. The not inconsiderable number of "doubtful" books on the border line is witness to this fact. Nowhere is the real estate of the case more guilelessly put than by Canon Sanday in his article on "The Bible" in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Says he, "If we were to try to sum up in a single word the common property which runs through the whole Bible, and which, broadly speaking, may be said to distinguish it from other literature of the kind, we might say that it consists in the peculiar energy and intensity of the *God-consciousness* apparent in the writers. A general term like this will perhaps best embrace the different modes and degrees in which this consciousness manifests itself. It is true that in some of the books there is such a shading away of degree that it may be questioned whether those particular books are rightly included in the canon just as there are so many analogous phenomena in some books outside the Canon as to raise a doubt whether they are rightly excluded from it. It cannot be claimed that the judgment of the Jewish and Christian churches is infallible. All that we can say is that it is sufficiently near for practical purposes."

Dr. Sanday is trying to preserve the old distinction, but is compelled by the facts to acknowledge that it cannot be done in any absolute fashion. Indeed, on closer view, it is doubtful whether the canon of scripture is adequate even for practical purposes. Nothing is more conspicuous in our modern methods of studying the Bible than to "get the historical background" for the understanding of a biblical message. Do we realize to what a large extent we are dependent on non-canonical sources for our acquaintance with this historical background? What a revolution in our knowledge of the religion of the Old Testament has come from the frank and free use of non-canonical

sources to supplement and to correct the representation given in the Old Testament! Every fragment of writing which has been preserved in the period between the Maccabaeian uprising and the days of Jesus is eagerly treasured and positively employed to help us understand the consciousness and the teaching of Jesus. One need only glance at current expositions of Scripture to see to what an extent the non-canonical material is employed. It is simply impossible for us to understand the Bible itself rightly unless we study with equal care non-biblical sources.

What distinction, then, can truthfully be made between biblical and non-biblical writings?

Simply this: As the Jewish community attempted to preserve for the education and edification of coming generations the great historical sources of their faith, they selected the books which have constituted the Old Testament, and declared these to be an authoritative exposition of the religion of Israel. The Christian community in the second century made a similar collection of Christian writings for a similar purpose. These two collections have been used by Christians for nearly two milleniums and, through association with the historic life of the church, have gained a place in the knowledge and affection of men which is permanent. There is, so far as I can see, no probability that the word "Bible" will ever stand for anything except the exact collection of books now contained within its limits. As a historical fact interwoven into centuries of Christian thinking, and to a greater or less degree affecting our own attitude, the distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings simply exists.

Moreover, whatever doubts may exist concerning a few minor books, the canonical scriptures contain the greatest extant utterances of the biblical period. On the whole, the sentiment of every age has approved the religious judgment which declared these books to be an adequate expression of true religion.

But, paradoxical as it may seem, the Bible is to remain exactly as it is largely because that point of view which demanded a sharp distinction between it and other literature has vanished. Interest has now shifted from the documents of the Bible as such to the life which produced those documents and which they in turn produce. The facts with which we are really

concerned are the religious achievements of the people of Israel, the life and teachings of Jesus, and the triumphant faith of his disciples. We want to come close to that wonderful development of religious life which gave to the western world its religious beliefs and institutions. We really do not care whether the information about biblical religion comes from the Bible itself or from other sources. Anything which serves to make us better acquainted with the prophets of Israel and their religion, anything which makes Jesus a more real character to us, anything which enables us better to enter into the aspirations and convictions of the apostolic age we eagerly welcome. We have entirely ceased to make any practical use at all of the distinction between canonical and non-canonical books. But this change of sentiment has come because we are intensely interested to know more about the religion which produced the Bible, so that we may more intelligently interpret it in the service of the religious life today.

The faith which has been built into our occidental civilization and which is a matter of the most vital concern to us all owes its origin to two great creative epochs—to the work of the great prophets of Israel and to the life and teaching of Jesus and of his early disciples. This is not to disparage the tremendous significance of such men as Augustine and Luther. But these latter men were conscious of trying to purify and restore a religion which had its inspiration in the past. The prophets of Israel and Jesus made religion to consist in an immediate present experience of the living God. There was an originality, a creative daring, a universality in what they did which compels men since them to become their disciples. There is nothing, so far as we know, in the entire history of religion so significant as this religion of the Bible. It is this which we treasure above all. Without it our spiritual life would be poor indeed.

Now the religious literature preserved in the Bible contains the most important extant material for a knowledge of this great transforming spiritual achievement of humanity. As a matter of fact, if we were to lose the books of the Bible, there is nothing in all the world to replace them. They will always be our primary sources for an understanding of the great creative origins

of the faith which we believe is to conquer the world. But this very appreciation of the supreme importance of the biblical faith has led us to a keen sense of the fragmentary nature of the information preserved in the Bible. What gaps there are in the history! How much more we should like to know about the faith of the Jews after the passing of the great prophets! If we could obtain a full account of the childhood and the private life of Jesus, would it not be of inestimable value for us? Our elimination of the older distinctions between canonical and non-canonical books has come partially, indeed, from a recognition of the falsity of theories which have been held concerning the nature of the Bible. But the aspect of the matter which too often escapes attention is the fact that it is in the interest of a deeper desire to know the real power of the biblical faith that the barriers have been thrown down. It is because we wish to understand better the nature of saving faith that we are dissatisfied to limit ourselves to what the Bible tells us if there are any other sources which may amplify our knowledge. It is because we recognize that the utterances of the Bible constitute only a *portion*—admittedly the most important which we possess, but still only a portion—of the manifestation of the power of God in the life of men, that we are eager to cherish every other utterance which helps us to understand the nature of such a conquering faith. The freer attitude of the modern age toward the Bible is thus not the destruction, but the fulfilment, of the religion of the Bible.

THE PRESIDENT: We will now take pleasure in hearing the second writer on this subject, Professor E. J. Forrester, D.D., of Mercer University, Macon, Georgia.

PROFESSOR E. J. FORRESTER, D.D., then presented the following paper:

#### CAN THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CANONICAL AND NON-CANONICAL WRITINGS BE MAINTAINED?

My task is not to determine the limits of the Canon of the Scriptures. The issue is not whether this or that book is canonical, but whether any book ought to be canonical. It is

not a question as to what is the Canon *de facto*, but whether there is any Canon *de jure*. If the distinction between canonical and non-canonical books can be maintained, then this question is settled in the affirmative; but, if that distinction cannot be maintained, then the answer to the question must be negative.

Discussion of the subject assigned will be presented upon the basis of two declarations and an interrogation.

I. The first declaration is that the line between canonical and non-canonical has been, in a measure, indeterminate.

What is here meant is: (1) that the Canon is the result of growth; and (2) that, since it ceased to grow, there has never been perfect agreement as to its contents.

1. The Canon is the result, then, of growth. This is true of both the Old Testament and the New.

a) The growth of the Old Testament is incidentally and unintentionally indicated in the Preface to Ecclesiasticus where the whole is spoken of as "the law, and the prophecies, and the rest of the books." Similar indication is given by the New Testament in such expressions as that of Our Lord recorded by Luke: "All things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the Psalms concerning me." The tripartite division marked out by these expressions was a clearly recognized division, and pointed back, no doubt, to the manner in which the Canon came into form. It is highly probable that there were three general stages in the process of collecting and canonizing the writings that make up the content of our Old Testament. In this process, the Pentateuch took precedence, followed, no great while after, by the Prophets, and these, in turn, by the Hagiographa—first the Torah; then the Nebhiim; and finally, the Kethubhim.

One of the features of a process like that here outlined is indeterminateness. The Canon of the Old Testament did not spring instantaneously into existence full-grown, with its limits definitely marked out, and its authority fully recognized.

b) The New Testament Canon, like the Old, came into form through a process of growth. The process passed through two general stages. At first, the books were circulated separately in different localities—in general, localities for which they were

originally intended by their writers. Then they were separated from other Christian writings and gathered together in a sacred collection. The first of these periods extended for about a century after the death of the apostle Paul, and about three-fourths of a century after the death of the apostle John. The second period extended into the fourth century.

2. Since this process of growth was completed, there has never been perfect agreement as to the limits of the Canon. This statement is intended, of course, to apply to those who, all along, have believed in a Canon.

a) We are upon perfectly safe ground if we elected to fix the *ad quem* of the completion of the Old Testament Canon at the advent of our Lord; and pertinent for illustration of the alleged lack of agreement are two classes of facts that appear in the history of the Canon since that time.

In the first place, there is the wide difference of opinion that grew out of the presence in the Septuagint of books not included in the Hebrew Canon. Whatever may have been the view held by Alexandrian Jews as to the authority of their additions to the Palestinian Canon, the sequel was that, as early as our fourth century, conciliar approval was placed upon these additions; and they now form a part of the sacred Scriptures of a large section of Christendom.

In the second place, some of the books of the Hebrew Canon have been questioned as to their right to be there. Such doubt has been entertained, for example, by Jewish teachers concerning Proverbs, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Jonah, and Ezekiel. As to how much weight is to be attached to these doubts is not now the question. The point is that such doubts were entertained. It is possible that the attitude of Jewish teachers had its influence upon early Christian catalogues, e.g., the omission of Esther from the list of Old Testament books obtained by Melito, bishop of Sardis, in the second century, while traveling in Syria.

b) The *ad quem* of the growth of the New Testament Canon may be placed in the fourth century. By the Council of Carthage, 397 A.D., all the books included in our New Testament were recognized as canonical.

Some of these books had quite slowly won their way to recognition, e.g., II Peter, II and III John, Jude, James, and the Apocalypse; and, since that time, one or another of these, at one time or another, has been questioned by individuals of importance, as James, Jude, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, by Martin Luther.

II. The second declaration of this discussion is, that there has ever been a substantial Canon of unquestioned right to be the norm of doctrine and duty.

A child grows; and, on account of his growth, there may be some doubt with regard to his exact size and weight, on any particular day; but there is no doubt about the substantial existence that may be weighed and measured. When the child has become a man, there are slight fluctuations of size and weight, in fact, and also in the report of his size and weight that may be rendered by different weights and measures; but the substantial fact that the man has size and weight, within limits, cannot be questioned. So it is with the Canon. From the time it began to take form till now, there has always been a body of literature that no sort of skepticism or criticism could dislodge from its position of authority as the Word of God. During the period of growth, there could be doubt and discussion with respect to increments, but never with respect to the substantial body. After the process of growth had been merged into maturity, there might still, here and there, arise question concerning the exact dimensions of the Sacred Corpus; but only that. Indeed, question concerning the exact dimensions to be recognized did but emphasize the existence of the body thus to be defined. If we have gotten sight of the course which the growth of the Canon really took, then it was the Torah, or Law, that first attained position of recognized authority. For an indefinite period, it was held by Israel to stand alone as sacred and supreme. In process of time, the Prophets took their place by the side of the Law, though for awhile, slightly below, no doubt, in respect of veneration. Notwithstanding this possible difference of position accorded the Law, there was, nevertheless, no question in the Hebrew mind with regard to the sacredness of this enlarged Canon. Concerning the admission of some of the books of the

Hagiographa, especially Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, there may have been more hesitation than concerning others; and, after they were admitted, there may have been some suspicion concerning them—a suspicion reflected, perchance, in the doubts and discussions of Jewish doctors in the Christian era. But, notwithstanding any such possible hesitation and suspicion, there was no doubt or hesitation in Israel as to the *de jure* character of the main body of their Canon thus further enlarged. And, what is a fact of supreme importance, Jesus read, and accepted, and certified that Canon. Our Old Testament was his Bible, that is to say, the books in our Old Testament are the books that made up the Hebrew Canon of Scripture when he lived and taught in Palestine. All his references to the “Scriptures” are references to that collection of Books. It may be objected that he did not stop to point them out, though he may have regarded, some of the books in the collection as not properly included. If, for the sake of argument, that position were conceded, the concession would not touch the point that, in his references to the Hebrew Canon as the “Scriptures,” he unquestionably indorsed the great bulk and body of that collection as the Word of God.

It may be further said that, throughout the Christian centuries, whatever additions to the Hebrew Canon, as it existed at the Advent, may have gained recognition in some sections, or whatever subtractions may have been suggested by individuals, the great body of that Canon has stood unimpeached and unimpeachable.

In like manner, with regard to the New Testament, we may hold that, though some books were long in winning general recognition, and though some books not now in the Canon won considerable recognition for awhile, and though individuals have risen up to reject some of the books now included, yet, from the beginning of the formation of the New Testament till now, the great body of those writings have held their exalted position without challenge.

III. The discussion has now brought us to our interrogation. The question proposed is: How may *de jure* canonicity be determined?

The history of the Canon shows that the fundamental factor in determining the lines of its growth was the perception of the divine in the writings canonized.

As Moses believed that he was giving to Israel laws received from Jehovah, and as Prophets believed that they were speaking to their people the word of God, so Ezra believed that he was reading the law of God to the restored exiles and their children; and the same spirit that characterized Ezra evidently characterized all others who, as his contemporaries or successors, may have had any part in giving direction to the formation of the Old Testament Canon.

What was true of the Old Testament was true, also, of the New. To the early Christian Fathers, the surest sign of canonicity of a book was that it was "read in the churches"—the more generally so read, the more certainly to be regarded as canonical. To be "read in the churches" was practically equivalent to being regarded as divine. Books were read in the churches because the divine element in them was perceived. The perception of the divine was fundamental and controlling in the determination of the Canon. There is nothing beyond that now for determining the *de jure* contents of the Scripture Canon.

Our Bible, then, was not made by any external human authority, such as the declarations of councils. Councils, indeed, promulgated declarations; but these could be no more than ratifications of what already existed. A council could not give true canonicity to any book. Nor could any other human authority give that sort of canonicity.

Will some man say that the perception of the divine in a book is slender and precarious ground upon which to rest canonicity? If he does, the answer is twofold.

In the first place, whether slender and precarious or not, it is the main ground on which our actual Canon rests.

In the second place, when properly understood, it will be seen to be the abiding-ground. It is the response of the divine to the divine. It is the Spirit of God in man bearing witness to the Spirit of God in Scripture. In all the realm of man's moral life, there is nothing so infallible, and hence so enduring, as that. As long as man shall need a revelation, and rule of faith and duty,

so long will the Spirit of God be present to testify to that which the Spirit of God has given for supreme guidance.

Does it follow that every man is to make his own Canon—every man to decide for himself whether this or that book is canonical—every man to determine for himself the limits of his Bible?

Unquestionably that is every man's right. The right of "private judgment" is a right that Protestantism rescued and saved to the world. In respect of the Canon, as well as other matters, the great hero of the sixteenth-century Reformation freely exercised this right. He did so in a way entirely too impulsive and subjective, basing his rejection of books of the historic Canon on a principle altogether inadequate.

While it is the privilege of every man to determine his own Canon, yet this is a privilege that one should avail himself of with exceeding caution, reserve, modesty, and humility. I said that the great hero and leader of the Reformation exercised it impulsively. There is great danger of that sort of subjectivity in the matter. It is often evident to us that other people are moved by their own impulses when they claim to be moved by the Holy Spirit. Perhaps it does not occur to us that the same thing may sometimes be true in our own case. It is a fact, however, that it may be true!

We need to "test the spirits." Here is a collection of books that have been winnowed out of all the world's countless number of books by a spirit claiming to be the Spirit of God, and attesting itself as such by countless spiritual wonders wrought. The collection thus winnowed out has been approved by a spirit claiming to be the same that made the selection. This approval has been continuous through centuries. There has been a continuity of witnesses and a unity of operation that are simply marvelous. The man who proposes to deny the real canonicity of any book in this collection, or to add any other book thereto, had better consider well whether he is not moved by some spirit other than that One who has spoken through the centuries to the innumerable host of those who have perceived in just these books that divine quality which entitled them to be placed apart from all other books. Such is the spiritual attestation enjoyed by

our Canon, alteration in it by right of private judgment would savor of spiritual egoism and tangential proclivity of pronounced character. The man of sober, sane spiritual quality, it seems to me, will accept the Canon thus attested, in its entirety, modestly recognizing that, while its several parts do not appeal to his spiritual nature, all alike, and some of them not at all, perhaps, yet his spiritual nature is not universal, and, therefore, a much broader ground of appeal than his spiritual nature must be allowed. So he will see that the wise thing, the godly thing, for him to do is to accept the Canon we have, attested as it is, as the true one for universal man, and to go on appropriating it as fast as he may be able to grow up to it.

**THE PRESIDENT:** We will now hear the first appointed speaker on this subject, President Milton G. Evans, D.D., of Crozer Seminary.

**DR. EVANS** spoke as follows:

#### CAN THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CANONICAL AND NON-CANONICAL WRITINGS BE MAINTAINED?

To the question as stated there can be but one answer, "Yes." It is a simple fact that there is such a distinction in all great ethical religions. All religions that have had their historical origin in a person of high ethical aims, and deep spiritual feeling have preserved their oldest literary memorials by gathering them into a single volume, and have ascribed to it a very special value in the development of the religious life. The instrumental value of such sacred collections is eloquently expressed by Tiele: "A wholesome curb was thus placed upon the young community, restraining it from too great deviation from its original character; the beautiful traditions of the heroic period of their origin, the remembrance of their 'first love,' was thus more securely preserved; the priceless memorials were therefore treasured up with extraordinary care; and people therefore deemed it necessary to be constantly occupied with them and to interpret them for edification and instruction, as testifying with irrefragable authority against the encroachment of abuses. No

progress can be permanent unless rooted in the highest development of the past, and this can only be learned from the Scriptures. If the unbridled fancy of the believer forms all sorts of irrational notions about the origin of these Scriptures, through which veneration becomes worship and even idolatry, or if a reactionary priesthood is jealous for the letter without understanding the spirit, or if the ignorant multitude is satisfied with mere sounds, and degrades the venerable heirloom to the position of a fetish, yet there will always be some who penetrate more deeply into these records, and who there discover the treasures hidden from most other people."

But the fact of the existence of the records conditions the fact of the deeper penetration, and the books as well as the interpreting persons "contribute the links between a great past and an entirely new era."

Evidently, then, I am not expected to maintain the fact of distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings, but to express my views as to the *process* of *how* the distinction came to be a fact, as applied to the New Testament books, for example. Accordingly, I confine my remarks to the New Testament Canon. The process of inquiry is purely historical, and the evidence must be sought not only in literary remains, but in historical movements and, when discovered, must be judged by the ordinary tests of historical credibility.

Time forbids discussion of the extent of the Canon at any given time in the history of the church, so that I will limit my discussion to the probable motives governing its formation.

The idea of a canon preceded its embodiment in a given number of New Testament books. The word *Canon* discloses the idea. In classical Greek *κανών* means any straight rod or pole used to keep a thing straight or upright. The meaning was easily extended to denote a rod used for measuring, e.g., a carpenter's rule. Naturally, the word came to be used metaphorically to designate anything that served as a standard of comparison. Accordingly, Alexandrian grammarians made collections from the old Greek authors as models of excellence, and called them "canons." In this usage, the term is synonymous with the word *classic*, that is, in the estimation of teachers of

literature, there is a canonical or classical secular literature in distinction from literature in general, as in the opinion of teachers of religion, there are classical or canonical religious writings to be distinguished from other religious books. So that the question, "What makes a book canonical?" involves some of the problems of the question, "What makes it classical?"

But the history of the use of the word *canon* in the church shows that other than merely literary standards must be taken into consideration. In ecclesiastical Greek, the word is applied to the rule of faith; to the decrees of councils, or of the great Fathers of the church; to the collection of the nine odes prescribed by ritual; to the catalogue of martyrs and saints; and to the collection of writings accepted by the church as authoritative. Unquestionably significant is the fact that it was the council of Laodicea, 363 A.D., that first used the word in the sense last mentioned. Some idea of authority, then, is associated with the idea of canonical. To this association the earliest Christians had been accustomed, for they accepted the Old Testament as their theoretical standard of creed and conduct. The earliest followers of Jesus, of course, accepted his authority, so that after his death, his words became authoritative. For "the Twelve" the Canon was their interpreted Old Testament, and the remembered words of their Lord; but for the converts won by "the Twelve" there was an additional authority, namely, that of "the Twelve" themselves. The founders of churches established the members by teaching, by reproof, by correction, and by instruction in righteousness. For a time, the oral instruction sufficed as standard of belief and conduct, but when this was misunderstood or perverted, an explanatory letter supplemented oral instruction. The letter was as authoritative as the spoken word, but not more so. It would be cherished by recipients because of their regard for the author, and because of its intrinsic value in helping them to understand his teaching. It excelled oral instruction only in that it put apostolic teaching in permanent form, but this fact of *writing* in the very earliest years guaranteed the permanency of apostolic doctrine, provided the writings should be preserved. It is not strange that in later years,

uncertainty with regard to apostolic authorship was in some minds equivalent to uncertainty about canonicity.

But contemporaneous with the oral and written instruction of "the Twelve" was the authority of prophetic teachers in local congregations who veiled their meaning in apocalyptic language, and often in prophetic ecstasy predicted the speedy fulfilment of Christian anticipation. Such teachers were believed to be inspired, and their words were of course as regulative of belief and practice as those of "the Twelve."

All the while, however, a natural and gradual selective process was going on. Sentimental regard for authors of documents, the inherent value of the documents themselves as attested by subjective experiences, the normal search of the mind for origins, the habit of frequent reading of the apostolic letters and of any written testimony concerning the words and deeds of Jesus privately and in small social groups, and the habitual association of literature frequently read with the worship of Christ on the day commemorating his resurrection unconsciously initiated and perpetuated a selective process which ultimately helped determine the extent of the Canon. The habit, not designedly formed, of reading certain books rather than others must itself be explained, and in later years justified.

In the very earliest days of the Christian faith, then, we find that the Canon consists of five sorts of authority—the Old Testament, the words of Jesus in oral tradition, the oral instruction of apostles, apostolic letters, and the utterances of prophetic teachers. But this was in the earliest days, days of emotion, days of rapid growth, days filled with unwonted experiences so varied and so numerous that reflective thought was relatively impossible. But such days have an end. Life becomes monotonous again; other experiences arise; new adjustments must be made; past and present, and above all, the present must be justified to the reason. On this account, the indeterminate Canon of the first century of the Christian church was found to be ineffective in the second century. Conscious and unconscious judgments were formed on its constituent parts. The authoritative founders of the earliest churches were no longer giving oral instruction; ecstatic utterances of prophets had become discounted by

the growing conviction that the abnormal in religion is in its very nature temporary; the Old Testament alone proved inadequate to determine the faith of the church; the words of Jesus had been stereotyped by tradition and put in written form; evangelic narratives and apostolic letters had for years been furnishing the material and fashioning the phraseology of catechetical instructors. So that relatively early in the second century the Canon became more limited, more definite in extent. It consisted of the words of Jesus and of the apostolic missionaries preserved both in written and in oral tradition.

At this time a new experience in the church had direct bearing on canon formation. Converts from among speculative Greek philosophers attempted to interpret Christianity in terms of the mental life with which they were familiar. They accepted the fact that the new religion was a revelation, a *real* revelation, but only to those that had capacity to transcend the normal powers of human reason. It was an honest attempt to vindicate Christianity in its character of absoluteness as a revelation, but the attempt imperiled the rights of common-sense, lifted Christianity above the range of universal experience, and cast reproach upon its historical antecedents and conditions. That they wished to link their doctrines with the authoritative founders of their faith is attested by the facts, that it was the gnostic Basilides, who claimed to be a disciple of a certain Glaucias, a reputed disciple of Peter, that wrote the first exegetical exposition of New Testament books, and that it was Marcion, another man holding some gnostic tenets, who first collected New Testament writings into a canon, consisting of the Gospel of Luke, in an altered form, and ten epistles of Paul. The church was thus challenged to investigate its origin and its authority for its doctrines. Without question, the example of Marcion in collecting books into a group to be the sole source of belief showed his opponents the necessity of collecting and defining the limits of writings held to be authoritative. The appeal now was to history, and the issue of the combat between rival doctrines depended on the ascertainment of facts concerning a literature that both parties claimed represented primitive teaching. For example, the Valentinians accepted unhesitatingly

the current New Testament writings, but claimed that they had traditions that warranted their own peculiar interpretations. The orthodox did not accuse the Valentinians of mutilating the records, but of perverting them by false exegesis. The heretic Heracleon wrote the first commentary on John's Gospel, which is quoted by Origen more than fifty times. He wrote a commentary on Luke also, which is referred to by Clement of Alexandria. In short, all disputants appealed to practically the same books to vindicate their teaching, and the heretics did not do this as a concession to opponents, but as expression of belief. Both parties by their form of quotations put the writings quoted on a level with the Old Testament. That is, toward the last quarter of the second century it became increasingly clear to the church that its canon must consist of *written* memorials of its earliest doctrines and practices. That this growing belief did not issue in a conviction that would make oral tradition impossible as a co-ordinate source of faith is not a surprise to a student of the history of religions. Yet the fact is that documents now assumed an importance not hitherto accorded them. So important have they become that Theophilus of Antioch, for example, can write: "And hence the holy writings teach us, and all the Spirit-bearing men, one of whom John says. . . ." He also introduces a quotation found in I Tim. 2:1, 2 by the phrase "the divine word." Irenaeus' high estimate of the New Testament is indicated by his belief that the apostles had perfect knowledge because the Holy Spirit had come upon them; and that it was the Spirit that influenced Matthew to write the word Christ rather than Jesus in chap. 1, vs. 18, of his gospel. For the purpose of this discussion the doctrine of the inspiration of the New Testament books is accepted as "judgment of worth" merely, showing the high esteem in which they were held at the close of the second century. The conviction of their inspiration, however, did not prevent apologists from giving non-theological reasons for stating what books they held binding and assigning motives for their choice. Accordingly, from the writings of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, we can discover the tests for acceptance or rejection at the beginning of the third century. The writer of the Muratorian Canon insists on the fact that the writ-

ers were qualified historians. Serapion of Antioch, *ca.* 190, testifies to the ability to discriminate between true and false apostolic writings (*Eus. H.E.* 6:12).

Irenaeus appeals to the fact that "we have learned from none other the plan of our salvation, than from those through whom the gospel has come down to us, which they did at one time proclaim in public, and at a later period, by the will of God, handed down to us in the Scriptures to be the ground and pillar of our faith" (*adv. Haer.* 3:1). To remove objections to the validity of the testimony of Mark and Luke, he states that Mark handed down in writing what Peter preached, and Luke recorded in a book the gospel Paul preached.

Tertullian says: "We lay it down as our first position that the evangelical instrument has apostles for its authors to whom was assigned by the Lord himself this office of publishing the gospel. Since, however, there are apostolic men also, they are yet not alone, but appeared with apostles and after apostles; because the preaching of disciples might be open to suspicion of an affectation of glory, if there did not accompany it the authority of the masters, which means that of Christ, for it was that which made the Apostles their masters. . . . Of the apostles, therefore, John and Matthew first instil faith into us, whilst of apostolic men, Luke and Mark renew it afterward." He then insists on the incredibility of Marcion's gospel, and the credibility of Luke's, because of the latter's relation to Paul (*adv. Marcion* 4:2). In Book 4:4, Tertullian shows that where each side claims the true gospel, that one has the true gospel, who has the more ancient, and in the following chapter, he proceeds to show that Luke's is older than Marcion's, and adds: "The same authority of apostolic churches will afford evidence to the other gospels also, which we possess equally through their means, and according to their usage—I mean the gospels of John and Matthew—whilst that which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's whose interpreter Mark was" (*adv. Marcion* 4:5).

Concerning the heretics that rejected the Book of Acts, Tertullian writes: "Of so much importance is it for them not to have any proofs for the things which they maintain, lest along with them there be introduced damaging exposure of those things

which they mendaciously devise" (Praes. *adv. Haer.* 22). The Acts was accepted because its historical contents were conceived to be indispensable to the church; and its historicity vouched for by the fact that Luke was its author (Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* 3:141; 3:13:3; Tertullian, *adv. Marcion* 4:2). Tertullian tells of a forger caught in the act of writing spurious apostolic literature, and of his confession of his motive (*de Baptism* 17).

The reason assigned, then, for accepting the *historical* books was belief in their trustworthiness in matters of *fact*. But in contest with heretics, apologists appealed to *written* records for *doctrine* as well as for facts. Accordingly, Tertullian writes: "Now, what that was which they preached—in other words, what it was which Christ revealed to them—can, as I must here likewise prescribe, properly be proved in no other way than by those very churches which the apostles founded in person, by declaring the gospel to them directly themselves, both *viva voce*, as the phrase is, and subsequently by their epistles. If, then, these things are so, it is in the same degree manifest that all doctrine which agrees with the apostolic churches—to those wombs and original sources of the faith—must be reckoned for truth, as undoubtedly containing that which the churches received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, Christ from God" (Praes. *adv. Haer.* 21). Then he proceeds to show that the apostles were safe transmitters of the truth, because instructed by Jesus, and honest in carrying out their mission. In this connection, he mentioned only Peter, John, and Paul. We now see how the epistolary literature ought to have *apostles* for its authors, while the historical might have *disciples* and *apostles*. In accordance with this belief, Clement of Alexandria receives Hebrews, and regards Paul as its author; while Tertullian rejects Hebrews, and regards Barnabas as its author (*de Pudicitia* 20). At the close of the second century, then, the *historical* books were accepted, while the *epistles* do not form a closed collection, for there is no agreement as to the certainty of apostolic authorship.

But it is to be noted that neither of these tests affected the Apocalypse. It was not historical, nor could it be said to contain apostolic doctrine; but its character as prophetic and apocalyptic must have tended to increase its popularity, since such

writers were held in high esteem, e.g., Shepherd of Hermas and the Apocalypse of Peter. There must be some line of demarcation, and as actual fact authorship was the accepted test. The Muratorian Fragment says that only the apocalyptic writings of *apostles* can claim the character of ecclesiastical official documents.

Thus far in our discussion we have not been able to assign exact values to the various motives at work in the process of canon formation, but we have seen that the church had no single reason for accepting all its books.

All it cared to know was that the books it received were those that believers of past time judged to be valuable for teaching Christian doctrine and building up the Christian life. The collection received at this time would form a natural standard by which to judge all claimants for equal rank.

At the beginning of the third century, then, the historical canon was closed. The struggle was over the admission or exclusion of *epistolary* and *apocalyptic* writings. Thenceforth, the formation of the Canon was a process of contraction and expansion; for the list we know the church had not definitely decided upon is as follows: Hebrews, James, II Peter, II and III John, Jude, Apocalypse of John, Shepherd of Hermas, Apocalypse of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, the two Epistles of Clement of Rome.

During these years, it was discovered that historical criticism made it necessary to assign some other reason than *apostolic authorship* for accepting a doubtful book as canonical, and the reason assigned was either the authority of the past or the contents of the book itself, its response to the Christian experience of the reader. For example, Origen writes concerning Hebrews: "If I give my opinion concerning Hebrews, I should say that the thoughts are those of the apostle, but the diction and phraseology are those of some who remembered the apostolic teachings, and wrote down at leisure what had been said by his teacher. Therefore if any church holds that this epistle is by Paul let it be commended for this. For not without reason have the ancients handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote the epistle, in truth, God knows" (Eus. *H.E.* 6:25). Here he plainly distinguished

between his own critical judgment, and that of the consensus of antiquity, and shows his willingness to allow the latter to be decisive. For in the thirteenth homily in Genesis, he considers the servants of Isaac that dug wells the eight writers of the New Testament, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Peter, James, Jude, and Paul. In the seventh homily on Joshua he allegorizes the trumpets used at Jericho. Adding the trumpets mentioned, Matthew, Mark, James, Jude hold one each; Luke holds two; Peter two; John five; and Paul fourteen.

Likewise Dionysius of Alexandria defers to the judgment of others in estimating the value of a book, and seems willing to allow his hesitancy to wound the feelings of others to be a sufficient reason for not rejecting a doubtful work. Concerning the Apocalypse he writes: "Some before us have set aside and rejected the book altogether, criticizing it chapter by chapter, and pronouncing it without sense or argument, and maintaining that the title is fraudulent. . . . But I could not venture to reject the book as many brethren hold it in high esteem. But I suppose that it is beyond my comprehension and that there is a certain concealed and more wonderful meaning in every part. . . . And I do not reject what I cannot comprehend, but rather wonder because I do not understand it. . . . Therefore that he was called John I do not deny. And I agree also that it is the work of a holy and inspired man. But I cannot readily admit that he was the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, by whom the Gospel of John and catholic epistle were written. For I judge from the character of both and the forms of expression, and the entire execution of the book, that it is not his" (*Eus. H.E.* 7:25). Dionysius accepts an apocalypse on other grounds than its authorship, viz., pure sentimentality. At the close of the third century the church had not yet finally decided upon the list of books it regarded authoritative. However, at the very beginning of the fourth century, the Diocletian persecution must have led the church to a closer definition of the canon than any it had hitherto made. This persecution aimed to destroy its sacred books. The persecutor knew what books he wanted, and the persecuted knew what books must be retained. Since some gave up books of no consequence, as if they were of consequence,

and so escaped punishment, while at the same time retaining the sacred writings, the opposition of those that had keener consciences was aroused. Soon a schism arose in the church and in the controversy it became necessary to decide what writings could be harmlessly delivered to the inquisitor and what ones had to be kept at all hazard. This led to closer definition of the extent of the Canon. While we may conjecture the process, we have no proofs of the result, except that it did not effect a closed collection; for Eusebius was imprisoned in this persecution, and we have his testimony for the state of the Canon at the time he wrote his church history.

Eusebius endeavored to search the past for facts concerning the Canon. He amassed his literary sources with conscientious care, with a view to reaching certainty. "And, when all is done, the most positive result to which he comes, is still uncertainty, and an uncertainty so great that he gets confused while making a statement of it." That is, in the first quarter of the fourth century, it was discovered that *ecclesiastical tradition* could not be taken as reason for accepting or rejecting a disputed book, for there had been no uniform usage, and if Eusebius had allowed usage to be the test he would have esteemed the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Apocalypse of Peter more highly.

Often in history an extraneous and seemingly incidental event has determining power in the direction of the unfolding of a process. Such an event was Constantine's order to Eusebius to prepare fifty copies of the Bible for the use of the church. This was in 332 A.D. While we do not know what books Eusebius had bound together to form the Bible, we may well believe that this order of Constantine had more to do with defining the extent of the Canon than Eusebius' learned and painstaking discussion.

From the middle of the fourth century onward there appears a force in the process of canon-making that was unconsciously at work much earlier, and which had become increasingly effective as the church increasingly exaggerated the value of external unity. This was the formal decisions of councils and the lists of celebrated teachers; but the lists drawn up by Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Amphilochius of Iconium, Gregory Nazianzus,

and Epiphanius do not agree. Nevertheless, the Trullan Council, held in 692 A.D., sanctions all these lists, notwithstanding their inconsistencies. The Canon is closed in the East.

The progress in the West is practically the same, Rufinus depends on tradition for his judgment. After giving the list found in our New Testament, he adds: "These are the books which the Fathers have comprised within the canon, and from which they would have us deduce the proofs of our faith." If Rufinus found uniformity of tradition, it must have been the tradition subsequent to Eusebius, for that historian did not find uniformity in his day. Rufinus' appeal is to external ecclesiastical authority, rather indefinite in its nature, yet of sufficient weight to command unquestioning assent. Of like nature is Augustine's test of canonicity. "The authority of these books has come down to us from the apostles through the succession of bishops, and the extension of the church, and from a position of lofty supremacy, claims the submission of every faithful and pious mind" (*Contra Faustus*, II. 5). Just why every faithful and pious mind should submit to the rather indefinite authority of the past is not clear, when the bishop imagines a possible equality of the authorities, one issuing from "the greater number of churches" and the other from "the churches of greater authority." His academic discussion based on investigation of the past left the Canon as unsettled as the decision of the Trullan Council, but his commanding influence in the West, combined with that of Jerome, led the third council of Carthage, in 397 A.D., to give a list of New Testament books. If the pious Augustine felt that faithful and pious minds ought to be submissive to the past, it is not strange that the council of Toledo, held in 400 A.D., condemned certain books, and when they continued to circulate in spite of the decree, Pope Innocent I, in 405 A.D., wrote a letter to the archbishop vehemently denouncing the interdicted books and enumerating the books that ought to be received. The judgment of the influential Augustine was ominous, for in 632 the Fourth Council of Toledo threatened to excommunicate those who would not receive Hebrews. The threat was aimed at the Arian Goths who had but recently adopted the orthodox faith. Here is an interesting situation. Professedly the Canon was

conceived to be the rule for testing doctrines, this council made a doctrine the rule for judging the Canon. That is, the test of canonicity is the response of the book itself to the conscience of that part of the church that deems itself in the right, i.e., orthodox. It matters not whether the response concerns an ethical ideal, or a doctrinal statement, the principle is the same. It was the principle of Calvin, who theoretically cut himself loose from historical investigation by asserting, "It is necessary therefore that the same Spirit, who spake by the mouths of the prophets, should penetrate into our hearts, to convince us that they faithfully delivered the oracles which were divinely intrusted to them"; and of Luther, who practically denied the validity of one of the earliest known tests for the evangelic narratives, viz., apostolic authorship, when he wrote: "There too is the touchstone for testing all these books, when it is apparent whether or not they insist upon what concerns Christ, since all Scriptures ought to show Christ. That which does not concern Christ is not apostolic, though Peter or Paul should have written it; on the contrary, that which preaches Christ is apostolic, even if it should come from Judas, Annas, Herod, and Pilate."

But the too subjective tests of Calvin and Luther, however true they may be, and however implicit in the decision of the Council of Toledo, were practically set aside by that council itself, for it expected that its decision should determine the belief of the recently incorporated Gothic population just because it was its decision. Hitherto the question of the Canon had been one of historical inquiry, but this did not and, from the nature of the case, could not effect a closed collection acceptable to all the churches everywhere, both East and West. The attitude of the Council of Toledo was ominous for the West. What the authority of ecclesiastical tradition, or the authority of the appeal of the books either in doctrinal content or ethical ideals, could not do must be done by the vote of a council dominated by some commanding personality, or perhaps by the mandate of a pope. The last alternative came in time, but it took time. It was not until 1441 A.D. that Pope Eugenius repeated the list drawn up by Augustine. Papal sanction was thus given to a definite collection. But the long debate in the Council of Trent concerning

the Scriptures shows that the judgment of Eugenius had not been taken very seriously. It had not effected a closed canon. It was only after a protracted debate that even the Council of Trent dared to enumerate the books to be accepted and to pronounce its anathema on those denying the validity of the list. The words with which the theological faculty, the Sorbonne, in 1526, condemned Erasmus, "It is no longer right for a Christian to doubt concerning these," i.e., books sanctioned by usage and by the judgment of the church, sound like an echo of Augustine's, "The authority of these books . . . . claims the submission of every faithful and pious mind." But whether right or not, Christians of both the Roman Catholic and of the Protestant faiths do doubt, and they doubt because they deny that ecclesiastical organization of any sort, whether a single democratic group of believers, or a social or intellectual aristocracy, or a theocracy having an earthly executive, can determine by vote or encyclical what has not been determined by antecedent providential guidance; and they justify their doubts by appeal to the records of Christianity which a guiding Providence has preserved.

This rapid survey of motives at work in perpetuating certain books and in separating them from others to be guides of faith and conduct shows that we cannot assign exact values to any of them, and that motives varied in intensity according to the vicissitudes of the occasion. For this reason no single theory of the development of the Canon can be exhaustive; no single set of motives was dominant all the while. The history of canon-formation is too complex for easy solution. But this is true of every historical process that has issued in a product of world-wide value, because always in history four forces are ever operative and no assignable value can be given to any one of them, namely, the conditioning cause of social heredity, the instrumental cause of environment, the historically originating cause of human free will, illustrated in commanding leaders of thought and action, and the final cause of a controlling God who directs all to the accomplishment of his purposes.

The facts are, then, first, christendom has its canonical books as distinguished from non-canonical; second, the reasons for the

distinction cannot appeal with equal force to all Christians; nor can all the discovered reasons combined convince some Christians, who nevertheless are controlled by the idea of canonicity; third, all Christians, however they may differ in assigning values to the historically conditioning and originating causes, agree in the immediately final cause, that the Scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Jesus Christ, "that the man of God may be complete, completely furnished to every good work."

THE PRESIDENT: We shall next have the pleasure of hearing from Dr. A. J. Dickinson, of Birmingham, Ala.

REV. A. J. DICKINSON, D.D., then spoke as follows:

The excellent papers to which we have listened have introduced us to two points of view from which this question may be studied, that of the scholar and that of the practical worker in the ministry. In my own charge I have a great variety of sentiments as to how much Scripture is canonical. Some thus hold only a few verses, others several books, a few twenty or more; but I doubt if anyone holds all the books as canonical in his own life and thinking.

What then is canonicity? You may say that it is that quality in the writing itself which gives it commanding power over the life and thinking of its readers in normalizing his mind and conduct in his culture of the Christian life; or you may say it is the method by which a writing functions in life for its normalization; or you may treat it as a matter of ecclesiastical dogmas and theological formulas for scholars to discuss and contend over. But as a matter of fact the present canonical writings came to be canonized as a solution of a problem of Christian culture, and that same process is still going on all over christendom. In China and Japan the Scriptures are as yet not canonized to any great extent; nor is the process complete in our own land, or finished in any of us. One can hardly be said to recognize a writing as canonical, until he gives it normative functioning in his life.

I want to go behind the papers and the discussion so far and ask the question, How did these writings first come to be what

they are, and receive recognition as canonical functionaries in life for Christians? When we speak of "infallibility," most people do not know what we mean, and doubt whether we do ourselves. "Inspiration?" Yes, we all believe in inspiration, whatever it is. A friend of mine listening to a discussion about the deity of Jesus, replied, "Why certainly, I believe in the deity of Jesus, in all of its forms!" He believes that Jesus is more than any dogma about Jesus. The Bible is much bigger than anything any of us have ever thought about it. Let us then study the genesis of these canonical writings, and possibly there we may find the warrant for their canonization.

Here are a set of writings which very early got to be recognized as competent to function in the culture of Christian life in the way we call canonical. How did they get to be such? The first thing Jesus did was to canonize the Old Testament Scriptures in his kingdom by giving them a Messianic interpretation and application, so that they were for the purposes of his religion practically new books, capable of producing that new type of religion and character, and in a new way promoting fellowship with God and Christian living in the world. He modernized the Jewish Scriptures, as he did everything else in life. He was the world's greatest Modernist, and oriented life as no man may ever hope to do; and that such was the mission of his kingdom he taught that traditionalist seeking him as "a teacher come from God." But he also supplemented this modernized Scripture with a vast volume of deeds and teachings and manifestations of himself during his ministry. He spent much time in showing his disciples how the new Bible and these things from his life were mutually and reciprocally related; and in his visits to them between his resurrection and ascension he was specially careful to show how the things of his ministry were in fulfilment of the Scriptures, thus linking his life to the messianized Scriptures.

Equipped with this new Old Testament and their personal firsthand knowledge of the things of Jesus, the disciples from the very first instituted "the apostles' teaching," and all new converts continued steadfastly therein. The references in the Acts to this "apostles' teaching" seem to me abundantly to bear

out the opinion that it consisted in the things of Jesus in the light of the messianic Scriptures. The process by which this teaching was conducted is expressed by the Greek word which we have borrowed in our word *catechize*, and it clearly refers to oral instruction. About the year 52 A.D. Paul writes to the Galatians: "Let him that is catechized in the word communicate unto him that catechizes in all good things," showing that by that time the work was a well-recognized service in the church of sufficient value to be compensated for in material things. About a year later the author of Acts tells us that Apollos came to Ephesus having already, probably at Alexandria, been catechized in the way of the Lord; and he taught accurately the things concerning Jesus. The preface to Luke tells us that that gospel was specially arranged that it might enable its reader, Theophilus, to know the correctness of the things wherein he had been catechized. So I take it from these references that it was very early the custom in churches to have their members catechized accurately in the things of Jesus by competent teachers. Paul says he had rather speak intelligently five words with a view to catechizing others than ten thousand in a tongue (I Cor. 14:19), where he clearly has in mind the education of people in the messianic life through the teachings of Jesus. Thus through oral tradition the things of Jesus were circulating, being ministered by eye-witnesses of the word. Paul says he so received the facts about the Lord's Supper, and so taught them to the Corinthians; and in the same way he got his gospel of the death, burial, and resurrection (I Cor. 15:1-11); but in both of these he refers to the facts in a summary way, as though they were too well known to need full and detailed repetition. In the letters to Timothy at a later time we meet with a word "the deposit," which everywhere refers to something put on deposit with Paul or Timothy. "O Timothy, guard the deposit, turning away from the profane babblings and oppositions of knowledge which is falsely so called" (I Tim. 6:20); "I know him whom I have believed and am persuaded that he is able to keep my deposit against that day. Hold the pattern of sound words which thou hast heard from me. That good deposit guard through the Holy Spirit which dwelleth in us" (II Tim. 1:12-14). And

just below he refers to the catechetical process, saying, "The things which thou hast heard from me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also." It seems to me that the "deposit" here referred to is to be found in the body of oral propaganda of the things of Jesus which Paul as a teacher was accustomed to give his catechumens; and now having assumed a very definite and fixed content it is in danger of being corrupted by the intrusions of gnostic legends especially in view of his own pending death; but he so knows Jesus in whom he has trusted as to be persuaded that he will guard it against the evils of the day of his death. He calls it the "pattern of sound words," which term he later defines as "even the words of the Lord Jesus"; and possibly the deposit here referred to was some body of the teachings of Jesus. So then the working Bible of the first century was an oral one circulating from lip to ear, a word nigh thee in thy mouth and in thy heart. The working Bible of christendom always has been that written on men's hearts and on their minds engraved; and it is such even today, when every Christian has in his pocket a copy of the word printed on paper. Christianity is not dependent on a book for its propaganda, and never has been; for it cannot be engraved on tables of stone or written with ink, but on tables that are hearts of flesh are the things of Jesus written with the Spirit of the living God.

Now, the Canon for this oral gospel was the version, or versions, of it by the firsthand witnesses of the things themselves. The teachers got from these firsthand ministers of the word courses of catechetical instruction, which they in turn committed to their pupils, who also became teachers of it; and so each course circulated over christendom, and to be corrected and authenticated resort must be had to the original firsthand witness for it. These catechetical courses went on through the first century into the second and third; and until this day most men get their knowledge of the things of Jesus through courses of oral instruction. But oral propaganda is always open to corruption and perversion, and needs some canon by which it may from time to time be restored to its original accuracy and form. Jesus was himself the Canon of gospel truth while he lived, and to him

his disciples resorted for this service. After his departure those who had been eyewitnesses of the gospel matters in question were the canonical agencies for the teachers. But before these eyewitnesses passed away Luke tells us that "many took in hand to draw up a narrative (*diegesis*), concerning those matters fully established among us, even as they delivered them unto us who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." The word *diegesis* means telling a thing through from end to end, a relating in full; and in this context refers to the writing up of the courses of catechetical instruction of the several schools. A teacher, not an eyewitness to what he taught, would write his course down for reference to keep him from going astray; and so the *diegesis* of that teacher was canonical for him and his pupils from the first. Thus a writing came to have canonical functioning for the oral gospel, and Luke is careful to tell us that great pains was taken by the writers of these *diegeses* to have them accurate "even as they delivered them who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word"; and so the written *diegesis* soon superseded the eyewitness as the Canon of the oral gospel because both gave the same testimony as to what the facts were. Thus the Canon of the things of Jesus passed from persons to writings that accurately represented those persons. Research into the sources of our gospels bids fair to recover for us some of these *diegeses*, for they were clearly written out of them. My own study leads me to believe that we have portions of two of them in Mark, of five in Matthew, of five in Luke; while John is a compilation of many small courses written separately very early, but collected and published from Ephesus at the close of the first century. I never have been able to see how it was possible for John, with all this literary activity going on, to sit silent with these precious things of Jesus in his mind for more than sixty years and not put them on papyrus; and I am persuaded from my studies of the Fourth Gospel that he did no such thing. These *diegeses* got to be recognized and received as canonical because they were specially and with great care written for that office in the church.

But some, like Theophilus, had received more than one course of catechetical instruction; and therefore needed more than any

one of these *diegeses* to verify his knowledge. It was as though he had been to Crozer Seminary and taken several courses (*laughter*), and President Luke, being solicitous lest he might not keep all these courses accurate in his mind in view of the many vagaries arising, examined all things accurately from the first in many of these *diegeses* and arranged them in such order that they might be useful to this learned Christian gentleman in verifying his more extended course of catechetical teaching. So the larger orderly gospels came to be written out of the previous smaller *diegeses*, and superseded them as canons for the oral propaganda. For the same purpose and in the same way Matthew and Mark came to be compiled, and received for canonical functioning.

After the first generation of Christians passed away, nothing more can be added to the oral gospel, and much is being sifted out for various reasons; and although the publishers of the Fourth Gospel say that there are many other things which could have been written so that the world could not contain the books, yet it may be doubted whether these things that Jesus did could even then have been authenticated or reproduced with accuracy. At any rate, so far as we can recover the secondary gospels, the uncanonical ones, even in the second century, they add nothing of value to what we already have in the canonical ones about the things of Jesus. So the answer to our question, How did these canonical gospels get to be such and be so recognized in the church, is that they were originally made for that very purpose and contained and attested what was already canonical in christendom as the things of Jesus to be taught for Christian edification.

But a moment remains to speak of the epistles and the Apocalypse. I am coming more and more to believe that what we have in the so-called epistles of the New Testament are not single letters written at one sitting on one occasion addressed to a single situation in the several communities; but rather each of these so-called epistles is a compilation of letters written on different occasions to meet different situations with different ends immediately in view. In Romans we have four theses and two letters, in Corinthians we have in the first collection of Paul-

Sosthenes letters ten and in the second collection of Paul-Timothy letters four; in Galatians we have three; in Ephesians two; in Philippians three; in Colossians two; in Thessalonians two in the first collection written from Corinth and three in the second written from Ephesus; in I and II Timothy several with interpolations by Timothy when he put them in shape for publication; in Titus three; in Hebrews a thesis interpolated with practical exhortations when published; in I Peter three letters; in II Peter three; in I John several letters by John to his former catechumens, and in the Apocalypse seven smaller ones put together to make the present book. I do not know anyone who could stand this announcement except the Baptist Congress (*laughter*), but I hope it will not affright you; for I can bear witness that if further study of these writings shall bear me out in this theory of their origin, I shall be able to present credible evidence that these collections were canonical from the first, were collected and authenticated for that purpose by their authors at the instigation of the several churches. You will find these supposed original letters in the several collections differentiated in the American Revised Version by breaks in the text at the points where the compilation passes from one to the other. That either I or II Corinthians is one letter, written at one time, to meet a single situation, would imply a complexity of schisms, heresies, scandals, disorders existing in the church at Corinth at one and the same time such as history furnishes no parallel. That the apostle at Ephesus in constant communication with Corinth through reports, messengers, etc., sat silent and allowed such a situation of incredible complexity of disorders to grow to the point of breaking up the church before he put forth any adequate effort to correct it is incredible in one who had on him the care of all the churches. But if these epistles are collections of letters as is indicated by the breaks in the text of the American Revised Version, we have here a series of unfolding situations each of which the apostle met with proper and remedial counsel as it arose; which is a theory much more in keeping with the analogy of history and the apostle's well-known care for the churches. According to this theory the several component letters or theses were originally written to regulate life in a special situa-

tion by the apostle and had canonical function for that special situation; but they were found by the churches to have a value for normalizing life beyond this, and so got to be read in the church for general edification in the public worship. They would originally have been written on letter papyrus, but soon that brittle material would become torn and broken in use and the letters would be copied on the more durable parchment by a professional scribe. This was probably done during some subsequent visit of the apostle to the church, and he authenticated the parchment of collected letters by adding his salutation in his own hand as over against that of the scribe. So these writings were made from authoritative materials for canonical purposes, and were so received by the church collecting them from the first; and in Romans we have the Canon of the apostle to Rome, in Corinthians that of the apostle to Corinth, etc. Early in the second century churches generally exchanged copies of their collections; and toward the middle of that century each church had a full set of them and they were in turn collected into "The Apostle," or the Pauline Canon. But we are not now concerned about the Canon of the New Testament, but only the canonicity of the several writings therein. The several writings got their competency to function canonically for the promotion of Christian life from their several authors and compilers, who specially made them for that office in the culture of messianic living. No ecclesiastical authorization ever canonized these writings by its arbitrary decree; for the canonization of these writings preceded the church in this sense of the word. No one examined to see whether these writings were "infallible" before putting them to canonical use. They found that these writings were useful as tools for the culture of religious life in keeping one in normal religious health, and so used them as a part of the Christian cultus. The question before us, Whether we shall now do away with this tool for the culture of Christian life, is to be answered in the negative; because we have no other source for authenticating the things of Jesus. If someone will write a better Scripture, and a fuller and more adequate exposition of the things of Jesus and the messianic religion, then we might consider discarding this for that. But even then the distinction would be

all the more pronounced. The biblical writings will never lose their normative functioning in cultivating the messianic life, nor their position as canonical writings in the Christian cultus, for the simple reason that no other writings ever can be what they are in this connection, or do for the world what they do.

**THE PRESIDENT:** This closes the appointed writers and speakers. We shall now have the very great pleasure of hearing from Dr. George H. Ferris, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia.

**DR. FERRIS:** It seems to me that a great deal of confusion on this subject arises from lack of a clear distinction as to what we are trying to discover. If a canon is a straight-edge, a measuring-rod, a standard, it will not do for us to get our attention so fixed on the measuring instrument that we utterly forget the thing we are trying to measure. That is precisely what men do continually on this question. A yard-stick is a canon, but you cannot measure a gallon of Standard Oil with it.

In the early days of its history the church may be trying to realize certain definite objects. At a later period its aims may be totally different. Under those circumstances its canon will change. No doubt the first literary canon the church possessed was what Papias called the "oracles of Jesus," a collection of "sayings" made by Matthew. The object of such a canon is purely ethical. There is another canon to be discovered in our New Testament. It arose from the apologetic necessary to the gospel while expanding in Jewish circles. It endeavored to prove by genealogies, and Old Testament quotations, that Jesus was the son of David. That this canon was totally different from the one that made use of the stories of the Virgin Birth is evident. The two are contradictory. The former goes back with a human genealogy of Joseph to David. Surely such an argument would have been of little avail if those who heard it had not believed that Jesus was the son of Joseph. It is very evident that this question of a canon is a complicated one. Different interests arise in the gradual progress of the Christian religion. There is a period of missionary expansion. There is a period of the development of dogma. There is a period of church centraliza-

tion. Each of these periods will have its canon. We can go farther and say that each of these periods will play a part in the production of that literary landmark called "the New Testament."

Let us be concrete. (*Laughter.*) Dr. Evans says we must be concrete. I will take a passage from the New Testament: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Suppose you and I were to get into a discussion over the question of the Trinity. We both recognize the Gospel of Matthew as part of our Canon. We are both well-read in it, are scholars, and are devoted and careful readers of the text. We write ponderous volumes in the course of our discussion. Future ages pick up our volumes, and read our discussion, but not one reference do they find in our writings to that particular passage containing the Trinitarian formula of baptism. What conclusion would be drawn from that? Could future ages possibly conclude, if they were assured of our sincerity and ability, that this formula was in the text originally? Now this is precisely what a modern scholar has done, not only with this Trinitarian formula, but with other important and crucial passages in the New Testament. It is in the first number of the *Hibbert Journal*, and is a very careful and scholarly piece of work. It is entitled, "Doctrinal Modifications of Scripture," and is by Mr. F. Conybeare.

If we grant this concrete case we see what a problem we have when we begin to talk about a canon. It is manifestly very unfair to take a body of literature that has been carefully edited, and reverently guarded for ages and ages, and compare it with another group or class of writings that were rejected, saying, "Show us anything in the latter equal to the former." How do we know that this was the condition originally? If the rejected books do not measure up to those that were accepted, and they do not, have we a clear case on that ground?

We know why some of the books were rejected. The Shepherd of Hermas, for instance, a book, from which the early church drew inspiration when it was conquering the world, was rejected because of its "Adoptionist" tendencies. It lent aid

to those who believed that Jesus was the son of Joseph, adopted at his baptism to be the Son of God, when a voice called from heaven, "Thou are my beloved son; this day have I begotten thee." The Gospel of Peter was rejected because it could be used to bolster up the heresy of Docetism. Serapion recommended it to the churches in his diocese. We have recently become more familiar with it, and many scholars hasten to add that it contains nothing that would add anything to our Canon. How do we know that it did not contain things originally that were incorporated into the gospels as we now have them? How do we know that the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" did not contain passages that were appropriated by an expanding doctrinal church?

You see we are in confusion here because we do not keep clearly before our minds what we are trying to measure. What wonder that mixed motives crept into the production of our New Testament! I know two men in this Congress who sat up rather late last night in a discussion of the relation of faith to pragmatism. Do we believe in a thing because it works, or does it work because we believe in it? A most interesting and fascinating question! No doubt confusion on this matter existed in the minds of those ecclesiastics who helped us to get our New Testament.

So this matter of a Canon cannot be disentangled from conditions that existed in the first two Christian centuries. One thing is becoming more and more clear. The New Testament is not a doctrinal Canon. As a measure of what men ought to think today it must be rejected. I cannot see but that idea has been riddled by everyone who has preceded me on this platform. But the idea of the New Testament as a canon in another sense, has not only not been riddled, but never can be until we can take from it one supreme, sublime, incomparable Personality. That is the true Canon. Up to that life we must bring our lives. By the ideals, the thoughts, the purposes of that sublime and overshadowing Personality we must measure our miserable standards, our low desires, our unworthy ambitions. In this sense the New Testament is a Canon, and in no other.

## THIRD DAY

*Afternoon Session*

November 10, 1910

4:00 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT: The topic for this closing session of the Congress is "Christian Experience as Testimony for Truth." The first writer upon this topic, Rev. Charles W. Daniel, D.D., Atlanta, Ga., is not here; we do not know for what reason.

We shall now have the pleasure of hearing from Professor Charles W. Gardner, D.D., of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.

PROFESSOR CHARLES W. GARDNER, D.D., then presented the following paper:

## CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE AS TESTIMONY TO TRUTH

I understand the whole phrase "Christian Experience as Testimony to Truth" to mean the value of this experience as evidence that the objects of Christian faith and aspiration exist in the sphere of external reality, and that man is guided, redeemed, and transformed by spiritual forces which exist independently of him and act upon him from without. I take it that the crux of religious philosophy is today indicated in the following questions: Is the spiritual universe a construction of the idealizing faculty of man—that is, is it simply and only a system of ideals evolved from within? Is religion a way of life based upon beliefs which man evolved wholly from within as a means of fortifying and heartening himself in the struggle for existence? Is religious experience merely the reaction of man's ideals upon himself? Or is there a great person, God, whose being transcends the human sphere and who, in the human sphere, works upon and within man for his salvation? If I mistake not, these questions roughly mark out the real battle-line of Christian apologetics today.

Now, how much value has Christian experience as attesting the view indicated in the last question? Its value as evidence of the objective, external existence of the objects of Christian faith,

and of the actual coming of redeeming influences from that sphere into the life of man, will, in the last analysis, stand or fall with its value for the uplift, enlargement, and strengthening of human life. In other words, I maintain that if Christian experience is of value to man in the struggle for existence, and for better existence, its testimony is, by the same token, valid for the external reality of the objects of Christian faith, and for the operation from without of redeeming forces upon man.

Christian experience may be taken to mean either the isolated crisis of conversion, or the believer's whole conscious life as determined by his faith, or the life of society as fashioned by the Christian faith. It is well understood that the only way to test the value of any single experience is to try to fit it into a larger context of experience, and the ultimate test of its value is to see how it fits into the largest possible context of experience.

The value of the conversion experience is to be found by relating it to the whole experience of an individual life. If the total experience of that life is made richer and more satisfying by it, its value is demonstrated. If the individual life thus enriched adds to the richness and satisfaction of general social experience—that is, if social relations are improved, made more stable and righteous progression by it—then its value is established in the highest court.

Does a man's belief in the objective personal existence of God, the acceptance of Jesus Christ as "God manifested in the flesh" and the ordering of life according to his principles lift the life to a higher ethical plane, and make it a more helpful force in the lives of others? Few will have the hardihood to deny that it does. Fortunately we are here in the region of facts, and facts that are open to the observation of all. Christianity has made its way in the world and survived many vast changes and some very radical revolutions in the intellectual and social life of mankind, simply because it has met this test successfully. It is "fruitful for life," to use a phrase of the lamented William James. It is useful; we need it, both in the individual and social life; human experience, if we eliminate the Christian factor from it, would be fearfully impoverished; the fundamental values of life are imperiled, if not entirely lost,

without it. But note that Christianity can perform this most important function in human life only on the assumption that the objects of faith attested by Christian experience are objectively real. If God and the whole realm of spiritual persons and forces are simply and only the creations of man's idealizing faculty, would a genuine Christian experience be possible after that fact was discovered? I trow not. A man might theoretically work out how such a thing would be possible, but practically it would soon become apparent that he was simply trying to lift himself over the fence by tugging at his boot-straps.

But in taking this indirect method of validating the testimony of Christian experience are we not treating it in a different way from that in which we treat other forms of experience?

Is there not given in the experience itself an immediate intuitive apprehension of the extra-human reality of the objects of faith which the subject himself cannot doubt and which forms the basis of an entirely credible personal testimony? Is not our apprehension of God in religious experience as valid and trustworthy as our apprehension of the world of things in our everyday experience?

In answer to this question two things are to be considered:

1. If we assume that there is an immediate apprehension, or intuition, of God in Christian experience, it must, nevertheless, be granted that the world of things certainly does force itself upon one in ordinary experience in such a way as the spiritual world does not in Christian experience. The reality of things is obtrusive. Things crash through our doubts of their reality and assert themselves in our experience as God does not. Explain it as you will, it is easier to maintain a doubt of God's objective existence than it is to maintain a doubt of the objective existence of the material world. Perhaps this may be due in part to the fact that the experiences in which we seem to have an intuitive consciousness of God's existence are more rare than the experiences in which we have an intuition of the material world. Perhaps it may be due also in part to the fact that the power or function of spiritual intuition is not so highly developed as the senses with which we perceive things. It certainly is true that with the continued repetition of those experiences in

which God seems to be immediately apprehended the conviction that the apprehension of him is real in the objective sense grows proportionately. Is it not an example of the law that the continued exercise of a function increases the assurance and adequacy with which the function is performed? In this way it comes to pass that the saint attains to a certainty of his immediate fellowship with God which is of the same kind and approximately of the same degree as the certainty of his fellowship with men and his contact with things, and asserts it with the same dogmatic assurance; while another man who has had no similar experience, and whose training inclines him to be critical of such experiences in others would probably attribute the saint's conviction to illusion or auto-suggestion. The testimony would have little or no weight with him.

The immediate apprehension of God as an objectively real person does not belong to the class of general, common experiences, shared by all alike, such as the apprehension of men and things; and does not, therefore, form the basis of a testimony which is valid and convincing to all men alike. For example, if there were a question whether a certain man was living or whether a certain mountain was in existence, and you were to say "I saw the man in question and know that he is living," or "I have seen the mountain and know that it exists," men everywhere who had confidence in your personal integrity would, as a matter of course, believe your testimony; because the testimony is based upon a use of faculties possessed and used by men generally and attests a fact which belongs to a class of experiences common to men everywhere. But if you should say, "I met God in my private devotions and talked with him, and he with me, and I know that he exists," your testimony would not carry an equal conviction to minds generally; because it is based upon the exercise of a power which, if it be possessed by all men, is certainly but little used and attests a fact which does not belong to a class of experiences generally common to men. This does not, by any means, imply that the experience would be unreal or illusory, but it does impair the universal convincing power of the testimony. To the subject of the experience, the talk with God may be as real as conversation with a human friend, but testi-

mony to communion with God would not carry as much weight in a court of law as testimony to conversation with a man for the reason that it does not carry equal weight among men generally. Christian experience is a peculiarly intimate, personal, subjective, private, and singular form of experience, and in some essential respects it is absolutely impossible to communicate it at all. I incline to the view that in Christian experience a man may have an immediate intuitive perception or apprehension of God as a real, objective being; but it is unquestionably true that direct testimony to his objective existence is felt by men generally to have less force than testimony of the same person to the existence of material objects or human beings. The convincing power of testimony is conditioned by the experience of those whom the witness seeks to convince.

2. It nevertheless needs to be said that testimony based upon Christian experience is not fundamentally different from testimony based upon other more familiar and general forms of experience.

Everyone acquainted with the literature of the subject knows that it has been demonstrated that the world of things which seems to us so real, so objective, so independent of us, and which obtrudes itself upon us in such a dictatorial way, is in fact "a world of meanings" constituted by the mind itself as it reacts upon stimuli; of which stimuli the mind can give no further account at all, for the obvious reason that it cannot go out of itself to see what these stimuli may be apart from itself. The modes of reaction upon stimuli are conditioned by the constitution and habits of the organism, and these in turn by previous experiences. There is a very true sense in which our world is constituted in and by our experience; but this is true of the material world as it is of the spiritual.

Now, is that world of things real? Theoretically, many men question its objective reality, but, practically, everybody agrees that it is real.

In the first place, that world, as it appears to us, is given to us by several organs of experience. The senses are so many organs of experience which agree with and confirm one another and together give us the world of things as it appears to us.

Working together upon the various stimuli that come to us, they construct that world of images, ideas, or meanings which we are so invincibly persuaded is a substantially true rendering of a world of objective, external reality. The eye, the ear, the touch, and so on, supplement, correct, and confirm each other; and it is, perhaps, partly in this that testimony concerning things and human beings has the advantage of testimony concerning spiritual realities that transcend the senses. Have we a plurality of organs with which we can immediately apprehend God? It seems not. Can we apprehend him immediately in more than one mode of experience? I grant that this is open to question; but there is no question that we apprehend things and human beings in several sense functions which correct and confirm one another. We need not wonder then that there is in the mind of the subject a note of absolute certainty as to his experience of things which he does not have as to his experience of God; and that testimony based upon these types of experience has a different force in the minds of others, somewhat as the testimony of several agreeing witnesses is stronger than that of a single witness.

But look a little closer and you see that those modes of experience which we call the senses are not fundamentally different in kind from that which we may call spiritual intuition. The senses do not, in themselves, yield any surer guaranties as to the reality of their objects than does the spiritual intuition. How do we know that their reports are really to be credited? They must be tested, they must be "tried out," they must be put to the proof in a larger context of experience. After all, our confidence in them grows out of the fact that we find it safe and advantageous to trust them. It is hazardous in the extreme not to trust them, not to act upon their reports of things. Cultivate skepticism as to their veracity, and you and your skepticism will reach a speedy end together. Knowledge is but tested belief. If modern psychology has done nothing else it has demonstrated that. And to the same test the Christian apologists appeal. When Christian experience renders its solemn testimony to the objective reality of God and the spiritual world, how shall we determine its trustworthiness? The answer is simple: Try

it; put it to the test, if you will, in your own experience. But if that seems to you an unfair condition, if it has the appearance of requiring you first to believe a thing in order to see whether it is worthy to be believed, then let the test be changed in form, if not in principle. Over and over again the ethical value of that experience has been demonstrated in the lives of men. No matter how scientifically cold a man's blood may be; no matter how confused or uncertain he may be as to the value of religion to himself, he cannot give a successful and unprejudiced account of the evolution of human society without attributing to this type of experience a high function in the conservation and development of the great social values. He cannot deny that the great majority, if not every one, of those great spirits who have stood out above others in moral grandeur and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of humanity have cherished this experience as a fountain of inspiration in their lives. If it could be made certain today that Christian experience, with all the ethical values to which it gives the vitalizing sanction and the transcendental realities to which it bears witness, is only a dream and illusion, the most serious scientific minds of our generation would be among the first to gasp with dread of the practical consequences. It may be that the disastrous result of unbelief in the transcendental realities attested by Christian experience would not be so suddenly obvious as that of unbelief of the testimony of the senses to the objective, material world. But the fact that the result would be worked out by less obvious causes and in slower processes surely does not mean that it would in the long run be less disastrous. When once a man has attained to a genuine appreciation of the higher values, he perceives that they take up into themselves all the values of life. Lower things cease to have any value except as related to them. A pig's life is satisfactory to a pig, put what *man* would not choose the alternative of annihilation rather than be turned into a pig? Strike down the highest values of life, and for those who have reached the level of those values, you have destroyed all that makes life worth the living. Man has, in some way, risen, or been lifted, sufficiently high to look through the window of Christian experience into a world of supersensible realities and infinite values. If he must

sink again, and permanently, to the level of the senses, and that divine vision be stricken from his brain as a mere dream, surely there are many who would then desire to sink even lower and be folded in the darkness of oblivion forever. Indeed it is a significant fact that the philosophy which maintains that the testimony of Christian experience is illusory, points logically to the illusory character of all objective existence, and tends to reconcile its adherents to a destiny of personal extinction. The testimony of Christian experience is valid because it is vitally connected with those values which make life itself a thing to be prized. Christian experience bears the same credentials as other modes of experience, though in a writing not so universally legible. It certifies the existence of the objects of faith by fundamentally the same method as the senses certify their appropriate objects; and the reality of the objects of Christian faith, according to the modern theory of knowledge, logically stands or falls with the reality of the world of men and things. To live at all means to believe in men and things; to live the largest life means to believe in God and the trustworthiness of those experiences in which he seems to enter our lives to lift them to higher levels. Illumined by that experience all of life is glorified as a leaden mist is turned into a golden splendor when steeped in the light of the rising sun.

**THE PRESIDENT:** Owing to the exigencies created by the railroad time-tables many brethren have been compelled to leave, and we shall omit the part of our program entitled "closing words."

This brings to an end the program of the Twenty-eighth Annual Baptist Congress. The pastor of the church, I believe, desires to make an announcement before adjournment.

**REV. DR. M. ASHBY JONES:** This is not the close of the Baptist Congress. The Baptist Congress will adjourn until this evening at 8:30 to the Albion Hotel, and all the visitors are very cordially invited to the banquet to be held at that hotel.

**THE PRESIDENT:** I am going to ask Rev. A. J. Dickinson, D.D., of Birmingham, Ala., to lead us in the closing prayer:

## CLOSING PRAYER

Our Father, we offer thee thanks for the pleasures which we have enjoyed during this meeting of this Congress; and now as we go each his way, we ask thee to rededicate our hearts to thee. Take our minds and use them for the advancement of thy kingdom. And we pray thee that thy love may cover the earth with its blessings, and that we may grow in it and enjoy all of it until we come to meet thee face to face: through Jesus Our Lord. *Amen.*

## MEETINGS OF THE BAPTIST CONGRESS

DATE	PLACE	PRESIDENT
1882.....	Brooklyn.....	George Dana Boardman, D.D.
1883.....	Boston.....	Alvah Hovey, D.D.
1884.....	Philadelphia.....	Henry G. Weston, D.D.
1885.....	New York.....	Thomas Armitage, D.D.
1886.....	Baltimore.....	William E. Hatcher, D.D.
1887.....	Indianapolis.....	Hon. William S. Holman, Jr.
1888.....	Richmond.....	Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D.
1889.....	Toronto.....	Hon. David Mills, M.P.
1890.....	New Haven.....	Hon. Francis Wayland, LL.D.
1892.....	Philadelphia.....	Colonel Charles H. Baner
1893.....	Augusta.....	Governor William J. Northen
1894.....	Detroit.....	President A. G. Slocum, LL.D.
1895.....	Providence.....	President E. B. Andrews, LL.D.
1896.....	Nashville... ..	President J. T. Henderson, A.M.
1897.....	Chicago.....	Adin A. Kendrick, D.D.
1898.....	Buffalo.....	Mr. H. P. Emerson
1899.....	Pittsburg.....	D. B. Purington, LL.D.
1900.....	Richmond.....	A. P. Montague, LL.D.
1901.....	New York.....	Professor A. S. Bickmore, Ph.D.
1902.....	Boston.....	President D. W. Abercrombie, LL.D.
1903.....	Philadelphia.....	Russell H. Conwell, D.D., LL.D.
1904.....	Louisville.....	Jos. Benson Marvin, M.D., LL.D.
1905.....	Cincinnati.....	Gershom M. Peters, A.M.
1906.....	St. Louis.....	R. H. Jesse, LL.D.
1907.....	Baltimore.....	Mr. Eugene Levering
1908.....	Chicago.....	John L. Jackson, D.D.
1909.....	New York.....	Rev. Leighton Williams, D.D.
1910.....	Augusta.....	President S. C. Mitchell, LL.D.

NOTE.—The fall session of 1891 was transferred to the spring of 1892. This left the year 1891 without any report.







# PROCEEDINGS OF THE BAPTIST CONGRESS

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## FOR 1908

### *Topics:*

Does the New Testament Contemplate the Church as an Institution?

What Are the Legitimate Limits of Free Speech in a Republic?

The Doctrine of Atonement in Terms of Modern Thought

What Definite Steps Should Be Immediately Taken toward the Organic Union of Baptists, Free Baptists, and Disciples of Christ?

Is Psycho-Therapeutics a Function of the Church?

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### *Topics:*

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Is the Present Tendency toward a Co-operative Social Order Desirable?

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- II. What Are the Assured Results of Biblical Criticism?**
- III. What Hinders the Union of the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ?**
- IV. Immersionists and Church Union.**
- V. Pauperism—Its Causes and Cure.**
- VI. The Mystical Element in Christianity. What Is It and What Is Its Value?**

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THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

Twenty-ninth Annual Session

OF THE

# Baptist Congress

HELD IN

The First Baptist Church  
Atlantic City, N.J.

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November 14, 15, and 16, 1911

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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**Published February 1912**

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**Composed and Printed By  
The University of Chicago Press  
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.**

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## BAPTIST CONGRESS

### PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

1. *The object* of the Congress is to promote a healthful sentiment among Baptists through free and courteous discussion of current questions by suitable persons.

2. *The work* of the Congress shall be subject to the control of a General Committee of one hundred members or more. The Committee shall be composed of persons who have consented to contribute five dollars or more annually toward the expenses of the Congress.

3. *The General Committee* shall elect a permanent Executive Committee of fifteen persons residing in or near the City of New York, at the meetings of which Executive Committee any member of the General Committee may be present and vote; and to this Executive Committee shall be intrusted, except as may have been already provided for by the General Committee, entire control over the public meetings—e.g., determination of the time and place, the number of days and sessions each day, selection of the presiding officer, the topics, the appointed writers and speakers, the provision for volunteer speakers, and rules of discussion. The Executive Committee shall also secure a full stenographic report of the proceedings, and funds to meet any other necessary expense.

4. *A Secretary* shall be elected, who shall also be Secretary of the Executive Committee, and of the public meetings, the expenses of whose correspondence, etc., shall be met by a tax levied by the Executive Committee upon the General Committee.

5. *The General Committee* shall meet in connection with the public meetings, and when called together by the Executive Committee.

6. *The Executive Committee* shall secure the appointment of a Local Committee in the city or town where a public meeting is to be held, which shall provide a suitable place for the Congress, entertainment for the officers and appointees of the Congress.

7. *Any member* of a Baptist Congregation may become an Annual Member of this Congress, and thus be entitled to all its privileges, and to a copy of the published proceedings, by the payment of the sum of two dollars.

#### RULES OF DISCUSSION

1. *The Chairman* of the Congress shall be appointed by the Executive Committee, and on all points of order his decision shall be final.

2. *Any member* of a Baptist Congregation who, by sending his card to the Secretary, shall signify his willingness to speak on the topic under discussion, may be called upon by the Chairman.

3. *All writers* and speakers shall take the platform, address only the Chair, and confine themselves to the subject assigned for the occasion.

4. *No person* shall speak twice on the same subject.

5. *Readers of papers* shall be allowed twenty-five minutes, appointed speakers<sup>1</sup> twenty minutes, and volunteer speakers ten minutes. The Secretary shall notify all participants by stroke of the bell three minutes before, and also at the expiration of their time, beyond which no one shall be allowed to proceed.

6. *No paper* shall be read in the absence of its writer, nor shall any paper be printed in the proceedings except it has been read at the meeting.

7. *No resolution* or motion shall be entertained at the public conferences.

#### EXPLANATORY

The Secretary has edited sixteen volumes of the *Proceedings of the Baptist Congress* and has never before felt that it was necessary to offer an apology or explanation in connection with the issuance of any volume. This year, however, owing to the inability of the stenographer to meet the exacting requirements of this task, an unusual burden has been laid upon the Secretary.

<sup>1</sup> Appointed speakers must not use MS, the object of their appointment being to encourage the volunteer discussion which follows their addresses.

It is even possible, owing to the gaps in the stenographer's work, that some addresses will be found missing. It is hoped that this may not prove to be the case, but as an entire address by a member of the Disciples denomination was not referred to in the notes of the stenographer, and as the error was only accidentally discovered by the Secretary, this explanatory note is supplied to save the possible suspicion of intentional discourtesy.



THE BAPTIST CONGRESS

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Pattison, Rev. Harold. . . . .	Manhattan, New York City
Penney, Rev. Frank D., D.D. . . . .	Schenectady
Rhoades, Rev. W. C. P., D.D. . . . .	Brooklyn, New York City
Schneck, Gustave H. . . . .	Brooklyn, New York City
Schulte, T. E. . . . .	Manhattan, New York City
Schurman, President J. G., LL.D. . . . .	Ithaca
Sears, Rev. Charles H. . . . .	Manhattan, New York City
Strong, Professor John H. . . . .	Rochester
Taylor, President J. M., LL.D. . . . .	Poughkeepsie
Wallace, Rev. W. B., D.D. . . . .	Brooklyn, New York City
White, Rev. C. L., D.D. . . . .	Manhattan, New York City
Williams, Mornay . . . . .	Manhattan, New York City
Wright, William J. . . . .	Brooklyn, New York City

## NORTH CAROLINA

Poteat, President William L., D.D. . . . .	Wake Forest
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## OHIO

COLBY, REV. H. F., D.D. . . . .	Dayton
COLWELL, PROFESSOR R. S., D.D. . . . .	Granville
HUNT, PRESIDENT E. W., D.D., LL.D. . . . .	Granville
HYDE, REV. J. CHESTER. . . . .	Cleveland
STILLWELL, REV. H. F., D.D. . . . .	Cleveland
THRESHER, E. M. . . . .	Dayton
Bustard, Rev. W. W., D.D. . . . .	Cleveland
Cheney, Rev. J. L., Ph.D. . . . .	Hebron
McLean, Rev. A. . . . .	Cincinnati
Sage, John D. . . . .	Cincinnati
Thresher, Albert . . . . .	Dayton
Whidden, Rev. Howard P., D.D. . . . .	Dayton
Williams, Professor C. L. . . . .	Granville

## OKLAHOMA

JONES, REV. CARTER HELM, D.D. . . . .	Oklahoma City
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## OREGON

PARKER, REV. F. C. W. . . . .	Portland
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## PENNSYLVANIA

CONWELL, REV. RUSSELL H., D.D. . . . .	Philadelphia
EVANS, PRESIDENT M. G., D.D. . . . .	Chester

FERRIS, REV. GEORGE H., D.D.	Philadelphia
HARRIS, PRESIDENT J. H., LL.D.	Lewisburg
JACKSON, REV. J. L., D.D.	Sharon
KEEN, PROFESSOR W. W., M.D., LL.D.	Philadelphia
LINCOLN, W. E.	Pittsburgh
MEESER, PROFESSOR S. B., D.D.	Chester
PORTER, HON. H. KIRKE.	Pittsburgh
ROSSELLE, REV. W. QUAY, PH.D.	Philadelphia
ROWLAND, REV. A. J., D.D.	Philadelphia
TORRANCE, HON. FRANCIS J.	Pittsburgh
TUSTIN, HON. ERNEST L.	Philadelphia
Adams, Rev. George D., D.D.	Philadelphia
Bonsall, Rev. A. J., Litt.D.	Pittsburgh
Hobson, A. Augustus.	Pittsburgh
Jones, Rev. Philip L., D.D.	Philadelphia
Lindsley, I. H.	Philadelphia
Lewis, Rev. Frank Grant, Ph.D.	Chester
Loxley, B. Odgen.	Philadelphia
Pollard, Professor E. B., Ph.D.	Chester
Swift, Rev. G. H.	Philadelphia
Walker, Rev. J. G., D.D.	Philadelphia

## RHODE ISLAND

FAUNCE, PRESIDENT W. H. P., D.D., LL.D.	Providence
METCALF, EDWARD P.	Providence
Hatchman, Rev. H. E.	Oak Lawn
Holyoke, Rev. Edward M., D.D.	Providence

## SOUTH CAROLINA

JONES, REV. HOWARD L., D.D.	Charlestown
WILBUR, WALTER.	Charlestown
Brown, Rev. C. C., D.D.	Sumter
Moore, Professor Gordon B., D.D.	Columbia

## TENNESSEE

WEAVER, REV. RUFUS W., D.D.	Nashville
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## TEXAS

Huhns, Rev. F.	Houston Heights
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## VERMONT

HOLTON, H. D., M.D.	Brattleboro
STICKNEY, HON. W. W.	Ludlow
Lawson, Principal George B.	Saxon's River

## VIRGINIA

GRACE, REV. E. L., D.D.	Richmond
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## WISCONSIN

Ashworth, Rev. Robert A. .... Milwaukee

## BRITISH COLUMBIA

Pattison, Rev. F. W. .... Summerland

## - ONTARIO

Firstbrook, John ..... Toronto

Ryrie, James ..... Toronto

Thompson, D. E., K.C. .... Toronto

## AFRICA

Moody, Rev. Thomas ..... Metada, Congo

## GERMANY

KOHLER, PROFESSOR WALTER ..... University of Giessen

## INDIA

Dussman, Rev. John ..... Vinnkonda, Gunter Dist., Madras Presidency

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BAPTIST CONGRESS  
FIRST DAY

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

*Afternoon Session*

Tuesday, November 14, 1911

3:30 P.M.

DR. A. W. BAILEY: It gives me pleasure to introduce to you the President of the Congress, Mr. H. W. Merrill, secretary of our Y. M. C. A.

PRESIDENT MERRILL: *Members of the Congress:* I appreciate the honor which has been given me at this time. Like every citizen of Atlantic City, and particularly those interested in religious things, I have been looking forward to the meetings of this Congress, and I am sure there is a rich blessing in store for me because of this opportunity to serve you. You are invited to sing hymn No. 669, "The Church's One Foundation Is Jesus Christ Her Lord."

*(Hymn.)*

PRESIDENT MERRILL: The opening prayer of the Congress will be offered by Dr. Colman of Buffalo:

*(Prayer.)*

Our Heavenly Father, we thank thee for the richness of the provision thou dost make for the welfare of thy children. Thou hast ordained that the earth shall bring forth provision through which our physical nature is renewed day by day, and thou hast given to us spiritual opportunities through which our spiritual life is advanced, and among the chief of these aids to spiritual advancement is that Word which thou hast placed in our hand. But we know that just as the earth must be tilled in order that the harvest may come, so we must search the Scriptures in order that we may find out the truth that the Scriptures impart, and we thank thee that thy servants are doing this more and more as the days go by in the endeavor to find out that which is written in the volume of the Book. We thank thee for the various agencies and opportunities in the world today, for the church at large, for the Bible classes, for the young people's societies, for the Christian

associations, and we thank thee for this Congress, with its wonderful history running through many years. We know that there has been much interesting discussion and light has been thrown on portions of thy word, and now, as thy servants come from various parts of this land, and as they come representing the branches of the church which have seemed to be strangers, we thank thee for the union that manifests itself now, and we hope it may go on, until it may realize the perfection of the prayer of our blessed Lord, when he prayed that his followers might be one. We ask that thy spirit may be marvelously manifest. May there be no word uttered that shall wound the feelings of any, and as the result of our meetings in the form in which we gather, may there be a handclasping of those who have hitherto walked in separate ways.

Hear us as we pray for a blessing on the city in which we gather. May it be known throughout the length and breadth of Atlantic City that here a band of Christian men have gathered that they may throw light on the blessed Word of God. Help us to live as those who know that for every word we must give an account to thee, and may we feel when we come to the end of life that we have tried according to the measure of our ability, to do faithfully the work thou hast given us to do. We ask this, with the pardon of sin, in Jesus' name, *Amen*.

PRESIDENT MERRILL: I want to present to you, at this time, one of the leading pastors of the city, Rev. H. M. Gesner, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church.

REV. H. M. GESNER: *Mr. Chairman, Members of the Baptist Congress:* I stand before you this afternoon in the unenviable position of a substitute. If you have ever been a substitute you know what it means. I am the stopgap, the makeshift, the second fiddle, and it is I whom you are to hear instead of the first violin. I am not Hon. A. B. Endicott. Add about ten inches to my girth, six to my height, a goatee, and a heart as big as a woodchuck, and I would be a good imitation. To explain his absence, he saw some of the subjects you are to discuss and as he is an old, dyed-in-the-wool Presbyterian, it made him so ill, he took to his bed. Therefore, he is unable to be with you.

While I cannot welcome you with the felicity and grace born of long experience, which the Judge has, I have the same sincerity in wishing and saying welcome to our city, and

in wishing that you may fully partake of all the good things which we have in the city by the sea. We have good things here. You have just heard one of them (*indicating President Merrill*) a moment ago. We have good air, none better in flavor, from France, far-off Spain, Congo Free State, just happens how the wind blows, and how far it comes. We have more good water than perhaps any other city on the coast; more ozone, so the doctors say, in the air. We have good hotels, and if you are stopping at them, you know I am right. We have good streets, good churches, good citizens. We have good, honest, sincere men and women. We have good Baptists.

We have some bad things, but what is the use of looking for them? If you look for the good things in this city you will not have time for the bad. We are glad to have an influence of this kind in our midst. We are glad to have a meeting here of church people, that is not for examination, for questioning, interrogation, nor criticizing, nor inquisition, but for the friendly discussion of certain fundamental questions. The very purpose that brings you here is a good thing for our city. I feel perfectly safe on this platform, because I can sense the friendly spirit in which you come. People are willing to take the *ipse dixit* of any Tom, Dick, or Harry, and for a penny they are willing to buy ideas, and for ten cents an argument, when if they knew the men, they would not give anything at all for them. It is old, very old, the charge made against the people of God—as old as the days of Isaiah: "Israel doth not know, my people do not think." You have no trouble with a church when it thinks. Only when it points the finger of accusation, and when the mob follows, against one whom some leader has stirred up. If people will think, the church is safe. When you come to think on these subjects it is a blessed thing. How good it is to discuss these questions and see them from a different viewpoint. A man can only see straight on, he has not eyes in the back of his head, his viewpoint is limited; there is never a thing which has not two sides. Every subject has two sides; even a sheet of paper has two sides. Unless you know something about the other side you don't know all you ought to know. If my faith only rests upon what seems even

to me a tottering foundation, and I do not know the other side of the question, if that is the only reason I have for belief, I think I then have one solid reason for investigating. The man who has no reason for his belief beyond the *ipse dixit* of some authority is the man who has a poor reason. It is right for us to think about these things. Truth is like light. Truth is like life. You see it now in the tiniest insect that grows, you see it in the flower and you see it in the tree, you see it in the mammoth. It is life, life in each instance. So it is with truth. While a man may say I have a truth, or "see this for a truth," there is no man who has all the truth. You may have monopolies on money, or corners on corn, but thank God, never corners on truth. How congenial are the themes which you are to discuss! May you enjoy yourselves and profit physically, mentally, morally, spiritually, and go home glad that you came, and desiring to come again! (*Applause.*)

PRESIDENT MERRILL: The Baptists of this community desire to present a welcome, and this will be given by Dr. Birney S. Hudson, pastor of this church.

REV. BIRNEY S. HUDSON, D.D.: *Mr. President:* This Baptist Congress has been formally welcomed in other places twenty-eight times. It is no mimicry that at this time welcome is expressed to assure this gathering that Atlantic City opens her doors gladly to those interested in things which bring us together today.

We rejoice in your coming, too, because, as assembled, we represent the triangle of Baptist forces. We hope, however, in the coming of comity and unity, the triangle may be made a straight line and a united bold front may be more able to take strong hold of the world's work.

We meet in a city which represents all phases of life. We have here the serious and the light; those seeking business success and health and pleasure; those in comfort and in distress; the cultured and the crude; the righteous and the unrighteous.

It is from such assemblages as this that beneficence for the hapless, and inspiration for the sluggish, and conviction for the doubter have been realized in various periods of man's history.

From such bodies have influences gone forth that in their course have meant the better meaning of life for all classes. It is here too that every man has opportunity to answer to the hope that is in *him*.

An ancient politician asked the question, "What is Truth?" Whether he asked in seriousness or cynicism, the question has been remembered by every serious soul. That is the question we raise today. It was asked yesterday. It will be pronounced again tomorrow. If we can answer it or discover its answer satisfactorily for ourselves happy shall we be.

The effort of ecclesiasticism has been to answer the question *ex cathedra*. Intelligence and original research undo the contentment and conceit of all such presumption.

Unity of thought will never be realized by the decrees of councils. It has been tried *ad satietem*.

Our pleasure today is to discover our fellow's independent thinking, and not only his conclusions, but also his habits of thought and his mental processes, and his soul behind it all.

If we find ourselves thinking alike we will have cause indeed for self-gratulation. If we differ, we will cheer each other while going in solitary paths and pray that he who is afiel from our standards may eventually see the error of his way.

There is no party spirit among us. We are disciples of a faith which insures utmost liberty. We seek truth discovered, about to be discovered, and even undiscoverable. We have a right to investigate, with the instincts of the philosopher or scientist, any field wherein data may be found.

The Baptist Congress is the most Baptist institution on earth. If liberty of conscience and freedom of speech are considered principles of our cult then have we found them idealized, for now is the opportunity for us to declare ourselves. If any, however, believes he has said the last word upon any subject, let him beware, for some other fellow may then take up his side of the cube with a new inscription or hieroglyphic upon it. There is no finality to truth, to any open-minded seeker, unless he can fathom the Infinite. The seeker after truth takes comfort, if together with intellectual harmony so far as he has gone, his

soul, his subjective life whispers to himself that he is going the right way; if he has the assurance that he need not retrace his steps.

This church has heard all types of preachers, orthodox and heterodox, the philosopher and the evangelist, the great and the small, and they sincerely tell every man they have enjoyed his message. They are ready to hear anything if sincerely spoken, and courteously discard the whole if it doesn't taste good. This is what you are here for. We should be sorry if you did not eschew as their judgments may direct, while declaring a genuine pleasure in knowing what others think and feel.

You are welcome, brethren, to say what you please. This is what you are here for. We should be sorry if you did not carry out your mission. We will not be shocked, we will consider.

Every welcome to Atlantic City must in some way or other mention our beach and Boardwalk, to be complete. We need only to mention them. You will do the rest. They are not as important, however, or as interesting as the sessions of the Congress.

Let us know if we can do more for your comfort or happiness. We are wise here with the wisdom of experience. We are glad you have come. We have multitudes of as noble people as dwell upon the planet to welcome you. We also have problems as stupendous as fall to the lot of students of the well-being of the race. One of our problems is the fact that multitudes of religious people come here and drop their religion as they cross the drawbridge.

We need more and more the assemblages of serious students of the problems confronting man. We are in the midst of them. Let us, together, seek a true philosophy of truth, a better knowledge of the means by which we may save the race from sin, to a discovery of mankind's best selfhood in the spirit of the God of all truth, whom we seek that we may serve.

**THE PRESIDENT:** The response to these addresses will be made by Rev. Dr. Henry M. Sanders, chairman of the Executive Committee.

REV. HENRY M. SANDERS, D.D.: *Mr. Chairman:* It was the farthest from my expectation when I entered this place this afternoon that I should be called upon to perform this service and to take the place of Dr. Gessler to whom it is assigned on the program, but who has been unavoidably detained from this first session of the Congress. I labor under the additional disadvantage of not having heard the first address of welcome, but I assume it was as generous and cordial in its greeting as that of the pastor of this church. So it is a pleasant and easy task to say how greatly we appreciate these hospitable words. Atlantic City is certainly an appropriate place for a meeting of Baptists. We read of another company of the same denomination who met at a certain town "because there was much water there." There is enough of that element here to satisfy the most rabid Immersionist. Matthew Arnold speaks of the ocean as the "salt, unplumbed, estranging sea." But we hope we shall here have discussions that shall be fresh, interesting, and unifying.

Dr. Hudson has admirably expressed the aim and spirit of this Congress. Our one purpose, our sole function has been, for now nearly thirty years, to present a forum where able, earnest, reverent men might discuss questions that are current and important—sometimes even burning and insistent. The Congress itself does not espouse any particular set of opinions. Its friends and supporters embrace all schools of thought and "wings" in our denomination. Among these, and especially those of the Executive Committee, whose duty it is to choose the topics and select the writers and speakers, are to be found conservatives as well as liberals, as these terms are generally used. The object of the Congress is strictly limited to providing a platform to which shall be brought the best that is to be said on all sides of the subjects discussed. It is our earnest and most determined policy to get the strongest and most representative men of all parties to present their views. Each individual participant is alone responsible for his utterances. Our aim is affirmative, not negative; constructive, not destructive.

The Congress believes that things new and old are to be brought out of the treasury of truth; that new wineskins ought to

be provided, when necessary, for new wine. It seeks to free the church from the reproach that it fears the light of modern research and dares not face the questions which earnest men are everywhere today propounding. It holds that each generation has the right to interpret religion in the light of growing knowledge and experience and in the speech of its own age. Its chief desire is to help the denomination to adjust itself to the changes that are taking place in all departments of thought and life.

Such an institution ought to be thoroughly congenial to Baptists who have always been the foremost champions of freedom of discussion. We have no authoritative creeds to which we are tethered, "anchored to a cemetery"; we have no hoary ecclesiasticism which will be shattered by adapting it to modern needs. We, of all denominations, are in a position to welcome and interpret and apply the new light that is breaking out of God's word and world. And no other institution in our denomination, by its aims, its long history, its national, representative character, affords such an opportunity to aid in these readjustments as the Baptist Congress. We sincerely hope that the sessions of this year will add to the rich treasury of truth which has been garnered and preserved in the past.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** It is customary for the Secretary to read the rules. In his absence the Treasurer will do so.

**REV. ROBERT C. HULL** read the Rules of Discussion of the Congress.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** The subject for consideration this afternoon is "In What Sense Is Christ Divine?" and the first paper will be read by Professor Frank A. Starratt, Hamilton, N.Y.

**PROFESSOR FRANK AUBREY STARRATT, D.D.,** of Hamilton, N.Y., then presented the following paper:

#### IN WHAT SENSE IS CHRIST DIVINE?

The answer given in the historic creeds, which have been the authoritative voice of Christendom, is a metaphysical one. It affirms that Christ is divine in the sense that he is of the sub-

stance or essence of God. In this answer we have presented to us two persons, distinct from each other, known separately and in different ways. The divinity of the one is assured, that of the other is to be established by showing that he is of the identical essence or substance with the first.

This answer was a product of the Greek mind applying the categories of Greek philosophy to what was conceived to be the facts of the gospel. All the circumstances of the time demanded this kind of an answer. The question was forced upon the early church in such a form as to carry the discussion at once into the field of philosophy. Nor is it at all surprising that such should be the case. There was, at that time, no such clear distinction between philosophy and religion as obtains at present, so that philosophy easily lent itself to the formulations of the doctrine as set forth in the creed; in fact, it furnished the formula in which the doctrine was stated.

But not only were the circumstances of the time favorable toward giving a metaphysical answer to the question, but the conception of salvation current in the Greek church seemed to demand it. Christ was the Redeemer, and his person must be construed in the light of his redeeming work. Now redemption was thought of as a deification of human nature, and this in a metaphysical sense. The essential thing in redemption was immortality. But immortality belonged to Deity alone. It could be imparted to man only as the divine essence should be united with the human. God must become man in order that man may become God, and thus become a partaker of immortality. Thus the necessity for insisting upon Christ being of the essence of God, for only so could he be the redeemer of man.

It is thus easy to see that the answer given to our question by the ancient church was the natural one for that age, and it served a good purpose for its own time. But this answer is in no sense binding upon Christians. Nor is it to be accepted unless it is the best answer that can be given, unless it expresses in the best way the truth for us. In many respects it seems to be very unsatisfactory and for the following reasons.

While the question is being put to the church today with as

much urgency as in the earlier time, and an answer is imperatively demanded, yet it comes today in an entirely different form. Then it was put in such a way as to demand a metaphysical answer. Today such is not the case; the situation demands not a philosophical answer, but a religious one. Philosophy and religion have become so far differentiated that while they are ever reacting upon each other yet each has its own particular interest, so that each can work in a manner independently. Today the interest in Christ is a religious one, and the form in which the question concerning his divinity comes to us demands a religious rather than a philosophical answer.

While the philosophy of the early church provided the formula in which her faith was stated, the philosophy of today has practically eliminated its chief feature—the category of substance—from the field of thought. We know things in their activities, as they can be perceived. If there is any substance or essence, a something which in no way manifests itself, of which nothing can be known, whose presence can only logically be inferred, it can safely be ignored. So it has come about that what to the Greek philosopher was the most certain of all conceptions is now in the modern world the most vague and shadowy. The essence or substance, which made the three persons of the Trinity a unity, and in which the deity of Christ was said to consist, has become the mere shadow of a thing, has practically vanished from human thinking. It is rather an unwarranted proceeding for us today to say that Christ is of the essence of God, since we do not pretend to know anything about the essence either of God or man. We know Christ only in his activities; we know God only in the same way. If there is to be any comparison made it must be in the realm of their respective activities. To press back behind these and posit a substance does not clear up matters and is contrary to modern modes of thought.

The conception of salvation current today is very different from that of the Greek Fathers. We do not think of salvation as consisting in deification or as the impartation to man of divine essence in virtue of which he becomes immortal, but as consisting in the normal development of the truly human. We look forward, not to a metaphysical union with God, but to a normal and

spiritual one. So that, so far as the work of the Redeemer is concerned, there is no rigid demand for a metaphysical explanation, but rather for a religious one, that will bear upon his work for and with us as moral and spiritual beings.

Furthermore the answer given in the creeds does not serve the purpose for which it is needed today. Primarily we need a theory that will explain the person of Christ. But the metaphysical answer does not do this. Applying this theory we have in the one person Christ, two natures, a divine and a human. This statement, two natures and one person, bears on its face a contradiction. How this contradiction can be dissolved; how these two natures can be combined or related to form one person, no one can tell. When pressed for an answer we are referred to the essential mystery of the person of Christ. But we meet this mystery much earlier in our investigation. The mystery confronts us if anywhere in the facts of Christ's life. In order to explain the mystery involved in these facts we have recourse to the theory as to the essence of his person. But in this explanation we still have our mystery and in addition are compelled to adjust ourselves to a contradictory statement. So that the theory fails to explain, but rather increases the confusion and hence fails of its purpose.

For these reasons the answer to our question as given in the creeds is not satisfactory, and we are led to attempt an answer in the form in which the question is put today, that is, in the religious sense.

In doing this we will have to turn to the religious life, in order to learn what we mean by the term "divine." Without attempting the difficult task of defining religion we will perhaps all agree that in the religious realm man deals with God. Man looks out into the unseen and postulates there a being with whom he is in reciprocal activity. However much there may be in common between God and man, however closely they may be related, whatever the degree of dependence of man upon God, the distinction between God and man is maintained. In the religious life man is over against God. So that in religious experience the divine is that with which man deals, which he worships, to which he prays, and from which he receives or believes he receives a

response. Into this field of religion, Christ has entered, and we are to ask whether he stands with God or with man.

The place which he occupies, is it on the human or the divine side? The function which he performs, is it a human or a divine one? Does he stand with God or with man?

The question put in this form is a most baffling one, because Christ seems to stand upon both sides. In some aspects Christ stands with us. He lived, spoke, thought, prayed, suffered, and died as a man. Not only did he live in a human body and express himself in human terms, but we recognize his genuine humanity, his oneness with the race. So prominent and evident are the human characteristics, that according to all the laws of rational procedure he should be classified as a man unless we find activities in him that clearly belong to the divine side, unless we find that in the religious life he has played such a part, fulfilled such functions as belong to the divine sphere. That there are such activities is my conviction, and within the limits of this paper they can briefly be indicated.

As man reflects upon life and its meaning, he is profoundly impressed with its imperfection, its incompleteness. All the way along life leaves raw edges, threads that lead out beyond the margin, that cannot be woven into the life pattern but reach out toward the unseen. When the years of life are over, the life itself does not present the aspect of a finished thing. Nothing in it is finished. There is that within man which forms ideals, arouses hopes far beyond the possibility of realization, and yet man cannot deny these ideals; though he fails to realize them, he feels they ought to be realized. Thus he is oppressed with the feeling of life's imperfection, and he cannot content himself with it. He is profoundly discontented and restless. He stands on the shores of life and looks out into the darkness with an undying demand in his heart that somewhere the complement of life shall be found. He demands from the unseen that something shall arise that will assure him of the final rounding out of life: and out of the unseen man has thought there came an answer to his call, and hope arose in his heart in response to it.

These hopes and aspirations have gathered about the idea of God, not very clearly nor definitely, but nevertheless with deep

conviction man has felt that in God the answer to his age-long quest would be found. In Christ men have perceived with considerable clearness the answer to their questioning. In him they have perceived God in his relation to human life and what they have seen satisfies their religious demands and justifies their religious faith. For the life of Christ is in striking contrast to the life of men. Nowhere does it betray that sense of incompleteness and imperfection that is characteristic of human life. It manifests, rather, in an extraordinary degree the very element the lack of which pressed so sorely on the human spirit. There is that in Christ which satisfies the highest aspirations of the human soul. In his life there is realized that which man had dimly felt ought to be. So that as men consider the Christ and all that his life showed him to be, they declare: "That is what we have been blindly groping after, we could not define it, but now that we see it, we recognize it." The Christ reveals to us a human life in its completeness.

The significant thing for man, in that which Christ presents to him, is not the fact that he has attained, but the way in which the goal was reached. For this has not come alone from human striving, but by divine indwelling. Christ does not present us with a picture of superhuman effort crowned with success, but a divine power so entering a human life as to complete and perfect it.

The significant thing in the Christ is the revelation which he gives of the divine activity in relation to the life of man. Man in his religious life had felt that God must be the complement to human life, that somehow the answer to life's deepest problems must be found in him. In Christ we perceive that answer. Now this answer is one that comes to us from the beyond, not arising out of our own consciousness and projected into the unseen, but arising out of the unseen and taking visible form before our eyes. We do not see Christ coming up from a position similar to our own, and by perceptible stages reaching the position which he occupies. The element in Christ which makes his peculiar character possible is not something acquired. He shows no consciousness of ever having been without it. It is native to him, and we perceive it as his life unfolds before our eyes. This element

is the activity of God in his life. This is the thing in the Christ which gives that life such deep meaning for religion. The Christ is not simply an example to us of the way one ought to live with God, but a revelation of how God did live with a man, co-operate with him, and complete his life; and serves to show how God may live with us or in us and complete our lives.

Thus if we think of the religious realm as that sphere of life where the human meets the divine, then, in one aspect of his life, is the Christ on the divine side, the function which he performs is a divine function. He is not standing with man looking up to God. He is not co-operating with man in his appeal to God. His activities are not directed toward God, but toward man; he comes to man from the other side, bringing something from God to man, and from him man learns, perceives, receives. He performs a divine function in that he is a revelation of God. This revelation is made in the human realm, it is true; it shows God in his relations to man and his destiny, but this is precisely the religious interest which man has in God.

That Christ brings us a divine message and throws light upon the character of God we will perhaps all admit, we will consider that in the civilized world for twenty centuries, Christ has determined the religious conception of God. But someone will say that, while Christ has brought us a divine message and determined for us the development of the idea of God, yet he has done this as a man who with deeper insight into the meaning of things has been able to shed light upon our problems as did the old Hebrew prophets.

But here we are confronted with the fact that one cannot separate Christ and his message as one can in the case of the prophets. He did not simply tell about God, he exhibited God. He did not merely tell people what God would do for them, he showed in his own life God actually at work doing things. He was not a messenger, the bearer of a message in the ordinary sense, he was himself the message. He was not the announcer of a revelation in the sense that the Hebrew prophets were, he was himself the revelation. The prophets perceived the meaning of some activity of God, some manifestation of God in human history, and announced their discovery. They were the ones who

perceived the revelation. Christ was the revelation itself, manifested in his own life the divine activity, and men before whom he stands perceive the message. "In him the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth." So we cannot compare him with the prophets or with any man, whatever his discovery of truth may be; the function is a different one. The prophet perceives, discovers, Christ reveals, shows forth in himself.

There is no way of separating Christ from his message, and treating him as we treat the discoverers of truth, without doing violence to the facts. He occupies a unique place in the world's history, and performs a unique function in the religious realm. We cannot classify him with men. The differences are too pronounced and too significant. It is not a question of more or less of the quality of his moral life or of his religious faith. He serves a different purpose, plays a different part in the religious life. He stands on the divine side and performs a divine function. View him in the light of what he has done and is doing in the world and one cannot account for him in terms of humanity.

Neither can we separate the divine and the human elements. The unity of his life is too evident. The human and the divine are too intimately blended to permit of any analysis. We cannot discover any line of cleavage in his consciousness or in his conduct. The divine manifests itself in the forms of human life, but we cannot concede that humanity supplied only the form. There was what we can recognize as genuinely human content as well. Nor do we know enough about the limits of the human and divine to be sure of distinguishing between them, where combined in such a life as that of Christ. He presents this peculiar character: on the one hand we feel his oneness with ourselves, on the other he far transcends our experience, possessing something that we do not have. He manifests in his life a divine activity. He does not claim that this activity has its source within himself, but everywhere affirms that God works in him, and, at the same time, that his life is related to the life of God in a manner that is unique. He does not set himself forth as a new center of life, occupying an independent position, but as one who would bring God and man together. His life is in a certain way continuous with the life of God on the one hand, and with

the life of man on the other, and the two elements flow together without any line of division. Thus he occupies a unique position, showing a unity with God and also with man. He bridges the gulf which man had thought to exist between himself and God, not by placing himself there as a permanent bridge over which communication might pass, but by showing in himself that there is no such gulf, that God is more like man than we had thought, and that man has unsuspected possibilities of becoming like God.

This then is the position which Christ occupies in the religious realm. While we cannot fail to recognize his humanity and see in him an example which can be a guide to us in life, yet we also perceive in him a revelation of God, not merely that he announces to us discoveries which he as a man has made, but an activity of God, which he presents in his own life. In this sense then is he divine.

When we are asked to give a categorical answer to the question, Is he God or man? we have no answer ready. He never identified himself with God, but shows himself as being conscious of dealing with God as other than himself, yet on the other hand, he does not wholly identify himself with man. We may call him the God-man, but that does not tell us anything, and is often misleading. To say that he is of the substance of both God and man is to confuse the situation still further.

It seems to me, that the explanation of the person of Christ is a problem for the solution of which we are not yet prepared: it must wait upon a fuller knowledge of personality, human and divine. But this unsolved problem does not affect the value of Christ for the religious life. The revelation which he has made is our possession, and its validity is not dependent upon a theory as to the process by which it came, but upon its own authentication in the soul, and its power to satisfy the actual needs of life.

PRESIDENT MERRILL: Is Dr. Craig's paper here?

A member of the Congress arose and stated that Rev. Dr. William Bayard Craig, who represented the Disciples in this discussion, had moved to California and was unable to be present, but had sent the paper by someone else, who expected to be present. This gentleman did not seem to be in attendance. President

Merrill then passed the reading of the paper, and called on Rev. Homer J. Vosburgh, D.D., of Camden, N.J., to open the discussion. Dr. Vosburgh spoke as follows:

HOMER J. VOSBURGH, D.D.: *Mr. President:* It is a disappointment that we have not Dr. Craig's paper. It would add to the interest of this occasion if we could hear his discussion. I find myself in sympathy with the general trend of the paper first read. Yet we must not forget that behind the metaphysical interpretations of the past there are great facts that demanded interpretation then and that demand interpretation today. The final solution of our problem undoubtedly will wait upon the interpretation of personality, human and divine. Personality is the clue to our universe; but personality implies metaphysics. There is so much metaphysics in all of us that we will never rest where the paper left us. The paper having taken us so far should have led us to a more positive conclusion.

I believe that the transcendental interpretation of the person of Jesus is correct. He stands on the divine side, as the paper has said, and on the divine side he is an eternal being whose home is within the Godhead. All the facts point in the direction of the historic faith of the church. There are three lines along which the argument for the deity of Christ may be traced.

First, there is the historical argument. By the historical argument I mean that for nearly two thousand years the church has believed in Jesus as the eternal Son of God. Whether this faith is based on a reality, I will not assert at the present moment, but this has been the faith of the church and the faith has been the inspiration of Christian history and progress. If it had not been for belief in Christ as the Son of God, Christianity would be a forgotten sect with as little historic significance as Ebionitism. Whatever Christianity has accomplished has been inspired not by the influence of Jesus of Nazareth but by faith in Christ as the living, reigning Lord. Now if Christ is the Son of God we would expect from him some appropriate manifestations in the field of history. We would not recognize his divinity if it rested alone on a few texts of Scripture. Conversely, if certain great historic results have been achieved, we may infer an adequate

dynamic. There are three aspects of the historic argument that may be briefly indicated. First, there are the moral achievements of Christianity. "The world has changed and Jesus is responsible for the change," said Theodore Parker. Frances Power Cobbe affirmed: "Jesus is in the highest philosophical sense the world's Savior." The source of the historic greatness of Christianity is found in the experience of the individual believer. The elect souls of the race have found forgiveness through Christ's cross and moral renewal through the action of his spirit upon their lives. I do not think that thus far today we have done justice to the fact of sin. Men and women have come to Christ not to obtain immortality but to obtain salvation. This they believe they have found and this experience is at the center of the whole moral movement in Christianity. Does the moral achievement of Christianity rest upon a fact or upon a misinterpretation?

Second, there is the historic stability of the church's faith. There have been variant forms of faith in succeeding centuries that have departed from the orthodox conception, such as Ebitonism, Arianism, Socinianism, and Unitarianism, but they have not affected the great current of the church's faith. It may be noted that among those who have departed from the church's faith two tendencies appear: on the one hand there is a tendency to return to the historic faith, and on the other hand to descend to lower levels, accepting simply a humanitarian Christ and finally even denying his greatness and moral uniqueness. The stability of the church's faith is due to the fact that the human spirit, bringing all of its composite powers to bear upon all the facts involved, can come to no other conclusion than that Jesus is God's eternal Son. Is this historic faith of the church a complete misinterpretation or does the solemn voice of the ages point in the direction of a great fact?

Third, there is the spiritual experience of believers. People have felt that they have the actual contact with Christ as living Lord and Redeemer. This may be mysticism, of which we shall hear more later; but there is a valid factor in mysticism. I recall the words of Mr. R. H. Hutton, the brilliant Englishman who passed from Unitarianism to the orthodox faith: "To read

the history of the Christian church without the belief that Christ has been in vital and organic relation with it, seems to me to read it under the impression that a profound illusion can, for centuries, exercise more power for good than a dream. I cannot understand the history of the Christian church at all, if all the fervent trust which has been stirred by faith in the actual inspirations of a Nature at once eternal and human has been lavished on a dream." Christianity would speedily collapse if it were believed that Christ were in no more real contact with men than other departed souls.

Such, in brief, is the argument from history. Christianity does not simply rest back upon Jesus of Nazareth; it rests down on Christ as its living Lord. Does this history all rest upon an error and misinterpretation or does it rest upon a fact? The achievements, faith, and experience of two thousand years constitute a serious contribution to our discussion.

The second line of argument is the scriptural. We narrow our appeal to the New Testament. Christianity has its origin historically, not in the New Testament, but in the larger, broader life of primitive Christianity of which the New Testament is the great historic reflection. I do not appeal in this connection to the New Testament as an inspired authority, but as a fair expression of the faith of the early church. The tendency of criticism is to strengthen the faith of the church in the received authorship, for the most part, of the New Testament books, and to push their dates back to an earlier point. Thus McGiffert puts the conversion of St. Paul in the years 31 or 32 A.D., the writing of the Epistle of the Galatians to 46 A.D., and the writing of the Epistles to the Thessalonians in 48 A.D. The New Testament literature, therefore, may be taken as a faithful transcript of the life of the early church. There are some intimations of christological controversies in the early church, but they were of very minor importance and touched very small areas. The early church had serious controversies on other matters, but there was agreement in transcendental interpretation of the person of Christ. The New Testament writers do not express their faith in metaphysical terms but they place Christ in a position of aloofness from men and nearness to God that justify the historic faith of the church. Everywhere in the New Testament men look up to him

as unto God. In the Epistles to the Thessalonians, which are of a confessedly early date, you will find this attitude. The church "is in God and the Lord Jesus Christ." Christ and God are united in the benediction: "Grace to you and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ," "The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all." Salvation consists in being eternally in his presence: I Thess. 4:17. Future retribution consists in being banished from his presence: II Thess. 1:9. The Epistle of James is supposed to be barren in its Christology, but in it you find Jesus referred to as "the Lord Jesus Christ" and as the "Lord of Glory." In it, the term "Lord" in some places is applied to Jesus, in some places to Jehovah; while in some places it is impossible to tell whether Jesus or Jehovah is the object of reference. Paul uniformly regards Christ from the transcendental point of view: he is the crucified, sinless Redeemer, the Risen One, the Reigning Lord, who shall come again as the Judge of men. In Rom. 9:5 Paul refers to him as the one "who is over all, God blessed forever." In I Cor. 8:6 and in Col. 1:15, 16, his cosmic and eternal significance are asserted. In II Cor. 8:9, and in Phil., chap. 2, his pre-existence is explicitly taught. Right here I may briefly remind you that faith in the pre-existence of Christ does not depend exclusively or chiefly upon the passages of Scripture in which that doctrine is expressly affirmed, but upon the transcendent character that is attributed to Christ and upon his post-existence influence in history. When St. Paul refers to him as God, when he associates his name with that of the Father, when he says that "in him all things consist," he is teaching his pre-existence in a most impressive way. The Epistles of Peter, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of Jude, the Book of Revelation, the Johannine writings, all agree in the transcendental interpretation of Christ. They do not use the language of any of the creeds, but their attitude toward Christ justifies those creeds. I am not now asserting the authority of the New Testament, but I am asserting that the apostles and friends of Christ and the earliest believers in him put him in the place of God. We have seen that faith in the supernatural Christ has been the historic faith of the church; that this faith originated historically in the attitude of the early church. Whence did the early church

derive its faith? Was it the outcome of a mythical process? Very few would suggest that today. Of illusion or misinterpretation? So we are told by some. The real Christ, so some assert, has never been known or understood, until his figure has been restored to us today by critical processes.

This leads us to the third argument, which is the testimony of Jesus to himself. It is generally agreed that our most immediate access to the mind of Christ is found in the Gospel of Mark and in the source known as Q that contains much that is common to Matthew and Luke. If we cannot find the mind of Christ in these sources then our task is hopeless, but we have sufficient reason for believing that certainly here we have the testimony of the Master himself. The self-assertion of our Lord as here found justifies the faith of the church and the faith of primitive Christianity. It is impossible to unfold all that is found in these sources concerning Christ's self-witness. At his baptism, if not before, he becomes conscious of his unique relation to God and to God's kingdom. The same convictions are deepened in his temptation. In the Sermon on the Mount he assumes the attitude of finality as a teacher of religion and the atmosphere of finality pervades all he says. He claims to be the judge of man, a claim of tremendous import, in which he takes to himself the prerogative of God himself. He asserts his power to forgive sins, another exclusive divine prerogative. He assumes that the eternal welfare of men depends upon their relations to himself. He imposes tests of discipleship such as only God can make. He is the Son of Man with human and at the same time transcendental powers. He is the Savior of men who gives his life a ransom for many, and in the Last Supper his Saviorhood is impressively announced. He is the unique Son of God. In Matt. 11:27, his incommunicable relationship as "the Son" to "the Father" is taught in a manner that naturally leads to the Johannine interpretation. In the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mark, chap. 12) and in the statement as to the date of the Parousia in Mark 11:32 the same unique relationship is implied. The mind of the Master as thus revealed does not justify necessarily any particular creed, but it does justify and involve the historic attitude of the church. To his direct testimony to himself we must add

the facts of his sinlessness and resurrection which show his uniqueness and give weight to his self-witness.

Limitations of time furnish only an imperfect outline of the argument that may be traced, but may briefly summarize my position. Jesus put himself in the place of God. The early church freely accorded him that place. So does the church of the ages. The church has had the support and the strength in its life and in its faith that come from his real presence. Accepting the divinity of Christ, the whole Christian movement has a natural and normal development. If we accept the humanitarian interpretation, we must suppose that either Christ or the first Christians practiced deception or were the subjects of illusions that invalidate their testimony and that the whole of Christian history rests not upon a transcendental fact but upon a supreme misinterpretation. To arrive at the humanitarian conclusion also involves the use of arbitrary processes that would make all history an uncertainty. I believe that we have a firm basis for our faith in Jesus Christ as one whose being is within the Godhead.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** Our next speaker is Rev. Jacob G. Walker, D.D., of the Mantua Baptist Church, Philadelphia.

**REV J. G. WALKER, D.D.:** "In what sense is Christ divine?" Well, in what sense is he not divine?

There are at least two notable occasions on record in the New Testament Scriptures when such questions engaged the attention of a "Baptist Congress," so to speak, of religious thinkers and teachers. The first Congress was held in the synagogue at Nazareth, when the wonderful *sayings* and yet more wonderful *doings* of Jesus prompted the inquiry, "Whence hath this man this wisdom and these mighty works?" (Matt. 13:54). The second Congress was held, presumably on foot, within the borders of Caesarea Philippi, and the discussion was opened by the Great Teacher himself, when he asked his disciples "Who do men say that I the Son of Man am?" (Matt. 16:13-16).

There have been many other conferences since those long-gone days, in which many and diverse opinions have been elicited on these very same questions. There were conferences in the first century, in which there were certain Jewish Christians, called

Ebionites, who discarded the miraculous stories that were told about Jesus by those who knew him best, but who yet chose to revere him as "an illustrious prophet superior in wisdom to all who had gone before him." And there were conferences in the second century by a class of thinkers styled Gnostics, who felt that the Ebionites did not do Christ justice, and who spoke of him as "an intermediary being holding chief place in the long line of angels that spanned the chasm between heaven and earth." And there were conferences in the third century among the neo-Platonists, who claimed that Jesus was but a "lovely man." And there were conferences in the fourth century when a distinguished Christian preacher in Alexandria named Arius ventured to discount the higher conception of Jesus as entertained by the early church, and to claim that, notwithstanding his exaltation and pre-incarnate existence, his subsequent incarnation was not an incarnation of Deity. And there were conferences in the sixteenth century when the Socinians exploited Jesus as one "who was born a man, but who by complete submission to God became at last a god himself, earning for himself the right to be master of the ages and the judge of our race." And so on, and so on, and so on.

And conferences are still being held in these twentieth-century times, when some of these old-time views find occasional indorsement, and when those who indorse them are occasionally referred to as "advanced thinkers." Strange, is it not? that *advanced* thinking must shape present-day conclusions by the jumbled thinking of bygone centuries!

The question in either case involves the essential investments of personality: not mere sentimental conceptions, as when men speak of the "divine" in art, or music, or poetry, or fashion, but the inborn possessions that determine personal being. If these investments are measured by the capacities and limitations of the natural man, we speak of the one who holds them in possession as a human personality. If they exist and operate in the realm of the supernatural, we do not hesitate to speak of them as the attributes of a divine personality. When Peter speaks of being made "partakers of the divine nature" he uses words that are descriptive, not of abstract, immaterial, impersonal essence

or quality, but of essence personified. "*θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως*": i.e., sharers of the constituent properties of deity (II Peter 1:4).

Nor do we hesitate to say that when Christ became "God manifest in the flesh," he was a human being in so far as he made manifest the attributes of our common humanity, but that he was divine in those identities that were beyond the compass of human attributes and functions. He was divine, not because he was human, but because he was more than human.

Let me briefly note a few of these superhuman and supernatural identities, giving heed only to what the Bible has to say concerning them. "These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (John 20:31). I have certainly no other knowledge upon which to base my conclusions, but the knowledge of the Word of God, and I have not as much of that perhaps as I ought to have. But even a limited knowledge of what is here told us concerning Christ should serve to make clear several important conclusions.

1. To begin with let us set before ourselves the fact of his pre-existence.

This certainly cannot be predicated of any being possessed only of earthly and human limitation. But Christ did not hesitate to affirm it concerning himself: "I came down from heaven" (John 6:38); "Before Abraham was, I am" (John 8:58); "Glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was" (John 17:5).

Nor do the inspired writers hesitate to assert and to emphasize the fact of Christ's pre-existent personality: "He that is of the earth is earthly and speaketh of the earth: he that cometh from heaven is above all" (John 3:31); "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; the same was in the beginning with God" (1:1, 2).

2. And added to this fact of Christ's pre-existence is the fact of his sinlessness.

In some way or other all other characters mentioned in Scripture story confess themselves to be sinners. When Isaiah beheld the King, the Lord of Hosts, whose glory filled the temple, he

said of himself, "Woe is me, for I am undone: because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips" (6:5). If we who are human say "we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (I John 1:8). But Jesus dared to say to the religious leaders of his day, "Which of you convinceth me of sin?" (John 8:46). When he taught his disciples a form of prayer he put into the petition the words, "Forgive us our sins"; but he never offered that prayer for himself. Jesus is the only person in history who was able to say, "I do always those things that please him" (John 8:29). His supernatural birth was the starting-point of an innocent earthly life, and that innocence continued up to and beyond the crucial day when Pilate was compelled to say, "I find no fault in him," and up to and beyond the day when even Judas threw down his thirty pieces of silver before the chief priests and elders, saying "I have betrayed the innocent blood" (Matt. 27:4).

3. And furthermore: no human personality is invested with the attribute of creative power. He may be able through human wisdom or skill to produce something out of something, but it is beyond his power to produce something out of nothing. But what says the Book? "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: the same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him: and without him was not anything made that was made" (John 1:1-3). "For by him were all things created that are in heaven or that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him and for him. . . . That in all things he might have the pre-eminence" (Col. 1:16, 18).

And this being so, it is easy to account for his miracles. It was never possible for a man to say to a loathsome leper, "I will: be thou clean"; but Jesus said it, and the leper was cleansed. It was never possible for a man to say to storm-tossed billows, "Peace, be still"; but Jesus said it, and "there was a great calm." It was not possible for a man to stand at the tomb at Bethany and say, "Lazarus, come forth"; but Jesus said it and he that was dead came forth. Or if some incurable cripple at the temple

gate should rise up and walk at the bidding of another human being, it could be because the bidding was accompanied by the words, "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth."

And this being so, it is also easy to account for the resurrection of a dead and buried Christ. No human being could at his own pleasure descend into the grave, and at his own pleasure come up out of it; but Jesus said, "I have power to lay down my life, and have power to take it again."

4. Moreover, the quality of his teaching is an attestation of his divinity: "His word was with power" (Luke 4:32); "Never man spake like this man" (John 7:46); "He taught as one having authority, and not as the scribes" (Matt. 7:29).

5. But the paramount evidence of Christ's divinity lies in the place he occupies in the scheme of human redemption. Nowhere is man so helpless as in attempting to satisfy the demands of a transgressed law, or to overthrow his inborn tendencies toward transgression. But, "What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit" (Rom. 8:3, 4). And when a redeemed man is yet compelled to find a law in his members, "warring against the law of the spirit," he can also add this testimony, "Nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me" (Gal. 2:20).

And what is true concerning the growth of Christ's regnant power in a single sin-enslaved life is true also concerning the growth of his kingdom in a sin-enslaved world. The church is an aggregation of individuals, and it grows, not by natural but by supernatural forces. Christian history is but a continued story of what Jesus began to do and to teach in the earliest days of apostolic service. "History is his story."

Scan the story closely. Here is a Jewish peasant, born of a

race whose national identity has been lost in the dominations of other nationalities. He never wrote a sentence that has been preserved. He formulated no systems of philosophy. He established no schools of learning. He built no temples. He marshaled no armies. He died in early manhood, cast off by his own race, and forsaken even by his own followers. And yet, twenty centuries after he hung upon his cross there are millions of people in every land and clime, who never saw Christ's bodily form, who love him because he first loved them, and who in the power and demonstration of that love "rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory." Today there are unnumbered multitudes who can sing with the spirit and the understanding :

Thou, O Christ, art all I want,  
More than all in thee I find.

Of course there are other multitudes who, while they may not ignore the fact of Christ's personality, are yet seemingly content to relegate that personality to the realm of speculative analysis. To such people Christ is simply an unsolved problem, an unexplained enigma, an intellectual puzzle. They speak of him perhaps as the best among the good, and the greatest among the great. They classify him as the sublimest specimen of moral virtue, and the most heroic of ancient or modern martyrs. But, if Christ be nothing more than an aggregate of all these opinions, he fails to establish his own claims to supremacy, and remains as the most unexplainable problem in human history.

And not only so. If Christ be nothing more than an aggregation of human excellences, he not only fails to establish his own claims but he fails also to assure me of any adequate supply for the necessities of my own soul.

The people of Nazareth failed to dissociate him from his father and mother and brothers and sisters. They looked upon *him* as one of *them*—unlike them indeed in many ways, but so linked to them as to become a human mystery instead of a divine revelation. But the answer given to their question, and to ours, lies in the fact that he was "made flesh and dwelt among us," and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of *grace* and *truth*.

It would be easier for a race of cannibals or Hottentots to produce a Milton, or a Bacon, or a Shakespeare, than for a race of sinful creatures to produce a spotless and an all-sufficient Christ. If the stable-born and manger-cradled babe of Bethlehem is only the son of Mary, only the carpenter of Nazareth, only a questioner in the temple, and an expositor in the synagogue, then he is a being unpossessed of all the essential fulness of God, and I am a being unpossessed of the essential assurance of personal salvation, "having no hope," and "without God."

There is reason to fear that much of the so-called religious literature of these modern times is sadly deficient in the estimates they furnish us concerning the deity of Christ. Not that men seek to obliterate the fact of Christ, but that they are tempted to dilute his personality. Not that they refuse to see in him more than man, but that they are prone to consider him less than God. Not that he did not die on the cross, but that his death was simply the price paid for his views and a sublime testimony to the strength of his convictions.

But let not the testimony of Scripture be set aside for merely human opinions. The Christ of the Bible is not a problem, but a Revelation; not simply a Messenger, but a Message; not an Ethic, but an Evangel; not a Social Reformer, but a Sacrificial Substitute. He came, not to minimize divine law, but to magnify it. He came not to explain away transgressions, but to blot out the handwriting against them, by nailing it to his cross. And this "shedding of blood" was not the sacrifice of the divine nature, but rather the divine nature, saturated with undying love, sacrificing its human and fleshly enfoldings, "as of a lamb without blemish and without spot." It was "God sending his own son into the world, and for sin, condemned sin *in the flesh*."

If God was not in the Nazarene Teacher, reconciling the world unto himself, then he was not in Christ on the cross. If the one on the cross was not the Christ of God, then the work of reconciliation is still an unfinished work. Then we are yet in our sins; and if we tamper with God's Christ, by according him capacities less than God gives him, we are tampering with our own

salvation, and formulating a false belief that will ultimate in eternal doom.

What think ye of Christ is the test  
 To try both our state and our scheme;  
 We cannot be right in the rest  
 Unless we think rightly of Him.

REV. W. QUAY ROSSELLE, PH.D., D.D., of Philadelphia:  
*Mr. Chairman:* I sent up my card in order to start something, that is, to start a voluntary discussion, and not primarily because I had very much to add myself.

I was exceedingly interested in the paper which was read to us by Professor Starratt. I believe that his statement that this question must not be approached from the metaphysical starting-point, but along the avenue of religious experience, to be the utterance of wisdom concerning the whole matter. I am afraid that the other two brethren violated that principle in their very earnest and interesting discussions. It would be difficult for me to attempt to answer the question, In what sense is Christ divine? In my own thought of him I might almost as well ask, In what sense is the sun luminous? In what sense are the flowers fragrant? In what sense is fire hot? In what sense is water wet? Jesus said, "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me." We act as if he said, Take up the methods of philosophy and learn of me. Betake yourselves to the data of ancient metaphysics and learn of me. I believe that we learn of him in the experience of the passion which was in him; in the experience of the ideals which conquered his life, and the loyalty to those ideals which he displayed. In the sharing with him of the purposes to which he held unwaveringly we shall learn in what sense he was divine and in no other way.

Recently four gentlemen spoke from my pulpit in Philadelphia. Three of them were men who had received college educations. Three of them had been reared in homes of refinement and Christian faith. Four of them had become drunkards and for years had traveled to the deepest depths of a drunkard's woe. All of them had been redeemed by coming in contact with the divine Christ,

and as they stood there and related in simple language their own experience, it seemed to me they were making known to the congregation that listened to them in what sense Christ was divine, as all the metaphysical discussions of the matter are wholly impotent to do.

They were able to reveal the divinity of Christ as all the discussions of the German philosophers never could accomplish. Take the Water Street Mission in New York City. Men and women come in there broken, dejected, despairing, lost—back of them shattered hopes, wrecked manhood, dissipated reputations, before them yawning the very mouth of hell. There men and women who have been lifted from conditions like theirs go to them and say there is hope in the divine Christ. If these men begin to inquire in what sense is Christ divine, these workers have only one answer. They take them by the hand and in importunate way and language they plead with them to come forward and, kneeling at the mourners' bench, seek actual contact with this divine life which is its own revelation of divinity.

The yoke is the teacher. The cross is the teacher. The passion of Christ is the teacher. The divine ideals are the instructors, and only as we share these things which were in this man, who spake as never man spake, shall we be able to answer, in my judgment, to our own satisfaction, "In what sense was Christ divine?" (*Applause.*)

REV. ROBERT C. HULL, Summit, N.J.: *Mr. President:* I find myself in hearty agreement with what has just been said in regard to the fact that no one who seeks salvation from Jesus Christ needs fully to understand his personality. If we are to follow after Jesus it is not necessary that we comprehend him, only that we deny ourselves, take up our cross, and follow him. I have in mind a sermon in which I ventured to suggest that the cross ought to be a standard around which the severed hosts of the various Christian churches might rally. At the cross of Christ we could stand even with the Jesuit and sing, "Thou, O my Jesus, thou didst me upon the cross embrace." At the cross with the Episcopalian we might sing, "Onward Christian Soldiers, marching as to war, with the cross of Jesus going on before." At the cross of Christ we might stand with our Unitarian brethren

and sing, "In the cross of Christ I glory." After the sermon, some kind friends came to me and said, "We could stand at the cross with the Episcopalians, or even with the Catholics, but how could we sing with the Unitarians, 'In the Cross of Christ I Glory'?" I replied, "You are willing to sing that hymn, are you not?" "Yes, but we cannot sing it with the Unitarians." I said, "Why not? Perhaps you do not know that it was written by a Unitarian." They replied, "How could a Unitarian write such a hymn?" But the fact remains that a Unitarian did write it, and it is simply proof of the fact that a comprehension of the personality of Jesus Christ as you and I understand him is not necessary to loyalty to his leadership nor to the taking up of his cross and following him.

While heartily granting and maintaining this position, however, I cannot agree with the implication that my religious thinking and my philosophical thinking are to be kept in two watertight compartments with no communication between. He that comes to God must believe that he is, and my religious answer, the answer of loyalty and service, will largely depend on the philosophical answer to the question now before us. In fact, our topic this afternoon asks a question that is not a religious question to all. The religious question about Jesus is that asked by Pilate, "What then must I *do* with Jesus who is called Christ?" To ask, "In what sense is Christ divine?" is to ask a question which is purely philosophical and theological, not religious.

It seems to me that toward this philosophical answer the first paper made a distinct contribution when the writer made the following statement: "Jesus showed in himself that there is no gulf between God and man. God is more like man than we had thought and man has unsuspected possibilities of becoming like God." It is unfortunate that the writer did not consistently take this position in the rest of his paper. Despite his recognition, in the sentence quoted, of the essential unity of the human and the divine, the writer in the earlier part of his paper invited us, on the one hand, to consider the evidence that Jesus was human, and on the other hand he attempted to show us by other evidence that Jesus was also divine. But if the human and the divine are not fundamentally distinct, we do not need one set of proofs to

establish Christ's humanity and another set to establish his divinity. His humanity is his divinity. Man is made in the image of God.

Though He is so bright and we so dim,  
We are made in His image to witness Him.

Man is God's child. There is no more central truth in the teaching of Jesus, no more characteristic doctrine than that which is implied in his constant use of that name for God which formed the heart of his vocabulary from the time when the fresh young lips of the boy struck, in his first recorded utterance, the keynote of his life by the question, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" until the day when the dry parched lips of the man in his dying utterance whispered, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." The word "Father" is Christ's distinctive term for God and it implies, if it implies anything at all, that man is like God.

It has been said this afternoon that Jesus never existed as a mere man. Rather would I say that Jesus was not "mere man" but, to use the German expression, he is "mehr Mann." Jesus was more of a man than you or I ever have succeeded in being, and just because Jesus is the realization of the ideal of humanity, because he is the fulfilment of the possibilities of manhood, it is *in* this fact, rather than despite it, that he is also the supreme manifestation of God. The perfect son of man must be by the very completeness of his humanity the perfect son of God. It is because Jesus is completely man that we can see in him "all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Because of his perfect humanity we can well believe, as we look upon him, for he that hath seen Jesus hath seen the Father, for he and the Father are one. His character as a man was such that all our hearts echo the words which have been quoted from the ninth chapter of Romans and we confess with joy that, looking upon Jesus Christ, we see in him the one "who is over all, God-blessed forever."

In Jesus we have supremely manifested the character of God and when we speak of God or of man, it is in character that we are chiefly interested. Man has no soul. He has a body, but he is a soul. The body is man's possession, the soul, the character, is man's self, God's self. It is in the realm of character that man

is chiefly distinguished from the brute. Selfishness and all sin man shares in common with the lower creatures; righteousness and character he shares with the infinite Father of his spirit. Because Jesus is the only one to achieve perfect character therefore it is that he is the only begotten son of the Father. Because he is declared to be the firstborn among many brethren we have hope that we too shall eventually fulfil the duty Christ himself laid upon us to be perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect. It is only by the recognition of this fact that Christ's unique relation to God is in the realm of ethical character that we can harmonize the two statements of Scripture just quoted, which on the face of them are contradictory, that Jesus is the only begotten, and that he is the first born among them.

Heartily do we indorse the position taken by the third speaker, that Jesus was unique. With the Jews of old we confess that "never man spake like this man." He alone of all those of whom the race has knowledge was tempted in all points like as we are yet without sin. His perfect character is our ideal. If Jesus were only perfect man his ideal character would be our despair, but because it is of the essence of his gospel that his human life of vicarious sacrifice is the true expression of the character of God, he becomes not our despair but our hope; his self-forgetting love as the index to the character of God enables us to believe that the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is also our God and our Father, and that he longs to do for us what he did for Jesus and bring many sons into the glory of his fellowship. The unselfish love of Christ for the world, supremely revealed on Calvary's cross, we believe to be but the temporal expression of that eternal love which the infinite Father is continually pouring out for all his children that he may bring them all, in the fulness of the time, to the measure of the stature of Jesus Christ, our divine Lord and Savior.

Prayer and Benediction by Rev. Prof. E. B. Pollard, D.D.,  
Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.

*Adjourned*

FIRST DAY

*Evening Session*

8 P.M.

PRESIDENT MERRILL opened the evening session and called on Rev. Henry Bawden of Perth Amboy, N.J., to offer prayer.

The subject for discussion this evening is, "What are the Assured Results of Biblical Criticism?" and we will hear from the first writer, Rev. Philip L. Jones, D.D., of Philadelphia.

REV. PHILIP L. JONES, D.D., of Philadelphia, then read the following paper :

#### WHAT ARE THE ASSURED RESULTS OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM?

In speaking on the theme assigned to me I desire first of all to disclaim speaking as an expert. For those who know me the disclaimer is not needed; for those who do not it may be in place. Why then speak at all? someone may ask, and it is a question I have propounded to myself more than once since I accepted my appointment. The answer I have made to myself, and now make to you is that, it may not be without profit to see how this great and perplexing subject of biblical criticism looks to an average man who seeks somewhat to keep in touch with current questions and to determine whither they trend. The observation of the private in the ranks may sometimes be of import, even as is that of the general at the head of the division. It is as a private in the ranks of biblical students that I speak.

The framer or framers of our topic have delimited the area of our discussion. They have assigned to me and to my associate, Dr. Hahn, who will make amends for my deficiencies as an expert, as a field biblical criticism. I do not know the purpose of the designation. It may be that it was felt that biblical is a better adjective than "higher," as I think it is, and that all criticism of the sacred writings, whether of text or of setting, is biblical, and the one as much so as the other. At any rate the term opens the door to text as to historic circumstance if we wish to enter it.

By the term "assured" our area of discussion is still more definitely outlined. It was felt perhaps that such a fence was needed to keep our pens or typewriters from straying too far afield and from becoming lost in a territory so vast, and upon portions of which the mists settle down so perplexingly. We may not then cloak speculation with certainty. Hypothesis is not to masquerade as evidence, nor are claims to receive the deference we pay to proof. What we want, if we can find it, is that which is established.

But is there anything in this realm technically known as biblical criticism to which the term "assured" can truthfully be applied? The term itself is debatable. What one man will regard as assured another may wholly disclaim or label as doubtful. What I might consider assured, even in the farthest limit of it, another much more advanced may look at as mere kindergarten material reduced to the status of an axiom that needs only to be stated. But is there anything in this realm assured, in the sense that the consensus of intelligent opinion as expressed in sermon or conversation or journalistic articles or books confirms? Perhaps there is nothing assured as in chemistry the formula  $H_2O$  is assured, or as in geometry that the square of the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the other two squares; but that there are results in biblical criticism assured as completely as any literary or critical questions can be is I believe demonstrable. It shall be our task to try and point some of these out. In the time assigned it is all we can attempt to do.

1. This result is assured: that biblical criticism has made a place for itself in the students' apparatus. It is recognized as one of the tools with which we work. This is true whether we have to do with the text or the historical setting. There was a time not so very long ago when it was looked at askance. It was so even in Germany where it is supposed to have had its home. Men might lose their positions as instructors by declaring the existence of successive prescriptive strata in the Levitical legislation or by the acceptance of the fact of the two Isaiahs. It is hardly so now. Men say, even if they disagree with the critic, we will wait and see. These men may be right. At any rate we will not throw stones at them. They claim to be servants of

the truth. We will take them at their word. In any event in the fastness of its defenses the truth is secure. Of course all do not take this attitude. Some still deal in derogatory adjectives and utter severe denunciations. Criticism to these is a sort of Trojan wooden horse pretending to be a votive offering and being really full of a hostility that will only open the gates to the foe. They even look with unfriendly eyes upon a congress like this because it will give place on its platform to those who will express thought akin to that which I am endeavoring to utter. But this is not the sense of most. They are willing to accord to sincere critics what has been won only after a hard fight, viz., "full rights of citizenship in the historic Christian churches." This result may seem a minor one, but it really is of incalculable moment that scholars may exercise liberty without losing caste and stand in the presence of an attitude willing to abide by the issue when proven, of whatever sort it may be.

2. This result in the second place is assured: that there is a different attitude toward the Bible as a whole on the part of the Christian church. We know what that attitude was within the period limited by the memories of men far younger than I; what it still is in the thought of many who have not been led into what without reflection we may call a clearer light. That attitude was to regard the whole Bible as we have it as equally inspired, equally the word of God, and so of equal authority to us. Dr. W. N. Clark says in his *Sixty Years with the Bible* (pp. 71, 72): "The Bible was regarded as equally inspired throughout, and inspiration meant nothing less than full divine authority. . . . One was no more at liberty to doubt its statements of fact or to reject its judgments upon truth than to disobey it in conduct." There are but few of us who did not meet this attitude in the classroom of our theological course. Doctrinal statements were constantly buttressed by texts indiscriminately selected, and whether from Ecclesiastes or Ephesians mattered not. Each was equally God's word and came sealed with an equal authority.

Now this attitude has changed. Whether we acknowledge it or not it has changed, and the change has been wrought by biblical criticism. We no longer group our proof texts without regard

to source and we do not put Ecclesiastes on a parity with Ephesians. To quote Dr. Clark again, "We are beginning to know . . . how much it means that the Bible is a genuinely historical book, having its rise and habitat in the human world, recording vital dealings between God and men, and to be understood in the light of its historical origins, intentions, and development" (*Sixty Years with the Bible*, p. 68). In other words, we have come to regard the Bible as literature. It is more than that, but it is that. As literature, imbedded in human life and coming to us in large measure by human hands, it accords with the same law of growth, and submits itself to the same criteria in getting at its message. That message we know now comes to us through the same media and these cannot help shaping the final judgment and determining its final authority. It comes to us, e.g., through translation and translation is impossible that does not influence the sense. No English sentence can be framed that shall exactly reflect its Hebrew or Greek equivalent. It comes to us, too, this message does, through exegesis, and we all know into what a forest of entanglements this is capable of bringing us. It comes to us likewise, this message of the world does, through the medium of textual criticism, and this as arrayed against the old view of absolute inerrancy is revolutionary. The substitution of one Greek word for another, the change of a Hebrew vowel point or consonant, nay even the transference of a comma will destroy that ideal inerrancy. How many of those there are, such a work as Gregory's *New Testament Canon*, or any recent revision of the Old Testament will tell us. Nay, for us who are common folk, take the standard revision of either Old or New and compare it with the common version and we see at once without being scholars what has taken place. The change of attitude makes itself manifest. The Bible takes its place as literature in the arena of human productions. It is supreme among them, but it is of them. Our reverence for it is no less, but its relation to us is more natural. It is "no longer an unrelieved level of equal authority," but "a book of real life, the life of God in man and of man with God."

3. Another assured result of biblical criticism is the almost universal acceptance of the fact of *composite authorship* in many

parts of the Bible. Without question this result is directly due to biblical criticism. From the time the thought had its birth in the prolific mind of the physician Astruc down to the latest advocate of the dual authorship of Daniel this ideal has been elaborated with many modifications and with marked differences until it has established itself as a fact of modern scholarship.

Now this has nothing to do with the historicity of the materials of such authorship nor with the area of compositeness. Whether there are four principal factors in the production of the Hexateuch or eight; whether these represent individuals or schools; whether there are two Isaiahs as is now generally believed or three as some assert; whether seventeen different strata enter into the composition of Jeremiah as a recent writer declares, or only those of Jeremiah and Baruch, this assertion of the fact of composite authorship does not care. In regard to these particulars there are many opinions, in respect to this fact there is among scholars almost entire agreement. For example, Professor A. H. Sayce, who is one of the most cautious of our leading biblical students, says:

One of the most assured results of the literary analysis of the Old Testament records has been the existence of documents of different age and authorship in the Pentateuch. Opinions may differ widely as to the authorship of certain passages and the dates to which the several documents are to be assigned, but about the general fact of the composite character of the Pentateuch competent critics of all schools are now agreed. The literary foundation upon which the history and religion of Israel rested is in its present form, a composite work (*The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 31).

In a commentary issued by the American Baptist Publication Society this is written by one of our most conservative scholars:

The more conservative view holds to the Mosaic origin of the legislation of the Pentateuch and its Mosaic authorship in the broad sense that Moses was generally responsible for it. It does not deny but asserts, in view of the fact that writing was in common use for centuries before Moses, that he used documents coming down from the past in the composition of Genesis. He may also have employed others to assist him. The most of those who hold this view also concede that notes and minor portions by later hands may have found a place in our present text (Professor C. Goodspeed, Introduction to *American Commentary on Old Testament*, p. xi).

In an encyclopedia issued in 1906 by Thomas Nelson & Sons, these words are found. "The existence of these four principal strata in the Hexateuch [i.e., J, E, D, P] may be regarded as established." Moreover the writer goes on to say these "represent schools rather than individuals" (Vol. X, art. "Hexateuch"). In the *Standard Bible Dictionary* published by Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls in 1909 is this distinct and definite statement :

It is, from what has been said, evident that Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua are composite, based upon older and originally independent accounts. Their unity is only apparent, due to editorial adjustment, and not to single authorship (art. "Hexateuch," p. 339).

Professor Charles Foster Kent says, speaking of God's connection with the authors of the Bible :

He did not, however, dictate to them the form of their writings nor vouch for their verbal inerrancy. In time, out of these writings were gradually collected and combined the most significant passages and books and to these was finally attributed the authority that they now rightfully enjoy (*Origin and Value of the Old Testament*, p. 247).

Dr. James Orr in summing up his reasoning as to the substantial unity of the pentateuchal writings uses these words :

To what conclusions have we now been led? For one thing, it is first to be said, *not* to the conclusion that Moses himself wrote the Pentateuch in the precise form or extent in which we now possess it; for the work we think shows very evident signs of different pens and styles, of editorial redaction, of stages of compilation (*The Problem of the Old Testament*, p. 369).

Other testimonies might be cited but these are sufficient to establish our point.

And let this be said : We have, or at least some of us have, so adjusted ourselves to this thought, that the worthfulness of the divine book has not suffered in the least. If Moses did not write the song attributed to him in Deuteronomy, there remains the same infinite comfort in the assurance that "underneath are the everlasting arms." Though it should chance to be proven, as I do not think it will, that David did not write the 23rd psalm, the peace of the green pastures and the music of the still waters and the solace of the staff amid the shadows of the valley remain unimpaired. One Isaiah or two and the sublimity of the 40th

chapter and the pathos of the 53rd and the far-off vistas of the prophet's wondrous visions remain untouched.

4. Biblical criticism thus, as another result, has taken us back to the historic sources of the Scriptures. It would not be accurate to say that it originated the method; it is accurate to say that it has emphasized the method and made it common. It used to be the method of the few; it is now the method of the many. We have learned that the date of authorship, and circumstance are the best exegetes of the meaning of the passage in hand. We no longer therefore cite a text as proof of Bible doctrine without regard to its setting. We no longer regard the prophets as primarily having a far-off vision. We know them as men of their own times. Their messages were modern when they were delivered. They were forthtellers more than foretellers. This may not diminish their vista but it increases their definiteness. We no longer either take poetry and interpret it as prose. When, e.g., in the 139th psalm we read: "Do I not hate them O Lord that hate thee? . . . I hate them with a perfect hatred. I count them mine enemies" (139:21, 22), we know the author is indulging in a poetic outburst and not propounding a moral precept. We are learning to take the Bible more as it really is and not quite so much as tradition has declared it to be. There has been immense gain in this, and the Bible has come closer to human life because of it.

5. As a result of this recognition of compositeness and historic setting we have one of the most beneficent results of biblical criticism: a solvent of scriptural moral difficulties. We have all had trouble with these. It never quite satisfied us to be told as to the indiscriminate slaughter of the Canaanites that it was the judicial execution of a sentence pronounced because of their wickedness. That scene in the valley of Achor when not only Achan suffers for purloining the wedge of gold but all that were his has always troubled us and contravened our sense of justice. Our humanity has always shuddered as we have read these words describing David's treatment of the captured Rabbah of the children of Ammon: "And he brought forth the people that were therein, and put them under saws and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-

kiln: and thus he did unto all the cities of the children of Ammon" (II Sam. 12:31). We have halted and hesitated at the story of Elijah bringing fire from heaven to consume two companies of soldiers sent for his arrest, as we have at that fierce outburst of the 137th psalm: "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones." These things do not perplex us as once they did. We have ceased so to identify the Old Testament with God as to make him responsible for them. We feel that he could not be so divergent from the New Testament representation of him as this would make him. We know that the current of revelation has passed through the channel of human agency and thereby has gathered the deposit of the ages and passions that have mingled therewith. We have therefore ceased to be troubled by and to endeavor to justify these moral enigmas, and vastly to the advantage of our religion have learned to accept them as the natural record of a book much more natural in its origin and structure than we have been accustomed to think.

6. In just a word I want to speak of another assured result of biblical criticism—that of the fact of a *progressive revelation* in the Word. Others in time past have described it more or less clearly, but modern criticism has established it. Scripture no longer lies upon a dead level. There is marked difference between Esther and Ephesians though both are found between the same lids. The law that has obtained in unfoldment of truth elsewhere has obtained here. As in moral observances and humane relationships and all the amenities of civilized life, so here in the pathway of divine revelation. First the dawn and then the day. The blade everywhere precedes the full ear of corn. First the external law and then the inward principle that is regnant in the soul. Our divine Lord recognized this spiritual progression, and thus we have outlined by him the pathway of a perfect spiritual experience. Ye have heard it said by them of old time, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, but *I say* unto you resist not evil. Ye have heard it said, Ye shall not commit—but *I say* unto you, ye shall not think.

I know that some draw back from this principle as applied to Holy Scripture, fearing whither it may lead. But shall anything

in the evolution of truth or faith surpass these we have today in Jesus Christ? It does not seem likely. So far we know no light so bright, so beneficent as that of the sun whose rays beam down upon us from above. We will bask in its benignness nothing fearing that aught shall ever displace it.

It comes to us then with an encouraging emphasis that all this change in attitude and method in relation to the Bible of which I have spoken has been wrought out with no dethronement of it as of supreme authority and no diminution of its spiritual power and influence in the whole area of our lives.

In his *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* Dr. T. K. Cheyne says, and he is entitled to full faith in his veracity:

If it should be made decidedly the more probable view that St. John did *not* originate the Fourth Gospel as it now stands, I am sure . . . that all truly religious students would believe with heart and with head as strongly as ever in the incomparable nature and the divine mediatorship of Jesus Christ (p. 258).

If with the transfer of the authorship of John to another there would still be kept the revelation of the Christ intact, surely, e.g., the granting of Isaiah from chap. 40 to the end of the second of that name can detract from it no whit. Dr. W. N. Clark at the close of his *Sixty Years with the Bible* says (p. 253):

By this time in the history of the world the quality of the Bible as the book of divine religion is so established that we may think of it with serene confidence. It is certain that the Bible gives us knowledge of Jesus, and that Jesus gives us knowledge of God, and that God as Jesus reveals him as the true light of life. Our sacred book is thus our guide to Jesus, to God, and to life divine.

And how are the practical lives of those who have breathed the biblical atmosphere as we have indicated it? We all know Henry Drummond as one of this school and of his zeal and consecration and success, and how superbly and trustfully he met suffering when it came. And what of the men who followed him? His biographer, George Adam Smith, says of them: "In every British colony, in India, in China, in Japan, converts or disciples of this movement who gratefully trace to it the beginnings of their moral power are laboring steadfastly and often brilliantly in every profession of life." In editing a history of our pioneer

work on the Pacific Coast I was interested to notice that a young man who came from the one of our educational institutions supposed to be permeated above all others by this critical thought surpassed all his associates in zeal and ministerial success. Thirty-five miles of travel from his school on Friday night and back by Monday morning, preaching meanwhile at half a dozen stations the glad tidings, was a common task for him to perform.

No, neither the critical method nor the critical result need destroy faith. Grip the eternal verities of revelation and with the abandonment of traditional positions and the espousal of scientific procedure the Bible stands still secure, the unfoldment of the divine will and the guide to the divine life.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** The second writer will be Rev. B. D. Hahn, D.D., of Springfield, Mass.

**REV. DR. B. D. HAHN,** of Springfield, Mass., then read as follows:

### ASSURED RESULTS OF HIGHER CRITICISM

Under the caption, "assured results," it is in order to move the previous question, Is our apparatus sufficient for such a product? We may examine the machine as well as the output. The results are not like wood, iron, steel, or silver, which are capable of other and immediate tests by recourse to chemistry or tension and torsion machines. Critical conclusions are still dependent upon our confidence in our methods of inquiry to create assurance. When the material in question, in this instance a body of literature, is set aside as direct evidence, arguments pro or con must depend upon general principles and alien instances for their validity. What the prospect of assured results may be under these conditions of debate is ours to determine. Is criticism—higher criticism—entitled to the name of science? Higher criticism—and by that term is meant reconstructive criticism of the Bible—is a self-sufficient and scientific method if a revolving hypothesis, conjectural historical frame, literary divination, and a singular psychology can vindicate its principles.

## I. THE REVOLVING HYPOTHESIS

The days of bushwhacking skepticism are over. The potting of discrepancies and the speculative exploitation of items of distaste is a crude and indecisive mode of warfare. After all the particular objections to revelation are registered, there remain certain irreducible facts which in their turn demand of the skeptic a rational account or he cannot claim that his case is complete. The specter of an actual nationality, the Jews, with a place in the geography of the past, in Palestine, must be laid with an adequate account of their history, or the battles of the campaign must be fought continually.

When Bopp, Grimm, Humboldt, Mueller, and Whitney expounded the science of language we found ourselves in a new world-atmosphere. Stories, ideas, customs, numerals, and games were traced across the world and the ages to their origins in India. What word-roots indicated was verified by this western drift of myths, fables, arts, and practices. By comparative philology we learned the secret of mythology, an unconscious pun, a trip of the lip, which raised as by incantation vast, radiant forms which marched along the horizon of time. Indra was the sky-god and Varuna the upheaved heavens, and Ushas the dawn, with her two horses, the Aswins. Zeus was Dyaus and Jupiter was Dyaus-pitar, heaven-father. With Indian precision comparative religion followed upon comparative language step by step in the new trail. All mythologies from Benares to Mexico, from world's end to world's end were resolved as solar myths. But the Christian faith and the Hebrew records only heard the storm moaning about the battlements.

Our natural sciences then took all matters of life and thought in hand and classified all the beliefs and worship of mankind in an ascending series from fetishism to monotheism and then asked, What next? This classification was taken as the program of progress from the nature-worship of aboriginal tribes to the personal first cause of the Christian church. Dr. Wellhausen as the representative of the new doctrine arose and explained that the Hebrews, an amalgam of Canaanite tribes, were the Huns of western Asia, who swept down upon the seacoast out of the desert and drove their wedge of permanent conquest into the

midst of the cultivated nations, and split civilization asunder. They were animistic, nature worshipers. They honored wells and fountains and trees and stones, all striking natural objects, and carried about with them a meteorite in a box or ark. In their proud stupidity here was a people who passed from animism to monotheism according to the steps of a theoretical reconstruction. They were the embryo which rehearsed the progress of humanity. They had been barbarous animists, then peasants with agricultural deities, then villagers with formative ritual, and finally, by political concentration, by the founding of Jerusalem and its central sanctuary, a nation and monotheists. At the time of the Exile the people and their institutions undergo a metamorphosis. Then it is that the whole tuneful choir of the Isaiahs and Jeremiahs and the psalmists burst into song and prophecy. Then we have the utopian priests, and the pragmatic and minimistic scribes and the burning, fanatical seers of apocalypses and particularist doctors of talmudic learning—a most amazing versatility and literary activity of a backward people in the depths of misfortune and poverty.

The next phase of the hypothesis is pan-Babylonianism. It is but a further development of the original proposal of the school of Dr. Wellhausen. Its culmination was the celebrated Babel and Bible controversy. About everything is Babylonian. The Jews might be a Babylonian tribe. With all Asia they are under the sway of that culture. But the Pentateuch has its Amraphel and his laws and the Hebrew literature has back of it the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and the Book of Esther the recovered palace of Susa. Hebrew civilization and letters and laws and narratives will not wait for the Exile.

In its present shape the revolving hypothesis is more impressive. The astral hypothesis is in the ascendant. It stands in the house of Jupiter. We would name it the astrological hypothesis. Astrology is the consummate ancient wisdom of the East. As a scheme of interpretation it is a great advance upon the solar theory of the days of philology. It is persistent. Pennsylvania farmers still plant potatoes and all root crops in the dark of the moon and all stem crops in the light of the moon. It is not well to shingle a building in the light of the moon because

the shingles will turn up. In Babylon the temple tower is the axis of the world and of religion. It is a model of the cosmos. Its angles are set toward the four quarters. There are two heavens and earths—this immediate heaven and earth of our experience and the universal heaven and earth. The lower world is bounded by the heaven of the zodiac. This lower world rises into the higher at the twin-peaked mountain in the north, into the heaven of Anu, into which the gods creep when the flood threatens the ordinary heaven of our experience. The seven stages of the temple tower are devised after the pattern of the universe. And all affairs of empires or of men are reflections of the sway and will of the heavens. These events are interpreted to the wise by the courses of the planets and their place with reference to the zodiac. All mythology and all their science and all their narratives are framed and arranged according to the supernal principles revealed through the divination of the astrologers. In Mexico as well as Babylon men are born, fulfil their careers, and die under the sway of the stars. Hence the horoscope. Land is surveyed by the calendar and wars are determined by auguries from the moon and stars. Every organ of men and animals has an astral significance. Hence the liver, the ancient seat of the soul, is indispensable to the sorcerer. Mathematics is the sacred science. Numbers have a celestial significance. One, three, seven, nine, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, twenty, twenty-eight, and many more have mystical values. So complicated is the system that any event in some fashion can be brought within the determination of the astrologer. Metals and colors are symbols of the ineffable. The history of the world passes through the signs of the zodiac to a consummation; hence the ages of Taurus and Gemini and Aries, etc. Solstice and equinox are the reckoning-points of the year and the dramatic moments of the heavens and the earth. Here is a framework of almost infinite mythological possibilities—latent monotheism, the divine triad, innumerable gods, divine misfortune as Tammuz, the moon, descends into the underworld at the summer solstice, the divine rescue at the vernal equinox. It is a complex system which can be interpreted into everything and interpreted out of anything. That astrology is the framework of the great mythologies and is

current today in popular superstitions is evident. It can be made to parallel the Bible from creation to the final judgment and from the Garden of Eden to the Babylonian city of the Apocalypse (and the woman with child and the dragon which "poured out a river of water"). Here Abram wanders like the moon and with a name, the attribute of the moon-god. Here Tammuz, Lot, is delivered. Are there not twelve tribes, children of Israel, written also in the zodiac?

Certainly the Hebrews were not ignorant of astrology and mythology. Names, words, allusions, customs, all bear witness to the presence of astrology. They could not talk a Semitic tongue without implicit astrology. But in the progress of conjecture there are important gains. Latent monotheism in mythology and the temples calls favorable attention anew to the first chapter of Romans. The program of religious development is reversed and returns to the historical precedence of monotheism over polytheism. Pre-exilic ignorance and an evolution of national culture from the ground up receives its death-blow. Messianic expectations, so painstakingly and ingeniously dissected out of the Hebrew literature, are rediscovered under the auspices of the universal astrological doctrine of a world redeemer and of a new age. But whatever the interpretative profit or loss, the hypothesis of reconstruction of the Bible has revolved. Its present form of astrology, with its wealth of oriental fancies and superstitions, does not provide criticism with a settled and definite system of thought or representation. Certainly the interpretative hypothesis of criticism is not an argument for assured results.

## II. THE HISTORICAL FRAME

It is not necessary to review the entire program of any plan of the reconstruction of biblical history to decide what degree, if any, of assurance is to be derived from this field of investigation. As shafts were sunk to bedrock to discover if it would furnish a basis for the Gatun dam, we may test the historical foundation of modernism at three points: the beginning of religious culture in Israel, folklore materials, and the discovery of the artificial structure of the two books of Kings. Rudiments of culture, legendary materials, arranged by an artificial chronology, are the sources for the recovery of the pre-exilic history of Israel.

The sacrificial practice of the time is of the first importance and it is the best illustration of the trustworthiness of the method of recovery of that obscured past. The contrast is drawn between the priest-code, which lays supreme stress upon the where, when, and how; and Jehovist narratives in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, which regard exclusively the fact that sacrifices must be offered to Jehovah and their quality and quantity. Seeing that one of the canons for sorting the documents of this literature is found in this subject of the nature of the sacrifices it is not surprising that the documents confirm this important distinction. But the sacrificial practice is to be ascertained from books which are written with a social, a political object. There is no intention to describe the sacrifices. Those incidents upon which chief reliance is placed are dramatic episodes in the annals. Some of them are of such a nature that they are recorded as marvels. The sacrifice of Gideon is an act of hospitality, turned into an offering by the act of the divine messenger. How can we assert that it represents the practice of the people? Naaman's sacrifices, we must insist, are not in evidence. He says that he will offer sacrifices but omits to tell how he will go about it. Saul was present at a feast and there was sacrifice by Samuel, but all that Samuel did on that singular occasion is not related, nor does the fact that three men were going up to Bethel to worship justify the conclusion that we can infer the ritual of that high place from the contents of their saddle-bags. Shakespeare has celebrated the spirit of the official "armed with a little brief authority," and we ourselves understand the spirit of petty officers too well to believe that at any time priest or medicine-man allowed his clients to imagine that the offering was all and that his efficiency and methods were unimportant and haphazard. For these and many more reasons we cannot see in these measures for the reconstruction of a history, grounds of assurance, and we are predisposed to agree with Professor Wellhausen when he says,

With the Hebrews, as with the whole ancient world, sacrifice constituted the main part of worship. The question is whether the worship did not also in this most important respect pass through a history the stages of which are reflected in the Pentateuch. From the results already reached

this must be regarded as at the outset probable, but the sources of information accessible to us seem hardly sufficient to enable us actually to follow the process, or even so much as definitely to fix its two termini.

But however rudimentary the practice of Israel, the new astrological view of the great religions of the East assures us that the Israelite knew a more elaborate worship than he practiced, in the days of Joshua and the Judges.

By folklore materials it is not intended to assert that the annals of Israel are but folklore. But it is asserted that they are materials which have suffered by that form of transmission and have often no higher value. They may retain elements of truth both as matters of fact and in modes of representation. But their facts and color of narrative need confirmation at every point. But our attention must be confined to what has been regarded as folklore proper. The lives of Abraham and Isaac especially have been instanced as folklore narratives. Let us consider the most striking feature of these tales, the parallel incidents concerning Sarah and Rebekah. Both Isaac and Abraham fear for their lives on account of the beauty of their wives. Both employ the same evasion, "She is my sister." It is this repetitious story which creates the presumption that here is one legend repeated through a documentary blunder. But is it the literary body which is repetitious or the narrow, nomad life? Flocks, herds, tents, camels, asses, wives and children, wells, grass—it is easy to run the entire gamut of possessions and possible incidents of that monotonous existence. Not once nor twice were wells dug or filled up, or wives relatives of their husbands, or too well-favored for the safety of a sheik or patriarch. Not twice nor ten times in the desert East has it been said, "She is my sister," and that without so much ground for the assertion as we find in the household of Abraham and Isaac. This thing happened yesterday in southern Palestine. It is the groundless suspicion of the sedentary creator of history which leads him to find all reasons in documents and literary usage. Had there been no repetition in these stories they could not have been faithful to the nomad life, unless literary discrimination had already passed upon the historical materials. But when the narrative has been put in question neither the narrowness and uniformity of desert life

nor the suspicions of literary authorities can discredit or establish the story. There is no assured result.

To quote for substance the opinion of many eminent scholars, perhaps the most remarkable discovery of biblical criticism is the demonstration by Dr. Wellhausen of the arbitrary division of the chronology of the books of Kings into periods divisible by the number 40. There are many unsolved problems in this region of biblical history. But no more convincing evidence of its untrustworthiness has been adduced, in the estimation of scholars, than this now manifest, artificial chronology. In this instance the hand of the performer has been exposed. While the writer of this paper disclaims the ability to follow Dr. Wellhausen's calculations, perhaps he may indicate some of his reasons for dissent since our subject is assured results. For one reason, the common mode of addition taught in the schools does not foot up the same total which Dr. Wellhausen reckons. In the chronology of eight kings of Israel he declares that we have this suspicious recurrence of numbers as regnal years of the kings: 22, 2—24, 2, 12—22, 2, 12—22, 2, 12. He says:

The 242 years of the Northern Kingdom are divided by the epoch of I Jehu into 98 and 144. If we take them at 240, the half of 480, the 98 must be changed into 96, which then agree with the contemporary 96 Jewish years. The deduction must be made at the reign of Baasha.

The result is,

The eight kings have together 96 years, the first four and the last four 48 each. Two have the average number 12; the other 6 consists of three pairs of father and son; and the twice 12 years belonging to each pair are divided so that the father gets 12-10 and the son 12-10, obviously because the father was considered much more important than the son.

If these recurrent numbers are the invention of the final redactor of the books of Kings we must admit that he has not been as shrewd in the matter of adjustment of dates as his distinguished critic. Without Dr. Wellhausen's amendments the recurrence of these numbers is remarkable and, although in no case exact, they are sufficiently regular to provoke inquiry. But as an argument for the artificial and therefore untrustworthy character

of this chronology it would be more persuasive had it not been founded upon a miscalculation at the outset—the omission of the reign of Ahaz from the list of the kings of Judah. Had he not made this mistake he need not have concluded that “this shows that no effort was made at first to synchronize the individual reigns in the two series of Israel and of Judah.” But this mistake of Dr. Wellhausen is turned to literary account. It enables him to show an earlier chronology which was not synchronous and thereby a later redaction in which the signs of the two kingdoms were imperfectly synchronized. It is not necessary to review in detail the numbers of the reigns of the kings of Judah. Only the groups by which the dominance of the number 40 in the final redaction is made to appear concerns us at present. The 430 years from the building to the destruction of the temple are reckoned as follows: Rehoboam and Abijam, 20; Asa, 41; Jehoshaphat, Joram, Ahaziah, Athaliah, 40; Joash, 40; Amaziah and Uzziah, 81; Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, 38. Of course, if the omitted reign of Ahaz is replaced the scheme is disordered and this part of the discovery cannot be reckoned among our assured results.

Although the arguments of Dr. Wellhausen may have the appearance of special pleading, after his amendments are set aside there remain sufficient coincidences to arouse curiosity and awaken distrust. It is true that modern history is often divided according to centuries when a writer is dealing with institutions and philosophy. Such divisions are by many regarded as imaginary as parallels and meridians. Events and movements are under no mathematical law. They are irregular in occurrence and have no relation to chronological schemes. What shall we think of any history with recurrences of dates or events? The great body of students hold them in suspicion, if they do not reject them at once.

Suppose that some modern history were composed in a manner analogous to this biblical history, would it not be rejected at once? Setting aside such remarkable coincidences, however detailed and curious, as the careers of the two Edwards and the two battles of Bull Run, let us take in hand some entire history

and apply still more artificial measures that we may realize the force of the objection to artificial schemes of composition.

The writer did not invent this scheme of French history, but he found it recommended in a popular publication. I quote in abbreviated form: That since France became a kingdom under Hugh Capet, three brothers have ruled in succession, at three different times, and after each of these groups of royal brothers a family with a new name has come upon the throne. In 1314 upon the death of Philip IV, Louis X became king. In two years he was followed by his brother, Philip V, and after six years the third brother, Charles IV, succeeded to the throne. Here ended the house of Capet and arose the house of Valois.

The sons of Henry II and Catherine de Medici in order: Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III, were the last representatives of the house of Valois. Three brothers of the house of Bourbon: Louis XVI, Louis XVIII, and Charles X, conclude the sway of the house of Bourbon, which is followed by the house of Orleans. This artificial scheme—I had almost said superstitious scheme—was further embellished by the statements: "After a little more than two hundred years come the three Valois brothers," and "After a little less than two hundred years come the three Bourbon brothers." Artificial schemes such as these condemn a narrative as a fabrication. That is not the way in which free events take place. This pseudo-French history far surpasses in artificiality any numbers or coincidences of the biblical history. That is why any sane student casts it aside. But the difficulty surpassing all others is this, that this artificial proposal for a plan of French history is not prepared in satire or jest and that it is correct, is the actual scheme of all histories of France. What is worse, there is a similar condition in English history. The Stuarts succeeded the Tudors. The last Tudors were Edward VI, who was succeeded by Mary, his sister, who was succeeded by Elizabeth, another sister. It is plain that the kind and degree of artificiality which Dr. Wellhausen perfected for the chronology of the books of Kings does not create a presumption against the narrative or lead to assured negative results. This is the more evident when we remember that the Hebrews reckoned the years of accession and death as regnal years.

## III. LITERARY DIVINATION (GEN. I:1—2:4)

Ancient and solitary and angular and sublime, this first chapter of Genesis confronts us like a pylon which masks and announces some forgotten Karnak. For milleniums the camel paths passed under its shadow and for other milleniums it has not heard a footfall. It stands in elemental fellowship with wind and sand and sun. It is a desert ruin. It belongs to architecture rather than literature. It is the blue-print of a cosmos. It is a draft recovered from primordial rubbish discarded by divinity. The design is as severe, logical, and inevitable as that of a Doric column. Its style rises like a pillar from the plain in Genesis. It is a cold, clear, brilliant mass of mutually imbedded crystals. Only once again is there an outcrop and suggestion of its planes and angles in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. It is a literary unit and, like a crystal, wholly embodies its art. It goes back to the point of departure of the legends of the Karens on one side of the world and of the Masai on the other, and to the times of the Sumerian East.

*The Cosmogony.*—Do we not have it on the highest authority that the first chapter of Genesis is “formal, precise, and repetitious”?<sup>1</sup> Formal it is, for it is formulated like a time table. The parts might have been prepared separately and set in this monotonous framework of phrases, like the jewels of the high priest’s breastplate. Some scholars place its style somewhere between literature and statistics. It is a mosaic of ideas and runs to parallelisms like perpendicular Gothic. It is prose, but it is such technical and periodical prose that it falls into stanzas. It is a composition of eight scenes and seven movements. But it is a paradox to call the first and last incidents, chaos and the divine rest, scenes. When in the beginning we read of “the heavens and the earth,” the ancient wholesale expression for the universe, straightway the Hebrew is strained to find a rigmarole phrase (*tohu vbohu*) to blurr, confound, and annihilate the inevitable picture formed in the mind. It serves to say and symbolize that the raw material of the world is unordered, unqualified, unconditioned

<sup>1</sup> A more artificial, unnatural and purely mechanical treatment of the story can scarcely be conceived. It is needless to add that P is absolutely barren of poetic material—*Gen. of Gen.*, Bacon on Nöldeke.

—mere elemental flux and confusion. This is the fluid without consistency or law over which the Spirit of God broods. It is very different from the water of the third day. The divine rest also is an unpicturable event. It is a pure conception of the understanding. It can be represented neither by figure nor symbol. This creation story, then, begins in abstraction and proceeds to abstraction, from elemental matter to a hallowed act of consecration, from transcendental materialism to transcendental mysticism.

The body of the narrative, the remaining six creative days are divided into two corresponding sections of three days each. Both divisions include a first and second day of single events and a third of two events. On the third day the land and water are separated and vegetation appears, and on the sixth day first land animals are created and then man. Thus the story is divided into two parts, which are duplicates and balanced over against each other. It is a two-leaved device, like double doors.

Yet more rigorous is the formulation of the subdivisions of the narrative which describe the several days. The design is heavily mullioned with the ponderous refrain, "and there was evening and there was morning, one day." It is a sentence and a symbol which by its periodic recurrence suggests the continual operation and advancement of the formative world. Each event is further outlined with the barren phrases, "And God said," "And it was so," "And God saw that it was good." They have no more literary quality than the multiplication table or a stock report. But colorless as they are, they are employed to set apart and define each event, as complete in its place and standardized with the rest.

Now amidst these parallelisms and repetitions and with this periodicity, the smallest variation of expression becomes emphatic, the slightest flow of the narrative impresses us with a sense of freedom and power. Michel Angelo resorted to the same device when he set his angels afloat in the blue between the painted cornices and towers of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. If a phrase is but modified so as to say, "And behold it was all very good," each change is doubly forcible upon that uniform background. It arrests attention, as when a gong is struck. And as the slow, stately, and tremendous narrative sweeps on through

ages and orders, the tribes of the world seem to start from the dust and sweep by in procession with all the fascination of movement and the endless charm of the bursting surge.

Habit and education have much to do with taste. It is not surprising if the decorator and all the rhetoricians whose delight is in mere variety, the interminable wanderings and intricacies of superficial discourse, should find little to admire in so definite and elaborate an art-form. The critic too is absorbed with minutiae. He is looking to find the Lord's Prayer on a pin-head. He is hardly prepared to appreciate the grander images of art. He has sharpened his vision at the expense of its scope. He can still see that this is stone and that is brass, but he does not realize that both are statues. We recognize that when he says that this story of creation is "formal, precise, and repetitious," his statement is correct, but it is the opinion of a man who has seen "motion signs" only by daylight. He is correct and trustworthy and yet he is mistaken. And he can never take a position where the whole design will appear to his imagination. He cannot see these six picture panels, three to the left and three to the right, molded and mullioned by these colorless phrases into door-panels. He has been taught that repetition is a rhetorical blemish except for emphasis or resumption. Daring and triumphant is the genius which makes these very repetitions contribute to the might, majesty, repose, and grand art of his story. An eye like Michel Angelo's has swept the scene. When Ghiberti entered his studio and after twenty years of labor came forth with but one of his celestial doors, that great genius found his panels already drawn in his first chapter of Genesis. He had translated into brass what was already cast in literary mold. Literary critics do not readily see such wonders, for they are of the tribe of Noah Webster, not of the Tuscan jeweler.

The conflict between aesthetics and biblical criticism is more clearly and delightfully illustrated in their supposition of the composition of the narrative. Scholars find a high degree of unity, not to say petrification, under a miscellaneous authorship. The poles of common literary judgment are here inverted. Images and structure, here and elsewhere, have been the highest marks of individuality. But as the text undergoes verbal disso-

lution, unity of ideas and personality are divorced. The product is a unit and the authorship is miscellaneous. This contention needs explanation. This cosmogony is regarded not as the work of one mind, nor yet of several, but of at least three cults which are also political factions in Israel. This chapter is composite, not by sections, but by superposed literary styles, fine and transparent as mica films. Moreover, when attentively and penetratingly considered, it is not what it appears to be. It is not fundamentally a priestly document (P) at all, but a prophetic composition (JE), rewritten by the uninventive priestly cults. But he has discovered this condition of the narrative in the first three verses and a still more acute American savant has found thirty verses infected with this original, prophetic style. The farther we proceed in this analysis, the farther we appear to stray from literature proper; the more we discover various authorships by particular words and phrases, the wider is the chasm between unity of concepts and personality. The unique art-form of this literary masterpiece, the "everlasting doors" of the introduction to Genesis, the blank panels of transom and threshold, the two-leaved arrangement of the creative narrative, and the bold and simple pictures which lend themselves to the hand of the brass-founder are only formality and precision and repetition. The invention of a noble literary form by the bold acceptance of what is commonly a literary blemish, the repetition of colorless phrases, is described as mere uniformity and prolixity.

But is it so certain that art-forms are decisive of a single authorship? Our evolutionary views, we are told, have given us a new and universal standpoint of reasoning. If we are ourselves the gradual product of persistent forces of Nature, our works certainly cannot depart from the law of our being. Our whole current literature bears witness to the dominance of this doctrine in the minds of all thinking people. This outward evolution is confirmed by our discoveries in psychology. We have been instructed in the relation of blood pressures and brain tracts to the process of thought. The history of our own species, of the rise of many inventions, and the hypothesis of brain tracts as the highways of thought, therefore, unite to convince enlightened men that invention is small and gradual. Of great devices struck out

at a single effort by any individual they have become skeptical. Theory and experience unite to make the scientific mind secure in the opinion that invention is a gradual process and that this art-form of the first chapter of Genesis, like the substance of the narrative, may nevertheless be the matured device of many minds. This is why "the men of light and leading" should know in advance of inquiry and be able to trace the evolution of Tennyson's "Bugle Song" and Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn" and Shelly's "Sky Lark," and, since "the inventor is the poet of things," Edison's phonograph, kinoscope, and electric lamp, and Maxim's machine gun, and many more reputed original inventions back to their forbears and rudimentary condition. Still there are people who would maintain that the art-form of this chapter was projected by a single hand, in spite of the fact that biblical criticism has confirmed the possibility of the most sustained and finished poetry from various sources and by multiple authorship, and in spite of the further fact that if the records of the Patent Office should be lost, some future instructor will gather all the forms of the phonograph, good, bad, and indifferent, arrange them in an advancing order, and edify the undergraduates of the future with another application of the evolutionary principle. What our instructors are now doing for history, posterity will apply to the events and inventions of our time.

*Documentary analysis.*—Eventually every discussion of higher criticism must arrive at the documentary question. It is named the literary argument but it is literary only in the sense that words and phrases have their service in literature. This is literary research in that it is the grammarian's supreme achievement. Rabbinitism has not surpassed it in the wealth and pretentiousness of its apparatus and its claims. Only in the matter of absurdity can the scribes claim superiority. One sees magical properties in the sacred text, the other sees perturbations in words and phrases which invite the genius of Adams and Laverrier. The oriental sorceress who is also a courtesan, graceful as a leopard and as full of guile, stretches her supple length upon her tapestried divan. She incenses herself from the brazier at her elbow. She fixes her eyes upon the rock-crystal globe poised in the silver coils of a serpent and sinks into a trance, and divines by second

sight. She never saw the wonders in her crystal microcosm which the modern scholastic finds with his Scotch-pebble lenses in biblical texts. There are some assured results of a sane criticism. One of these is this that the scholar does not see different superposed styles in the same document. The proof I can only itemize at this time. If art-models have more significance of authorship and documentary divisions than the fortunes of words upon the page, the first documentary division of the text of the Bible is not in the middle of the fourth verse of the second chapter of Genesis. That addition is an excrescence upon a monumental design so precise that as it left the hand of the writer it was ready to the hand of the brass-founder. Right here at the outset the splitting of sentences is instituted to obtain as a conclusion, "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth." No nation, party, or worshiper had but one term for the divine nature so that he should avoid the general title of divinity, God, or find ground of distaste in a personal name, Jehovah. In the Chaldean epic *Bel* is installed with fifty titles. It is not even claimed that Hebrew parties aligned themselves according to the terms God and Jehovah. There is no psychology for a distinction which is inevitably psychological. There is no dialectical difference in the language of the Hebrews or battle of the dictionary to account for a verbal discrimination of the documents. Only a psychological cause and a morbid condition can justify such rigorous adherence to common terms on the one hand, and aversion toward other common terms on the other, so that the reader can determine the boundaries of a literary document by the usage of speech. The critic who balks at the splitting of sentences and phrases, while he accepts the main conclusions of the documentary discrimination denies the validity of the whole process; for he denies that words have the property of literary distinction. Centuries elapsed since Hebrew and Babylonian speech diverged from their common, original tongue. Words and syntax prove that they are cognate languages. Now of the forty-seven words and phrases which distinguish the P documents, over one-third (nineteen) have the same form and meaning in both languages, as *tselem* and *tsalamu*, "image." Yet we are asked to believe that these words, identical in two languages sepa-

rated by ages and intervening nations, serve also to discriminate parties and religious tendencies in one people, without dialectical divergence of speech, occupying a territory fifty by a hundred miles, on the coast of western Asia. Scientifically considered, the Hebrews were a peculiar people. When we are told that "to meet," "to bear," "generations," "let my people go," show the priestly prepossessions of writers we wonder how the priests put their tabu upon these phrases. These are the N-rays of super-scientific determination. The depth as well as delicacy of literary discrimination has already been explained above in the detection of a JE substratum for P in the first chapter of Genesis. The first chapter of Genesis serves as a test of assured results in the matter of the composition of these documents. One scholar finds that the first three verses of the chapter are a re-edited JE document. Another finds that almost the whole chapter was originally a JE document. That is, the capital instance and type of P documents retains the characteristics of the JE documents. It is so different from JE writings that it serves to discriminate and rearrange the contents of the Pentateuch, yet is so like a JE production that that pedigree can be read from the face of the same text.

When Dr. Wellhausen condemned the Book of Kings as an artificial composition he supplied a canon for the judgment of his own hypothesis. Throughout the East the duodecimal system of reckoning was the basis of its learning. But by ascribing to P documents a decimal system, one characteristic named by Dr. Driver, critics are guilty of an anachronism. The decimal system of reckoning is a late invention. As words are distributed to authors according to an impossible psychology, numbers are subjected to the same prejudice. The war is carried over from the dictionary into the arithmetic. But, we are reminded that, artificial as this general statement makes the process appear to be, this distribution of words and numbers is accompanied by descriptive elements which confirm the assignment of these materials and styles of narrative. In E an angel "calls out of heaven," not in other sources, and, we may add, nowhere else in any narrative. Before Pharaoh sometimes Aaron is the spokesman, sometimes Moses. In P Aaron co-operates with Moses, in conformity

with his appointment on the occasion of Moses' call before the burning bush. In J Moses is represented as addressing Pharaoh. It is further pointed out that Aaron was appointed only to speak for Moses *to the people*. Aaron has no commission to the court of Egypt. One would suppose that the eloquence of Aaron was as important at the Egyptian court as before an assembly of Israelite slaves. The phrase "unto the people," is given a statute technicality that the contention of composite documents may be sustained, and that words are decisive tests of divulgent authorship. As all narratives are variable in detail a minute examination will always be rewarded by small differences, which when finally sifted will leave little peculiarities, which will correspond to almost any literary principle of discrimination, and can then be erected into canons of criticism. By this method of ever minuter search for literary variations, an artificial proposal is certain to find confirmation at last, and any hypothesis will appear to be established by two several departments of inquiry. As long as there are any variations of representation in a document the field is open, and proof by concomitant evidence is inevitable. But this concomitance is what? It is a maxim that one lie must be backed by others. It is also true that one artifice imposes another. The verbal distribution of the documentary hypothesis imposes a sifting of the smallest variations of discourse to find ultimate peculiarities for the confirmation of its massive distinctions. There is neither concomitance nor assurance in the minimistic process.

Our quest is for assured results; our contention is that the apparatus is inadequate, that the higher criticism is not entitled to the worthy name of science. The particular measures of the art are an inconstant, a revolving, reconstructive hypothesis. It has been subjected to four several modifications within the memory of scholars here present. Certainly it cannot establish assured results, because it will not hold still to be photographed.

The historical scheme is also an indeterminate means to a positive conclusion. Tested at three important points we can discover no decisive result. The historic beginning of the cultus cannot positively be inferred from the materials provided when once the records are discredited. This point is admitted by the authors of the reconstruction. The legendary materials of the

history are often repetitious, the principal evidence of their untrustworthy character, but so also is the nomad life. There may be another than a documentary reason for the repetition. And the supreme discovery and test of the artificiality and prepossessions of the final redaction, recurrent numbers, are surpassed both in particular events, individual lives, and the general scheme of at least one modern history. The trusted objections to the historical structure of biblical history yield no assured results, either positive or negative.

But the stronghold, testing-room, and office of the present critical demolition and reconstruction of the biblical books is the first chapters of the Book of Genesis. There it is that Elohists and Jehovists fell afoul of the dictionary and the arithmetic. There a theological divergence was first betrayed by a subtle psychological prejudice about words. There were many strata of literary styles imbedded under the most thoroughgoing priestly style, and masked by one of the most pronounced art-forms which still stands peculiar and monumental in all literature—an art-form which some men of talent and laborious ingenuity have felt to be incomplete and have found it necessary to extend by another sentence and to soften its abruptness with an appropriate introduction, which the same delicacy of artistic perception leads them to feel must originally have prepared for the panorama of creation.

**THE PRESIDENT:** The first appointed speaker is Rev. John R. Brown, D.D., of Bridgeport, Conn.

**REV. JOHN R. BROWN,** of Bridgeport, Conn:

#### WHAT ARE THE ASSURED RESULTS OF MODERN BIBLICAL CRITICISM?

The old story goes that when Apollo flayed Marsyas, the lute of the victim and the lyre of the executioner were both silent. Dr. Hahn has been more kind: to the music of an exuberant rhetoric, much given to counterpoint, he has stretched some ecclesiastical skins in the sun to dry. It is good to die to such music, even if one must be reminded of Carlyle's aphorism that "Sarcasm is the natural language of the devil," and also of Mrs. Carlyle's rejoinder, "Yes, and the acquired language of saints."

Some of us may be sure that Dr. Hahn is on a vain quest. Like Meredith's egoist in his travels through Europe, he has been "engaged in holding a review of his Maker's grotesques." He is bold enough to tell us that he glories in his lack of sympathy with the modern biblical criticism. Lowell tells us that Diogenes went out with his dark lantern "ostensibly looking for a man, but inwardly resolved to find a monkey." Having reached the house of the primates in the menagerie of the world's follies, Dr. Hahn has been glad that he could poke the animals a bit!

The assured results of modern biblical criticism suggest a possible arrogance or a magnificent assumption. Clough wanted such an assurance for himself in some matters of faith and life, and expressed his wish in these words:

Oh might I for assurance sake  
Some arbitrary judgment make!

Assurance may thus be a matter of temper, of credulity, or intellectual tyranny. Every man will have to be persuaded in his own mind what he means by "assurance."

I. A method of interpretation that is as old as Jesus Christ, that was honored by the apostles, that has been used by bold and prophetic souls in all periods of the church's history, that has taken scientific forms in the last century and a half, that has been tried and not found wanting by an increasing number of those who live in the spirit of Jesus, ought by this time to have some results. Some conceptions concerning modern biblical criticism are happily passing. It can no longer be considered a gigantic conspiracy of unfaith against the revelation of God. It is not the modern Apollyon who meets lonely Christian in some narrow place of faith and slays him. It is not the fumes and odors of German beer and tobacco in the face of the Eternal. He who accepts the results of modern biblical criticism is not "hamstrung by doubt" nor "gangrened with fraud"; nor, on the other hand, is he petrified by tradition or terrorized by the dead hand.

We are getting out of our Christian abrasion and getting back to the prophetic spirit of Jesus Christ. And there are assured results as we have won back the spirit of truth and liberty in Christ.

The assured results concerning the form and making of the Bible are now fairly clear. These are the conclusions in their largest character. There are four principal documents in the Hexateuch called by scholars J, E, D, and P. Two are national stories, written from the different standpoints of northern and southern Israel; one is a reformer's handbook; and the last is the priestly shell which made Judaism a crustacean on the shores of time. Deuteronomy was produced during the reign of Manasseh, and the priestly legislation began with Ezekiel and ended with Ezra. The period of the Exile was not one of closed vision and deaf ears: the prophet or prophets who produced Isa., chaps. 40-66 were not one whit behind the chiefest prophets. Jonah, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and most of the Psalms are all late, molded by the influences of the Greek period. Daniel is the call to war of the Maccabean period. When we come to the New Testament the synoptic problem seems to reveal two original sources, one of the words and the other of the works of Jesus; for a generation the church lived in the tradition of Jesus without a written or authoritative record of his life. The Book of John was written at least a generation after the Synoptics were given to the church, and is the life of Jesus reinterpreted to the church in the light of Greek metaphysics and under the pressure of the Greek mind of Asia Minor. The Book of Acts was probably written by Luke. The letters that go by the name of Paul are authentic with the exception of the Pastoral Epistles, which may have a Pauline core but are largely interpolated. The little works called Jude and Second Peter belong to the second century when apocalyptic had become the habit of the church. Revelations is the manual at arms of the suffering church in Asia Minor, but the date of its writing is unknown.

This is the stream of revelation with its turns, twists, returns, and backwaters which the church reads today, and on its waters, sometimes clear, just as often turbid, its faith has come down. It is a topographical map of faith, which is a watershed, as well as a single stream.

These are assured results when we study them from the standpoint of *concession*. Every one of them has been controverted, but also every one has been admitted by those who deny the valid-

ity of the modern method. Ellicott is horrified at the late dates proposed for the Psalms, but admits that the Hexateuch has the strata pointed out by ten critics. Sayce is supposed to be a cruel bushwhacker on the edge of this critical camp, but he scoffs at "the inerrancy of Scripture," agrees with the scholars whom he combats with regard to the parts of the Pentateuch, is irritated at the exaggerations in the books of Chronicles, thinks that the figures of the wilderness wandering are absurd, and plumps Daniel among the Maccabees. Johnston, whose book on *Bible Criticism and the Average Man* gave the traditionalists much comfort, was not so inspiring from the old points of view in the second reading. He frankly yielded the point about the composite character of the Hexateuch and Isaiah. Even the successor of Dr. Green, the no-surrender general within the walls of Princeton, stoops to conquer by admitting a documentary origin of the Hexateuch, which as he works it out is fearfully and wonderfully made. Much has been said about "the discordance of the experts." The band-wagon of the conservatives does not always send forth harmony.

The same assured results might be found by striking *averages* and summing up a *consensus*. In criticism as yet the theodolite has been more used than the surveyor's rule. There are many differences of detail, very few with regard to the large conclusions. There is much country yet to be possessed, and it has often happened that the upper and lower springs of a spiritual appreciation are needed to make the critic's conquest of any use. Otherwise it will lie barren under the hot sun of an evil age.

II. The assured results in the realm of psychological integrity are of even more importance. An inerrant book, produced on the dead level of an equal authority throughout, is no longer possible in our thinking. Ecclesiastical definitions of inspiration and revelation are thrown into the melting-pot of a new appreciation. We do not know what form they will have when they come out, but we do know that the pure gold of the word will not be lost. We no longer have to tell men to believe the impossible that they may have faith in God. We no longer suffer from religious overstrain which used to come from an attempt to harmonize the impossible.

The feeling of this relief has been expressed in different ways. Canon Lidden, shortly before his death, expressed himself as profoundly grateful that the church had never in all its history given "an authoritative definition of what Scripture or inspiration really is." Even the conservative Brown has said: "We are the dupes of words when we start back in horror from the thought of myth and legend in the Bible." The free winds that come from the early days of the Reformation blow through the stagnation of our later controversies in such words as these. Luther declined to call the Bible "the Word of God" exclusively. "God does not speak grammatical vocables, but true essential things. Thus sun and moon, Peter and Paul, thou and I are nothing but words of God." Zwingli was getting back to the primitive point of view when he said: "He who is born of the spirit is no longer solely dependent on a book." The church could have been saved many an intellectual and spiritual humiliation if it had only adopted Calvin's honest, "I will never harmonize an oversight or mistake in the sacred writers."

III. The Spiritual results of the modern method are now beginning to show. Whenever in days gone by one who accepted the modern point of view had any spiritual life at all, it was generally supposed that he was a Christian's ape, that it was in him by a kind of atavism, or that he inherited the momentum of other and better days. The fact that in many cases the momentum had long been dead, and that the new life had to begin on the plane of a difficult inertia was not always recognized, and seldom, if ever, acknowledged.

But in many sections of the Christian church the struggle is over and the adjustments have taken place. In some communions there is a new order of things and the spiritual results of the modern method cannot be confused with lines out of the past. The church that expelled Robertson Smith from its fellowship and sent him into the wilderness of suspicion, has gone farther than he ever dreamed of going. A generation has passed since then and the men in Scottish pulpits today have learned the new interpretation from their childhood. Scotland is still a Puritan country, its intellectual greatness has not been quenched, and its spiritual influence in missions, scholarship, and the higher life

was never so great as it is today. In our own country the Congregationalists passed through their struggle, and now even in their Sunday-school periodicals the new point of view is frankly adopted. If spiritual influence, gifts to missions, and social service are any tests the Congregationalists are today the spiritual order. The Methodists have just held their ecumenical council in Toronto. The higher criticism was the order for discussion one day. Professor Peake's paper on "The Higher Criticism" was the point of discussion. When he said that from the modern point of view "we get something better—a view of life itself; we gain in warmth and interest; interest in the Bible has been indefinitely enhanced by the new viewpoint which criticism has brought," the great audience showed that they agreed with him. The Baptists have the prerogative of large and slow bodies—to be behind, their brethren in other communions; but the quiet acceptance of the assured results of the modern point of view is going on so rapidly among laymen and ministers that our very size keeps it from being a striking phenomenon.

The long controversy has forced upon our attention this last and important result for life and faith: the great spiritual leaders have been men who have used this method consciously or unconsciously. No Rabbinit in faith has ever lighted up and led his age. The mystics thought more of life and communion than the book, and the mystics have always been the forerunners in every spiritual advance. Luther would never have broken down the authority of pope and council if he had been like those who followed him and made him a scholastic. He made his own canons, and put aside every book of Scripture which did not feed his soul. "I abide by the books which give me Christ clear and pure" were his great words of freedom. Our modern Baptist advance owes its great impulse to Andrew Fuller, who gave up once and for all the verbal-inspiration theory in his controversy with Dr. Gill. John Wesley was so frank and so amazing in his criticisms of Scripture and so honest in dealing with the discrepancies which he found that Dr. Buckley has called him "the first higher critic of Methodism." The new point of view has made clear once more the springs of intellectual and spiritual integrity, and they reveal to us the deeper world of life, power,

hope, and service. When a certain American scholar was on trial for his faith as well as his orthodoxy, Theodore Monad, of Paris, sent him this message:

Dwell in light, in love abound,  
This the guerdon we pursue:  
Not that men may call us sound,  
But that God may find us true.

THE PRESIDENT: The next appointed speaker is Professor Herbert L. Willett, Ph.D. (Disciple), of Chicago, Ill.

PROFESSOR HERBERT L. WILLETT, PH.D.

### THE ASSURED RESULTS OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM

The agitation produced by the critical method in the study of the Scriptures has now given place, largely, to a feeling of assurance regarding certain of the great results of the method, and of gratitude that upon foundations made available by criticism the work of constructive Bible study may now go forward with fresh vigor.

The alarm that the pursuit of critical studies aroused has now quite subsided, save in the most conservative circles. It is now clearly perceived that biblical criticism is a method and not a result, and that it is inevitable as soon as study supersedes the mere reading of the Word of God. Its results may be either positive or negative, but the method itself is a necessary preparation for the competent use of the Bible.

It is sometimes maintained that biblical criticism is a recent enterprise, begotten by the restless spirit of the nineteenth century. While it is true that the most notable achievements of the process were reached during the last half of the past century, the method itself is as old as the Bible.

It is to be seen in the work of the prophets of Israel. It was their task not only to utter the message of their generation as they understood it, but to review and correct the messages of their predecessors. There are notable instances in the Old Testament of such criticism, in which prophets of a later date repudiated and denounced the ideas of those who had previously spoken in behalf of God.

In the work of the law-givers the same principle is observed. The three great bodies of law, which were successively issued in the name of Moses at different periods in the national history, reached ever fresh and more advanced ground, superseding the institutes of an earlier time and establishing radical departures in new directions. No student who has any acquaintance with the progressive legislation of Israel is unfamiliar with this feature of criticism.

Passing by such revisions of the Psalms and the Wisdom Literature as mark the activity of biblical critics in other departments of the Old Testament, one notices the attitude of Jesus toward that entire body of literature. The Old Testament was his Bible. He revered it, nourished his soul upon its great ideals, quoted it with affection, and in large degree reaffirmed its principles. Yet he employed the critical method with free hand in the discussion of its utterances. He recognized its imperfections and its need of revisal. In subjecting it to such scrutiny as revealed its defects, he put himself at once in the ranks of that company of reverent biblical critics whose work has been so notable a contribution to the illumination of the Word of God.

And in the history of the Christian church the work of criticism upon the Scriptures has been almost continuous. From the days of the Fathers to our own time, with varying impulse and activity, the work of scrutiny, review, and correction has gone on, sometimes in the department of textual revision and sometimes in the field of historical and literary inquiry. Today the process has reached that degree of completeness at which it is possible to speak with confidence of its accepted results, which are the basis of almost universal biblical study.

The results of the critical process have been twofold. On the one hand it has removed many of the unfounded traditions of Jewish and early Christian teachers. The single example of the Book of Hebrews, which for centuries was regarded as the work of the apostle Paul, but which practically universal Christian scholarship attributes to another hand, illustrates this negative phase of criticism. A long list of similar results might be named.

On the other hand, the work of criticism has been constructive to an equal or even greater degree, in its vindication of many of the early beliefs of the church regarding the authorship of certain of the documents. The leading epistles of Paul, and the Synoptic Gospels are examples of this type of results.

There are those, to be sure, who would deny that there are any assured results obtainable in the field of biblical criticism. They would point to the fantastic and grotesque suggestions of critical workers here and there as the only results of the process. It need not be denied that many theories have been advanced incapable of proof in the light of fuller examination. But criticism is self-corrective, and such results are sure to receive the assessment they merit at the hands of succeeding inquirers. No result can stand that does not validate itself to the entire group of critical workers.

It would be strange if there were not varieties of opinion expressed in regard to many of the problems which arise in the history of criticism. Many of the criteria are appreciable only through long and careful study. In the nature of the case some of these results will be determined by subjunctive judgment on the part of the critic, and will not at first appeal to the inexpert opinion of the average reader. Here time and further examination alone can determine whether the results will approve themselves to general critical judgment.

While it is true that a valid criticism ought to be apparent to the uncritical mind, and that the average layman's view ought to be competent to approve or disprove of the results, yet it is beyond controversy that in the last issue the results of criticism will find vindication first in the opinion of experts, and, then by increasing familiarity they will be accepted by less specialized students.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that there is very great variety in the results obtained by critical work. The workers themselves are many. The personal equation of each will determine to a considerable extent his conclusion. And more than this, the eagerness of all to obtain individual results would inevitably lead to wide varieties of opinion, some of which would appear fantastic to a degree.

Yet in spite of all these facts the main lines of critical judgment are marvelously attested by the mass of expert opinion. While there are wide variations in regard to details, the main lines of inquiry reveal a harmony of opinion among the critics which is astonishing in view of the subjective and individual judgments which have wrought at the process.

The work of biblical criticism receives valuable illustration at this point from critical activities in other fields, particularly in the realm of art. It would seem impossible to harmonize the varying opinions regarding the artistic creations of the masters of painting and sculpture. Yet as every student knows, in spite of the conflict of schools and the war of individual opinions over details, the great lines of artistic criticism are firmly established and are accepted by all. Even so are the results of the critical process as applied to the Bible.

It is manifestly impossible to recount these assured results within the limits of a brief comment like this. Among them, however, may be mentioned the clear vindication of the development of prophecy in the Old Testament, through the activity of the moral leaders of Israel, whose records and messages furnish a gradually progressive development of the ideals of religion and morality through the centuries of the national history.

Of equal significance is the accepted verdict in reference to the development of Hebrew legislation, from its beginnings in the age of Moses, through the several codes, the Book of the Covenant, the Law of Deuteronomy to the Priest Code of later times. No reading of the Hebrew history is possible that does not recognize the development of law under the dominant and prevailing spirit of the first great law-giver. And this result is obtained as much by the study of the history as by the examination of the three codes themselves.

The composite nature of such books as Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings is now recognized beyond question. And the four great documents of the Hexateuch have been determined with a definiteness that leaves only few details for further inquiry. The development of psalmody, the literature of the Wisdom school, and apocalyptic in the Old

Testament is equally evident. While the composite character of books like Isaiah and Zachariah are commonplaces of informed biblical study.

In the New Testament the results have been equally significant and convincing. The synoptic problem is still one of the leading inquiries of this literature, but it is far on the way to solution. The inquiries regarding the authorship and date of the Fourth Gospel are less close to a decision, but at least have reached the point of a working hypothesis which seems to meet the present needs of the student. The vindication of the sixth genuine Pauline epistle is one of the noteworthy results of the method. But the problems of the apocalypse and some of the epistles are still engaging the earnest labors of biblical scholars.

The values of these results both positive and negative are unquestionable. They make possible a history of Old Testament religion which was never available before the critical process had done its work upon the documents. They are also providing the foundations for a convincing narrative of the New Testament, now for the first time within reach.

They are also furnishing the basis for a systematic theology which shall be not merely an arrangement of texts, in the interest of special theories, but a truly systematic and convincing statement of New Testament thought. Precedent to this achievement it was necessary that lower or textual criticism should do its careful work of providing an authoritative text. Then the higher or literary criticism followed, with its discussion of the problems of date, authorship, and historicity. On these bases biblical theology has built its presentation of the religious views of the different writers of holy Scripture. And finally upon these foundations the great science of dogmatic theology now proceeds to erect its structure.

The convincing character of the human experiences recorded in the Bible is another of the assured results of the critical process. These human figures, in whose lives the principles of the Hebrew and the Christian faiths were disclosed, and no cloud-land apparitions, as they once seemed, but are now veritable men of flesh and blood, with whose experiences the biblical

student finds himself profoundly concerned. The contrast between the colossal and unreal figures of the prophets as they were painted by Michel Angelo and those human and convincing portraits of the prophets as Sargent has depicted them, is the difference between the older and uncritical biblical material of religious experience and that which the Bible now furnishes as the result of this process.

But most of all, the divine element in the Scriptures is now much more evident and much more truly capable of vindication than before the days of criticism. The human character of these documents has become increasingly evident, but the divine purpose which breathes through them and which utilized men for the accomplishment of the ends of the kingdom of God is now clear as never before. And the life of Christ, in which Old and New Testament alike find their completion, reaches a new value in the history of religion and achieves supremacy as the guide, inspiration, and goal of the redemptive process in humanity.

**THE PRESIDENT:** The first volunteer speaker will be Rev. William H. Bawden, of Perth Amboy, N.J.

**MR. BAWDEN:** *Mr. President:* What I believe on this subject has been so much better said by others tonight that I should not trespass upon your time did I not also believe that every ounce of emphasis is needed in this discussion, on one of the most burning questions of the day.

I am carried back in thought to the time when, as a student in the chemical laboratory, I stood with a beaker in my hand, holding a mixture just received from the professor. What did it contain? I might hold it up to the light and observe its color, I might even smell it and possibly taste it, although that would be dangerous. I might give a little of it to some dog or cat, and observe what resulted, or even, taking the word of the professor that it was harmless, drink some of it myself. But I was standing in a chemical laboratory; on the shelves before me were ranged bottles filled with various reagents. For weeks past I had been testing the results of pouring them into solutions of some known substances. I had learned that the metals were divided into certain groups dependent upon the action of certain

reagents. Now I was to apply the knowledge gained to the mixture in hand. The results were assured.

The Bible is placed in our hands. We are asked, What is it? Tradition has its answer; the church has one ready; various sects have theirs. But we are living in an age of scientific inquiry. Results truly wonderful have been spread out before us. Particularly in the field of literature have we a critical apparatus, the validity of which we have tested with literatures other than Scriptures. Why not apply to the Bible the same tests that we apply to other books? There are the laws of the canon, those of the text, and those of literature, whose results are assured. But who shall make the test? Neither you nor I are any more qualified to do it than is a physician to prescribe for one of his own family in serious illness. We shall either be too conservative, fearing to do an injustice because of our personal interest, or we shall go to the other extreme, fearing our own timidity.

If it were possible to secure someone for the task who had never before heard of the Bible, one who could have no possible personal interest in the outcome, what would he report as the result of his inquiry? Of course, it is impossible for us to give any other than a subjective answer. But if one might hazard an answer, I strongly suspect that he would wonder who it was who said that the canon is closed, and why; that he would wonder why some writings were included in the canon and certain others omitted. But on the whole, he probably would be disposed to accept our present canon, as a matter of history. So far as the text is concerned, he would certainly question some readings, and as certainly question some proposed changes, but on the whole be willing to accept our modern text as practically correct. In his literary inquiry he would doubtless recognize that many books are composite, he would admit the pseudonymous character of some books and the anonymous character of others, he would perceive the limitations under which most of the books were written, and grant that some of them are fictional, the while attesting the wonderful unity pervading them all. And if we deny these things it were better that a millstone should be hanged about the neck of our modern learning and that it be cast into the midst of the sea!

But if he progresses farther, and experiments personally with

the Bible as he has discovered it to be, he will come to results before which the others pale into insignificance. For the Bible stands forth as a distinctly human product, a book surcharged with humanity, a book written just as other books have been written, and yet a book at the same time so divine, and thus so far above all other books, that we are brought to our knees in adoration as this wonderful message of God's revelation is spread before us. The assured results of modern criticism is to give us a new Bible, a human book, but one at the same time so divine that there is no collection of books to be found in the history of the whole world to compare with it.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** We will now hear from Professor Anthony, of Lewiston, Me.

**PROFESSOR ALFRED W. ANTHONY, D.D.,** Lewiston, Me.: *Mr. President and Brethren:* Our discussion this evening would not be complete without some adequate reference to the results of the lower, but in no sense inferior, criticism of the textual scholars.

In 1514 there was produced in Alcalá, Spain, a work designed for distribution among some few favored monarchs and students, a text of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, subsequently known as the Complutensian Polyglott. At that time no New Testament in the Greek text had ever been committed to the art preservative, printing. Now a printer in Basel, Switzerland, who had the commercial spirit and recognized that there would be a demand for a Greek New Testament, turned to Desiderius Erasmus, the greatest scholar of the day, and asked him to prepare for printing the text of a testament in the Greek; and in ten months' time, having devoted only a fragment of his leisure to the task, Erasmus had a text ready for the printer. This text came from the press in 1516, before that earlier work had been put in circulation, and was the first New Testament in Greek actually printed and circulated. The preface declares that the text was gathered "from very ancient and correct" manuscripts. Textual critics, however, have discovered by careful comparisons that it was taken from recent manuscripts, near Erasmus' own time, and not from one single manuscript older than the tenth

century; and that the profession in the preface, therefore, is neither correct nor honest. Erasmus himself at one time confessed that the text had been "thrown off, rather than edited," *praecipitatum fuit verius quam editum*. This text put forth hurriedly, and in part, because the manuscripts at hand were defective, translated out of Latin back into Greek, in order to complete the New Testament, this text became the standard of all subsequent texts. When the German and English translations were made, this text of Erasmus became the basis of all translations; and these imperfect readings, taken from recent, not ancient manuscripts, entered into the very bone and marrow of our Bible.

This text of Erasmus was reproduced, with but slight variations, by Robert Stephens of Paris in the middle of the sixteenth century; then by Theodore Beza in the latter part of the century; and by the great printing house of Elzevir at Leyden in 1633, more than a century after the hasty, one may well say slovenly, and uncritical work of Erasmus. But now the century of repetition had cast upon the text a kind of halo, and gathered around it a sort of sanctity. The Elzevirs in their preface say *Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum*, "a text hast thou, therefore, now received by all." And hence arose the designation *Textus Receptus*.

What have the textual critics been doing? In the first place they discovered that this *Textus Receptus*, despite the lofty protestations of Erasmus, was faulty and unreliable. Then they searched far and wide, in the monasteries, through the libraries, and even in the tombs of all Europe and parts even of Asia and Africa, for ancient manuscripts which might shed light upon the original readings. Of the older manuscripts, written in large capital letters, the uncials, they discovered more than two hundred, most of them fragments. Of cursives, written in the smaller running hand, they brought to light more than two thousand. Then began the immense task of critical comparison, noting differences, estimating values, and determining causes which led to the variations, in order that, working backward through the variations and the causes, they might reconstruct the original readings of the autograph manuscripts, long since lost. Men spent lifetimes on the labor of textual comparison, twenty-eight

years, thirty years, forty years! Thirty thousand variant readings were soon reported! the number increased; and at length even exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand! It is not needful to name the great scholars who spent their lives in these tasks; and are now remembered by comparatively few. Brian Walton may be called the pioneer; John Fell, John Mill, Richard Bentley, the great Bengel, then Wetstein, Griesbach, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and at length Wescott and Hort followed.

Out of a patience, almost beyond our comprehension, they wrought principles of critical judgment and conclusions of critical insight which have been accepted by an almost concurrent verdict of the scholars of today. If they had done naught else than assure us as they do, that the Vatican Manuscript, preserved at Rome, and its close of kin, the Sinaitic Manuscript, discovered by Tischendorf in the convent of St. Catherine on the slopes of Mt. Sinai, now preserved in St. Petersburg, were the oldest and best manuscripts preserved from the past, their services would have been beyond a just appreciation, and to us of inestimable value.

The Revised Version of the New Testament appearing in 1881, and of the Old Testament appearing in 1885 known as the British Version; and the later revision of the New Testament appearing in 1900, and the Old Testament appearing in 1901 called the American Version, rest, both of them, upon these painstaking, indefatigable labors of the textual critics. Our English Bible in its more accurate and perfect form is due to them; and Moulton's *Modern Reader's Bible*, with its skilful literary arrangement, would be altogether impossible without the conclusions of the textual experts. So, too, must nearly all of our inquiries relative to authorship, time of composition, meaning and interpretation of the separate books go back to these fundamental inquiries and these careful, painstaking conclusions relative to the texts.

DR. A. E. SALLEY, Lewiston, Me., offered the closing prayer and benediction.

*Adjourned*

## SECOND DAY

### *Afternoon Session*

Wednesday, November 15, 1911

3:30 P.M.

PROFESSOR ALFRED W. ANTHONY, D.D., Lewiston, Me., presided over the meeting.

Prayer was offered by Professor Herbert L. Willett, Ph.D., of Chicago, Ill.

VICE-PRESIDENT ANTHONY: When, as one of your vice-presidents, I was asked to preside over one of the meetings of this Congress, I very promptly chose this one of all others, because I thought I recognized a certain fitness, inasmuch as I embodied in my own person a kind of union representative, being now in official relations to two bodies, Baptist and Free Baptist, which are now combining common work in common organizations; and I might, therefore, stand as a sort of object-lesson for the theme under discussion.

The union of Baptists and Free Baptists, while requiring the deliberations of more than seven years, has been wrought out on three very simple fundamental principles. The first was formulated in the fall of 1904, and adopted by the Baptist benevolent societies in the spring of 1905. It was simply the declaration that union "was desirable and might be made practicable." The second, phrased in the fall of 1905, made declaration that in history and genius the two bodies were closely allied and now in doctrine and polity were, "substantially one." The third required somewhat longer time to phrase. It involved differences now prevailing, and had also a look toward the future. It really involved a policy. This was phrased in the spring of 1908 in these terms, "Differences, if still existing, may be left where the New Testament leaves them, to the teaching of the Scriptures under the guidance of the Holy Spirit."

Baptists and Free Baptists, on a platform so simple, are united

and are now in process of making their union more real. I am glad to show by my presence a fact which seems to me a great significance, not only for us who are directly concerned, but for others who may witness our example. Is there not a basis as simple, upon which Baptists and Disciples may unite? This is really the question of the afternoon.

Let me present, as I do with great pleasure, the first appointed writer, Dr. Peter Ainslie, of Baltimore, to address us upon the subject: "What hinders the union of the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ?"

REV. PETER AINSLIE, D.D. (Disciple), of Baltimore, Md., read the following paper:

#### WHAT HINDERS THE UNION OF THE BAPTISTS AND THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST?

Said one of the church Fathers, "Dig deep enough in the human and you will find the divine." There is a similarity between God and man, and every epoch in history marks an approach to a closer similarity. There is nothing more profound in human experience than the response that mankind has made to personified holiness. Of this Schleiermacher said, "I acknowledge a purely inward and mysterious relation of Christ to human nature generally, which is absolutely unlimited." It is this inward and mysterious relation to the divine that gives foundation to all religions; consequently there must be a similarity among all religions and, in particular, a similarity among Christian communions. Of these, some bear a similarity so close that they almost merge together as they flow along through common channels.

In that large family of Immersionists it may be pertinently asked, "What hinders the union of the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ?" And it will be difficult to find an answer, other than that of which we are ashamed, that perpetuates the separation, for we both believe in the fatherhood of God, the divinity of Jesus Christ, and the convicting and sanctifying power of the holy Spirit; we both hold to the inspiration of the Scriptures, we both baptize by immersion penitent believers only

and we both observe the Lord's Supper; we both emphasize the spirituality of religion, individual freedom, and democracy in government. With all this similarity, there still exists between us the open scandal of division and, what is still more an occasion for mortification is, that there are many in these two communions that are entirely indifferent, if not hostile, to the healing of this ugly sore. But to offset this condition, there are hosts of wide-visioned souls in both communions, who are sincerely anxious, not only for closer affiliation, but actual union of the two bodies, and this number is growing with the years.

The differences between us, while often unyielding and sectional and always sectarian, are, however, lessening with each decade and we are more able now, after little more than three-quarters of a century's separation, to look each other in the face, sincerely regretting the swift movements of prejudice and passion in those early years and, with equal sincerity, wishing that some way might be opened whereby these two democratic communions might find a common ground upon which to plant their united standards.

There are minor differences between us and I suppose there are some differences between all Christians in all communions, as Napoleon, in framing the *Concordat*, when cross-questioning the pope and the cardinals, discovered that each one had a somewhat different religion, which was doubtless true and is true more or less of us all, if we do any thinking. But these differences of viewpoints have nothing to do with separating believers into exclusive bodies of worshipers.

The denominational differences between the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ, however, are due largely to our separate literature and our separate schools of thought, from whence we get our distinctive phraseologies, but these minor differences are no greater than those differences between American Baptists and English Baptists, or between the Disciples of Christ in the United States and those in England. I feel as said Ruskin,

Whenever . . . we allow our minds to dwell upon the points in which we differ from other people, we are wrong and in the devil's power. That is the essence of the Pharisee's prayer of thanksgiving, "Lord, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are." At every minute of our lives we should be

trying to find out, not in what we differ from other people, but in what we agree. And the moment we find we can agree as to anything that should be done, kind or good, then do it. Push at it together. You cannot quarrel in a side-by-side push. But the moment that even the best man stops pushing and begins talking, he mistakes his pugnacity for piety, and it is all over.

If, however, there be any sharply drawn doctrinal differences, it is in the names we wear, and in many quarters these two names furnish the sole ground for our separation. They are names, too, that have such histories back of them and associations around them that in this period at least, neither is disposed to yield to the other. Many Baptists recognize the preferableness of the terms "Disciples of Christ" or "Christians" for believers, as is the growing conviction with all Christians, in all parts of the world, but the Disciples of Christ are unwilling to yield that broad, catholic name for the narrow term, "Baptist," which we feel is not only a party name, but is a misnomer for that great body of believers who emphasize the Christ and not baptism as of the greatest importance in the scheme of redemption. Consequently, aside from its being an emphasis of an ordinance, rather than on the Christ, the Disciples of Christ feel keenly that it is an injustice to our Baptist brethren, whose love for Christ is as deep and whose fidelity to him has been proven as often as our own.

The memory of the traditions of the separation of these two communions is a tremendous hindrance to their union. Alexander Campbell wanted to retain fellowship with the Baptists and, in 1826, he wrote :

I and the church with which I am connected are in "full communion" with the Mahoning Baptist Association of Ohio; and through them with the whole Baptist society in the United States; and I do intend to continue in connection with this people so long as they will permit me to say what I believe, to teach what I am assured of, and to censure what is amiss in their views and practices. I have no idea of adding to the catalogue of new sects. This game has been played too long. I labor to see sectarianism abolished, and all Christians of every name united upon the one foundation upon which the apostolic church was founded. To bring Baptists and Pedobaptists to this is my supreme aim. But to connect myself with any people who would require me to sacrifice one item of revealed truth, to subscribe any creed of human device, or restrain me from publishing my

sentiments as discretion and conscience direct, is now, and I hope ever shall be, the farthest from my desires, the most incompatible with my views. And I hope I will not be accused of sectarian partiality when I avow my conviction that the Baptist society have as much liberality in their views, as much of the ancient simplicity of the Christian religion, as much of the spirit of Christianity among them, as is to be found among any other people. To say nothing of the things in which they excel, this may be said of them without prejudice to any. And that they have always been as eminent friends of civil and religious liberty as any sect in Christendom, will not, I presume, be denied by any. . . . And that there is in the views and practices of this large and widely extended community, as great need of reformation, and of a restoration of the ancient order of things, few will contradict. In one thing, perhaps, they may appear in time to come, proudly singular, and pre-eminently distinguished. Mark it well. Their historian in the year 1900 may say, "We are the only people who would tolerate, or who ever did tolerate, any person to continue as a reformer or restorer among us."

Although Mr. Campbell's prophecy regarding Baptist toleration was not fulfilled, yet Spencer Clark, a Baptist editor, wrote him the year following:

Observe, between you and your Baptist brethren there is no difference of opinion as to rule of faith and practice. On this subject we all speak the same language; we all acknowledge the same authority; all profess to be governed by it. What then, is the difference between us? Simply this: we cannot agree as to what the Bible teaches. The Baptists think the Bible teaches the doctrine contained in their creeds; you think it teaches what you have written and published, and what you will hereafter write and publish.

Both Baptists and Disciples of Christ appealed to the Scriptures, which they both unhesitatingly accepted and their differences lay largely in the interpretations of those Scripture passages, which had nothing to do with fellowship, but out of the heat of controversy, and in many instances on account of illiberal education, their differences were so magnified that in many quarters these differences appeared far greater than they ever were.

That Baptists are now what they have always been, and that the Disciples of Christ are now what they have always been is purely a theory unconsciously borrowed from the Roman Catholic church, whose very history, however, disproves the fallacy. The theory belongs to the spirit of sectarianism, which tries to make

equal with the unchangeable Scriptures the policy and practice of a religious communion, each communion too frequently believing itself as infallible as the Scriptures, from which it claims to have sprung. The facts are that while the Scriptures are unchangeable and that humanity is always the same, yet viewpoints are shifted and thought changes, so that movements regarding mankind advance, retrograde, or merge together. It is so with the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ. There appears to have been justification for the rise of the Baptists in the seventeenth century and for the Disciples of Christ in the nineteenth century, but there is an equally justified reason for the union of these communions in the twentieth century, for their messages have now become so similar and they so frequently overlap each other in their local work, that the fact of their separation weakens each and consequently hinders both.

The conditions that caused the separation do not now exist. Both communions have changed, and God pity us if we had not; each has learned from the other and, best of all, both have gotten more of Christ, so that they not only understand each other better, but, in many instances, they are seeking the way for a common fellowship.

From 1813, when the Brush Run Church of the Disciples of Christ was voted into the membership of the Redstone Association, to 1832, when the Dover Association withdrew from a number of ministers designated as "Reformers," and made that year distinctive in the history of the separation of the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ in Virginia, constant discussions of real and imaginary differences, misrepresentations, divisions in local congregations, anathemas, and estrangement of friends crowded those years. The sting of those controversies and memories of those divided congregations have sometimes been precious heirlooms that even this generation treasures among its religious experiences. At the same time there are many exceptions to this. Pardon me, but my grandfather, whose name I have the honor to bear, headed the list of those ministers from whom the Dover Association withdrew, but no memory of bitterness was ever handed down to me by my forebears. On the other hand, affection for the Baptists as for the Disciples of Christ was instilled in me,

and when I entered upon my ministerial training, I bore letters of introduction to the ministers of both the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ in Lexington, Ky. I believe too that I speak the experience of hosts of my brethren of the Disciples of Christ when I say that every effort to bury the unpleasant features of the separation has been in many instances sincerely made by us and not infrequently has it been graciously met by you.

Another hindrance to the union of the Baptist and the Disciples of Christ is the too common misrepresentation that each makes of the other and to this both communions must plead guilty.

To perpetuate denominationalism, distinctive differences must be kept alive. It was one of the common occurrences of the past, and I wish it were wholly in the past, to show how far one communion differed from the other, or to show how perfectly correct one communion was and how absolutely wrong the other was—a spirit that is now dying, and God hasten the day of its burial. For sometimes this notion was carried so far that a communion would change its historic position so as not too closely to resemble the communion in that locality, as the Armenianism of the Methodists in the South and East drove the Baptists in those regions into Calvinism, while the Calvinism of the New England Congregationalists drove the Baptists of that section into Armenianism. And what was true of the Baptists is true more or less of all communions. The Christian world has been too diligent in seeking for disagreements rather than agreements and in doing so, it has frequently lost the spirit of brotherhood and forgotten the badge of Christian discipleship.

The best friends would be estranged if they spent most of their time in finding out their disagreements and discussing them among themselves and whenever they met a friend of either. Denominationalists tell us that it is with them a matter of principle, behind which they hide this and other like sins, but I wish to remind them that it is more a matter of prejudice and sectarianism, which we ought to seek to have the Holy Spirit put to death in us along with envy, malice, jealousy, and every other sin. It is keeping alive our disagreements that furnishes an opportunity for misrepresentation.

Besides, many of these differences are purely expediencies or theological hair-splittings, but the controversy waxes so hot and the breach widens into such unbrotherliness and isolation that in some quarters a Disciple of Christ has to be rebaptized to become a member of a Baptist church. So long as this spirit exists, not only is the possibility of union between the two bodies remote, but Christian brotherhood is only a name without the warmth of sincere affection.

Misrepresentation is a kind of dishonesty in the rôle of self-justification and is due neither to the lack of scholarship, for scholars do it, nor to the lack of the desire for truth, for truth-seekers are sometimes pre-eminent in it. But, out of inherent human weakness, unconscious prejudice obscures the perspective, so that it is almost impossible for a strict denominationalist to write a correct history of another communion or to state its doctrinal peculiarities, especially if the two communions are very similar, like the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ. In some instances the journals of these two communions have as little regard for the Tenth Commandment when speaking of each other as the Mormons have for the Seventh, and usually this situation exists in no intended spirit of spitefulness, but as an honest contribution to the truth, for which they would perhaps willingly go to the field of martyrdom.

Whittier, Longfellow, and Lowell agreed that they would be such friends that whenever one heard anything good about the other he would tell it wherever he had opportunity. Dean Stanley went farther. He made it a practice always to champion the cause of any man that was abused in his presence, nor would he allow ill-natured sarcasms or gossip at the expense of others to be tolerated in his home. I had rather have a religion like that than worship at the shrine of the strictest orthodoxy and forget there the sin of taking up a reproach against my neighbor.

In most instances, both denominational journals and denominational colleges are hindering the progress of Christian union by perpetuating denominational peculiarities. Our theological professors and religious editors are good men and most of them are making great sacrifices for their causes, but it is rather the exception than the rule that they give as fairly the doctrinal posi-

tion and history of another communion, especially if that communion is closely related to them, as a member of that communion would do it. Sometimes in their spirit of fairness—and I do not dispute their desire to be fair—they think that they are more capable of giving the correct position of another communion, because they are not members of it and therefore can judge it impartially, as a certain secular historian of the North undertook to give what he called a correct history of the southern Confederacy. The correctness of the history was based on the fact that he had never lived in the South, and consequently was free from prejudice in its favor, which no one disputed after reading his unfair contribution.

There are times, doubtless, when an impartial historian is the true recorder of facts, but usually he must not be identified with either cause. It would be difficult for a Baptist to present correctly the cause of the Disciples of Christ, as it would be for a Disciple of Christ to present the cause of the Baptists. Their similarities merging together and their history lines lapping over into each other would make most difficult the task, however fair the historian desired to be. When our journals open their columns and our colleges open their classrooms to information regarding each other at first hand from accredited representatives, a long step will have been taken toward closer affiliation between the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ.

Denominational journals are necessarily narrow and biased because they look out largely upon the fields of their denomination, magnifying their own interests and minimizing the interests of other communions. It would be quite impossible for one who reads only his denominational literature to look out fairly and sympathetically upon another communion, much less upon the whole Christian world. Consequently Baptists and Disciples of Christ should freely exchange literature. I mean that Baptists should read the weekly journals of the Disciples of Christ and the Disciples of Christ should read the weekly journals of the Baptists. The time may come before denominational journals are abolished, and doubtless will come, that a weekly journal will dare to publish on its first page the legend, "A Weekly Newspaper for the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ."

Denominational colleges, where our young men are prepared for the ministry, likewise scan unfairly the world-field, and perhaps, more than the denominational journal, fall into unconscious misrepresentation of other communions in their attempt thoroughly to indoctrinate their young men for the ministry, frequently fastening a church history upon the young minister that will take generations to uproot. But we are on the upward march and the time is yonder in the future when a Baptist college will have a Disciple of Christ to give annually a course of lectures on the message of the Disciples of Christ to the divided church, as a college of the Disciples of Christ will likewise give annually a course of lectures by a Baptist on the place of the Baptists in history. As has been said, "Religion will adjust itself to fact," and in the words of Lord Acton in speaking of Roman Catholic apologies for the St. Bartholomew massacre, "Such things will cease to be written when men perceive that truth is the only merit that gives worth and dignity to history."

That wicked suspicion that Christians of one communion have of the other furnishes another hindrance to the union of the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ. This largely grows out of the lack of association with each other and therefore the lack of knowledge of each other. The Baptists and the Disciples of Christ ought to be personal friends. There is no reason why Baptist ministers and those of the Disciples of Christ should not meet together in a common ministerial association. This is done in some cities and it is apparently agreeable to both parties. Why should it not be? If this is practiced generally and sincerely, later it may be equally agreeable for Baptist state associations and state conventions of the Disciples of Christ to meet in joint sessions, especially where we both cover the same territory.

For my part, I think the time is ripe to exchange preachers, without submitting them to the humiliation of repenting of their errors in theology and being subjected to an examination. Of course there are some preachers among the Disciples of Christ whom the Baptists would not want for their pulpits, neither would many churches of the Disciples of Christ want them, as there are preachers among the Baptists whom the Disciples of Christ would not care for, nor would many Baptist churches care for

them. But in all communions and movements there are men abreast of the great interests of the kingdom of God, and churches equally alive to these broader and higher interests. It is of these that I speak, for there are numbers of Baptist preachers who could fill pulpits among the Disciples of Christ without the slightest criticism, as there are doubtless ministers among the Disciples of Christ who could fill Baptist pulpits in the same spirit.

In view of the fact that we are so close together doctrinally and with the increasing opportunities of knowing each other personally, to maintain the attitude of suspicion and isolation appears unquestionably to be a violation of the fundamental principles of Christian brotherhood. Said Carlyle, "Doubt of whatever kind can be ended by action alone." Thought has its place, but faith springs out of action, whether it be regarding our relationship to God or to men. Intercommunion privileges, granting and receiving church letters, and exchanging evangelistic meetings could be worked now with profit to both, where there is less prejudice and broad culture.

The wall of sectarianism has long divided us, as it has every other communion. From the very beginning of our separation, sincere souls on both sides have discussed the advisability of scaling the wall, which is now crumbling in the atmosphere of a broader faith. We have talked long and prayed much. Has the time not come to batter down this wall? When our country was discussing the advisability of resuming specie payment, Horace Greely blurted out, "The way to resume is to resume." It is likewise so regarding the union of the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ. Each body being a democracy, and opinions being different in different sections of the country, it is not likely that union generally would come by the action of a few, but in those sections of the country where each body sees the necessity and practicability of union, this union should begin—not simply reaching by our hands across the falling debris, but by leveling to the ground the wall of sectarianism between us that its foundations may be buried, and standing under a united standard, to march as common brothers to a common cause.

When suspicion and the heat of controversy shall have died

in our bosoms like smouldering embers, we will seek the silence of God, where the decisive battles of the soul tell for most. There we will forget the sting of the past, there we will find the truth of history, and there we will cease to suspect one another, for our love to God can only be interpreted in our love to those who love him. To be alike in faith and practice and these to be according to the Scriptures, and yet to be unlike the fellowship taught in those same Scriptures, presents a problem that has more to do with ethics than doctrine. When we both have seen more clearly the fundamentals of our common faith, we shall repent of our unbrotherliness one to the other, and somewhere down the years the clouds will be lifted, and we shall possess the true perspective. Then because of our love for each other—Baptists and Disciples of Christ—we shall prove our right to be workers with Christ for the conquest of the world.

**VICE-PRESIDENT ANTHONY:** The next speaker with an assigned paper is Professor Douglas C. MacIntosh, Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.

**PROFESSOR DOUGLAS C. MACINTOSH, PH.D.,** of Yale Theological Seminary, New Haven, Conn., then read as follows:

### WHAT HINDERS THE UNION OF THE BAPTISTS AND THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST?

The question is a timely one. The demand for church union is becoming more and more insistent. From the foreign mission field, from the western frontier settlement, from the eastern village and rural district, and from the down-town and semi-down-town city district there comes the same call for co-operation instead of competition. Christian leaders are urging a consolidation of our forces that the principles of our Christian civilization may be safeguarded at home and extended abroad. It is coming to be pretty generally felt that in the present critical situation the weakness caused by disunion is almost criminal, and that, as soon as it can be accomplished without the sacrifice of any greater benefit, the union of Protestant Christendom is imperative. Points of agreement are beginning to be emphasized, and in view of the fact that Baptists and Disciples both practice the

immersion of believers as the only form of baptism, the question is repeatedly asked, Why should not at least these two similar denominations join their forces and become one body?

Why not, indeed? What *hinders* the union of the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ? The question is well worded. In the early stages of negotiation it is even more important to be clear than to be conciliatory. An external union which ignores differences is to be recommended only when those differences are unimportant; and in spite of the external resemblance between Baptists and Disciples, the differences between them, in the past at least, have been of fundamental importance.

But an examination of differences need not be conducted in a controversial spirit. While two contrary positions cannot both be wholly right, they may both be partly wrong; and so it has been, I believe, in the case before us. The real basis of the important disagreement between our two denominations in the past has been, I take it, a wrong fundamental agreement. In other words, what has hindered the union of Baptists and Disciples has been the literalistic legalism that has dominated the thought of both denominations. Moreover, it must be admitted that this legalistic conception of Christian duty still lingers in both our communions.

But the hopeful feature of the situation is that possibly this common cause of disagreement, this legalism, may prove to be not inherent in the essential nature of either body, but a disease—of long standing, it is true, and yet a curable disease—with which the developing life of each denomination has been afflicted, as have practically all Protestant bodies for more than three hundred years. For complete demonstration of the more favorable view our appeal must be to the future, but strong supporting evidence may be derived from history.

This is particularly true of early Baptist history. Like the other reformers, the Baptists stood for an evangelical, spiritual religion; but, unlike the others, they insisted upon a spiritual church for the preservation and propagation of that spiritual religion. The point upon which the Swiss Anabaptists took definite issue with Zwingli was the question of a regenerate and spiritual church membership. Their organizing principle was their deter-

mination to realize, as far as possible, the ideal of "a pure church and congregation of the true children of God who have the Spirit of God and are ruled and led by him." This is the secret of their vigorous protest from the first against infant baptism, because with infant baptism was bound up the institution of a state church with its membership largely composed of the unregenerate and unspiritual and its policy largely under their control. This interest of the Anabaptists in a spiritual church is in large measure the secret of their appeal to the New Testament authority for a regenerate church membership in argument with their opponents, who also claim to be restoring New Testament Christianity. Moreover, practically all of the distinctive principles of the Baptists had their origin in connection with their experienced value or even necessity for the safeguarding of the spirituality of the church. The separation of church and state, complete religious liberty, the equality in right and privilege of all believers as members of the church, and the independence of the local church, as well as believers' baptism—all of these were advocated because they were felt to be indispensable to the maintaining of a spiritual church. Even the restriction of communion to members of the church, or at least to those who had been baptized as believers, was originally felt to be a necessary protective measure in the interests of the spirituality of the church. And perhaps most remarkable of all is the well-known fact that the Anabaptists of the Continent practiced pouring, sprinkling, or immersion as suited their convenience; none of them, so far as is known, insisted upon immersion as the only valid form; and the same is almost undoubtedly true of the early English Baptists. All of which goes to prove that the original Baptist interest was, and that the essential Baptist interest is, not in the setting up of a legalistic type of religion and church organization, but in the founding of a spiritual church for the promotion of spiritual religion—a church and a religion thoroughly Christian and evangelical, but at the same time inwardly free.

But in some measure that which was a means of strength, has become our weakness. By a not unnatural development, the appeal to the scriptural standard as a means to realizing the ideal of a spiritual church led in time to the ideal of a church patterned

in every external detail after the New Testament being taken up as the end in itself. Then the New Testament, or indeed the whole Bible interpreted as a Christian book, came to be looked upon as an externally authoritative creed and law book. As the original form of baptism, immersion came to be not only insisted upon as a prerequisite to church membership, but to be given a central place among the distinctive principles of Baptists. It was to be thought of, not of course as a sacrament, and not primarily as a symbol, but as pre-eminently an ordinance, the first great commandment given to the Christian believer. Christians were classified as obedient or disobedient according as they had or had not obeyed this command of God.

Thus Baptists, from having been the champions of a free, spiritual Christianity, came to be bound in the meshes of a legalistic ritualism, not unlike, in its self-congratulatory spirit, to that of the Pharisees, against whom Jesus uttered his most vehement denunciations. Thus instead of having set forth before him the beauty and appropriateness and value of immersion as a voluntarily adopted symbolic confession of faith in Christ and public pledge of discipleship to him, the convert was simply faced at the very outset of his Christian life with this external form as a ritualistic requirement, arbitrarily imposed and to be unquestioningly obeyed. And so, having begun "in the Spirit," he was encouraged to go on "in the flesh," making the word of God of comparatively little effect through his traditionalism.

Moreover, in the present situation the distinctive position of the Baptist denomination is in danger of becoming more than ever simply that of a legalistic defense of baptismal ritualism. We are coming to have almost nothing to stand out for in separation from other denominations, except some matters of external form. Other denominations, as well as we, stand for a spiritual church membership (although there is still need of our emphasis upon this point), and sacramental efficacy is no longer attributed by most Protestant churches to infant baptism; it is regarded simply as an act of dedication. Thus our distinctive platform is coming to be a very narrow one, and if we continue to hold aloof from church-union movements simply on the ground of an external ritualism, we shall richly deserve as a retribution the narrowness

of spirit that will inevitably be fostered and the loss of influence that will undoubtedly come. Then we shall know from sad experience that "the letter killeth."

The history of the Disciples has been shorter, but in some respects similar. The great Christian ideal of the Campbells was the reunion of all true Christians through a more faithful discipleship to Christ in order that the divisions among Christian people might no longer be a hindrance to the spread of the gospel. But this nobly spiritual purpose was accompanied by an interpretation of that discipleship to Christ as "taking up things just as the apostles left them" in a spirit that was even more rigidly literalistic in its legalism than that of the Baptists. This was not by any means wholly to their discredit, however; they simply put into practice more rigorously than most the prevailing mechanical theory of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we hold our peace": this was the watchword of the new movement. And then, as it became evident that no speedy success was to come to the propaganda for union, this spiritual goal began to fade from the vision of the new body and the legalistic discipleship which was formerly means to this end came to function as the ultimate end. And, of course, as in the case of the Baptists, this literalistic legalism led to a very strongly accentuated ritualism with regard to the "ordinance" of baptism.

But it was just this extra measure of fidelity to the letter of the New Testament that led the Disciples into a more or less magical sacramentalism, which the Baptists had happily escaped. The leaders of the new body found in the New Testament such expressions as these: "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of sins"; "Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins"; "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved"; "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God"; ". . . . which doth now save you, viz., baptism"; ". . . . he saved us through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit"; ". . . . having cleansed it [the church] by the washing of water with the word." What could they consistently do but follow out their program to the bitter end and teach that the

rite of baptism has an absolutely essential place in the process of salvation and that there is no assurance of eternal life for the unbaptized, i.e., for those who have not been immersed in the name of Christ after faith, repentance, and confession? They did not teach that baptism necessarily regenerates, but that one cannot be sure of regeneration without it. It was what might be called a half-way sacramentalism with respect to baptism.

Thus, while the legalism of the Baptists made them ritualists, the legalism of the Disciples made them not only ritualists but also sacramentalists; and it is this sacramentalism which has been, up to the present, the chief hindrance to union between the two denominations. As in the case of the Baptists the original purpose of maintaining the spirituality of the church has been in danger of being frustrated through the ritualism to which their legalism has led, so the original aim of the Disciples to reunite all Christians was defeated by the very means by which it was hoped that it might be accomplished. The accentuated legalism, instead of opening the door of union, raised new barriers against it. The ritualism to which it led shut out all non-Immersionists, while the sacramentalism to which it also led shut out those with whom they agreed in their ritualism, viz., the Baptists.

It ought to be recognized by this time and might as well be frankly acknowledged that the prospect of union upon the old basis of a legalism of the letter of the New Testament is absolutely hopeless. As we have seen, it is agreement in the legalistic attitude that is the basis of the irreconcilable disagreement. For the Baptists to adopt a sacramentalist interpretation of immersion would be a calamity, and at this stage of their history and in the history of Christian thought it is really unthinkable. Whether it is implied in any of the New Testament writings or not, this sacramentalism does not belong to the essence, the undying germ, of the Christian religion. On the other hand the Disciples, so long as they remain legalists, are not likely to come over to the Baptist position, because of the tremendous advantage they have in argument upon a literalistic basis. It is scarcely possible to remain candid and deny that while there is lack of clearness on the point, some at least of the writings of the New Testament imply the idea of some sort of saving efficacy

attaching to baptism. If, finally, it be suggested that this difference may be ignored, and union consummated anyway, the teaching of experience is against it, *wherever the legalistic spirit still prevails*. Particular facts might be cited here, but let it suffice to say that under very favorable circumstances the experiment has been tried and has failed, the two elements being obliged to withdraw from each other on account of their irreconcilable difference upon this vital question.

And yet the writer is glad to testify that he knows scores if not hundreds of ministers of both denominations, zealous in the promotion of a spiritual Christianity, who are abundantly ready for union with each other—who are, in fact, almost indistinguishable from each other as religious groups, save that they bear different denominational names. Now what is it that has led to this remarkable unification? The answer is that one and the same cause has liberated both these Baptists and these Disciples from their legalism and their ritualism and the latter from their sacramentalism as well, and that that one main cause is the much-dreaded and much-decried application of critical methods to the study of the Scriptures. There is not time here to indicate in detail just how this effect has been produced, but it may be said that the combined effect of the textual, literary, and historical criticism of the New Testament has been to establish with practical certainty or high probability the following positions, viz., that in popular Judaism as well as in other religions of the time a somewhat magical efficacy was supposed to be connected with ceremonial immersion, and that the same idea was entertained with reference to Christian baptism by large numbers at least of the members of the early Christian communities, including several of the New Testament writers; that Jesus, however, in harmony with his spiritual conception of religion and his antagonism to the legalism and ritualism of the Pharisees, regarded John's baptism simply as a form of initiation in itself unimportant, but that he submitted to it to express his indorsement of the movement inaugurated by John, and his desire to co-operate therein, consecrating himself at the same time to his own public mission, but that he never regarded baptism as having sacramental efficacy and never imposed it as an external law and test of obedience.

With reference to Paul's attitude there is still difference of opinion, some regarding him as the founder of sacramentalism in the Christian church, while others claim that it is more reasonable, in view of his lofty spiritual teaching and his protests against Jewish and judaizing legalism, to think of him as having mitigated the sacramentalism he found already existing as a survival of primitive magical religion among the early Christians, by teaching that immersion is not the cause but the symbol of the mystical experience of union with Christ.

But while the critical study of the New Testament enables one to separate between the kernel and the husk in this matter of baptism, i.e., between the essentially Christian interpretation and the relics of a pre-Christian and sub-Christian superstition, it leads at the same time to such a view of revelation and inspiration as tends to eradicate, without injury to faith, the last vestiges of literalistic legalism, together with the ritualism and sacramentalism built upon it. The Scriptures come to be regarded as a human record of a progressive and culminating divine revelation, a record written under the inspiring influence of that revelation; sufficient, consequently, as a source of saving revelation and inspiration to humanity, although not in any external, literalistic sense infallible.

The giving up of a legalistic attitude toward the Scriptures while remaining responsive to their spiritual message—a change which is going on rapidly in both our denominations and is bound to do so increasingly—this is the most hopeful omen of the coming union. As we have seen, it will destroy the ritualism, but not the rite as a voluntary symbolic expression of Christian faith and purpose. In the second place, by removing the basis of sacramentalism it makes possible the agreement of Baptists and Disciples with reference to Christian experience. Baptists used to claim that repentance precedes faith, while Disciples insisted that faith comes before repentance. Now, as with the disappearance of baptismal sacramentalism Disciples are coming to regard faith and repentance as being the marks of an already accomplished regeneration, the old controversy as to the time-order of faith and repentance is beginning to be quite forgotten. Christian faith, as turning to God, and Christian repentance, as turning from sin,

are seen to be both essentially acts or attitudes of will; each involves the other; they are inseparable aspects of the same initial Christian experience of regeneration, which is manifested as conversion, that is, the turning from sin to God. Consequently the Baptist can freely admit that ordinarily there is an intellectual element in faith preceding this regenerate repentance, while the Disciple can as freely concede that commonly there is an emotional phase of repentance that comes before saving faith.

In the third place, this educational process will make the Baptists and the Disciples not only ready for union with each other, but at the same time almost ready for union with all other evangelical Christians—provided that the same educational process takes place among them. As soon as all are willing to put the Christian symbols, baptism and the Lord's supper, upon a somewhat more voluntary basis, not only making the mode of baptism optional either with the individual candidate or else with the local church, but also making it possible for the local church to allow individuals, in case of conscientious scruples about external rites, to become members of the church without baptism in any form, provided they have the spiritual qualifications for church membership, then there will be no insuperable obstacle to the external union of those who have already become one in spirit. And doubtless many will then voluntarily substitute a simple dedication service for infant baptism and adopt immersion as a symbolic expression of their faith and purpose, who have refused to do so when in pharisaic spirit we have said, "You must be immersed or be guilty of disobedience," or in pagan spirit, "You must be immersed or forfeit all assurance of eternal life." When we have cast the beam out of our own eye, then shall we see clearly to cast out the mote that is in our brother's eye.

And finally, when purified of our legalism as Baptists and Disciples we shall be more than ever able to make our own special and much-needed contribution to the united church of the future. As has been well said, the great question is not, What must we *give up* for the sake of union? but, What can we *give* to the united church of the future? The Disciples, who may be expected to contribute to that united body its name, can also give what is more important, viz., the idea of the union of Christians

through a return to essential Christianity, a faithful discipleship to Christ; while the Baptists can contribute their emphasis upon the ideal of a spiritual church for the preservation and propagation of a spiritual and evangelical religion.

VICE-PRESIDENT ANTHONY: Rev. J. I. Spencer, D.D. (Disciple), is detained at his home through sickness, and I make the announcement now so that the brethren may be prepared to discuss this subject through their voluntary utterances. I now have pleasure in introducing Professor W. J. McGlothlin, of Louisville, Ky.

PROFESSOR W. J. MCGLOTHLIN, D.D., Louisville, Ky.: *Mr. President:* As I interpret my duty on this occasion it is to set before this body what I believe to be the hindrances to a union between the Baptists and the Disciples at this time, that is, to diagnose the case, not to suggest or apply remedies for the disease. It must be remembered also that I am by appointment to deal only with the hindrances to union. In attempting to perform this task one must necessarily speak from his own standpoint and in some sense from the standpoint of the community from which he comes. He must undertake the difficult task of understanding and setting forth the views of his own denomination over against those of another communion with which he can be at best only partially acquainted. He attempts to speak in some degree in a representative capacity without being appointed by anybody to do so. In such a position one must speak with the utmost frankness and with unfailing kindness. I speak frankly from the Baptist standpoint in the expectation that the other speaker will present the position of the Disciples.

In undertaking to speak of the relations of the Baptists and Disciples one is at once confronted by the fact that both bodies, taken as a whole, vary greatly in spirit, beliefs, and practices in different sections of our country. At places they are so nearly alike in all important respects and the feeling between them is so fraternal as to make co-operation easy and even union seem to be possible. But that is by no means true everywhere. In places the differences are important and the feeling so sharp

as to render the consideration of union useless until the two bodies approach each other more nearly.

In considering the present hindrances to union it might be well to glance at the origin of the differences which caused the separation at the beginning. These had their rise in the peculiar views of the Campbells, Thomas and Alexander, father and son. Whatever is original and distinctive among the Disciples has been inherited from the Campbells, for the body as a whole is but the lengthened shadow of the founders. Whatever changes have marked the history of the body in recent years have been in the way of return toward the common Christianity from which the Campbells departed.

Their peculiar views are the outgrowth of their unusual experiences. To begin with, they were Scotch-Irish, intensely religious, persistent, and combative. The father of Thomas Campbell was reared a Roman Catholic and afterward joined the Episcopal church in whose communion he remained till death, I believe. Thomas Campbell left the Episcopal church on his conversion and joined the Seceders, one of the narrowest and most exclusive sects of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. On coming to America he soon offended his Seceder brethren by his catholic spirit, was disciplined, and united with the Presbyterians; from them he went to an independent position, then to the Baptists, and finally to an independent position again. Alexander started with the Seceders and traveled the same ecclesiastical road. These changes were due, not to any particular religious experience, but to a study of the Scriptures as the source of all religious faith and practice. It was an intellectual, rational process. Moreover, the friction and antagonisms generated by these constant changes developed an intense opposition to denominational distinctions and definite theological statement. Still further, both Campbells were school-teachers with a school-teacher's clear, analytical, literalistic, logical mind. Finally, Alexander Campbell married a wife with a competency, which made it possible for her husband to live in security and comparative comfort and at the same time denounce the "hireling preachers" who depended on their preaching for a living.

The net result of all these experiences was to make of Mr.

Alexander Campbell (with whom we shall henceforth deal as the leader of the movement) a very peculiar interpreter of the Bible. It must not be forgotten that he agreed with his Baptist brethren on most of the essential doctrines, such as the view of God, the person and work of Christ, the resurrection, immortality, the democracy and independence of the churches, the form and subject of baptism, and the sole and absolute authority of the Scriptures in all matters of faith and practice. But he differed widely from them in many points in the interpretation of the Bible. His religious and other experiences had made of him an interpreter who was rationalistic, agnostic, literalistic, and individualistic.

He was rationalistic. He had reached his position, as we have seen, through a process of reasoning, and he was therefore disposed to rationalize everything. He had no patience with the mysticism of the Baptists, and was indeed incapable of understanding their feelings. He made sport of it and waved it out of court. Faith was the plain, rational process of accepting evidence for a proposition, viz., Jesus Christ was the son of God. The Holy Spirit had no part in conversion, except that in the long ago he gave the Word whose testimony can and must be accepted in the same rational way that any other evidence is accepted. Mysticism had little or no place in his thought. Religious experience was carefully analyzed and its various component parts numbered one, two, three, like a proposition in mathematics. Faith, repentance, regeneration, baptism, remission—thus it must be in every case.

He was agnostic. He refused to accept many current theological definitions or to make any of his own. He attacked creeds and confessions savagely, and refused to state many of the most important articles of faith except in biblical language. He distinguished between faith and opinions. The latter term covered the greater portion of the Christian beliefs of the time, and about them he took an agnostic position, refusing to make any kind of statement a condition of communion.

He was literalistic. To him the Bible was authority in *all matters of faith and practice*. There was no place left for the exercise of Christian freedom and common sense. "Where the

Bible speaks we speak, where it is silent we hold our peace." "Clear precept or approved example" must settle everything. On this ground he opposed missionary and Bible societies in the earlier years, insisted on weekly communion, declined to vote on the reception of members, while some of his followers went farther and revived foot-washing, the kiss of peace, etc. It was probably this same literalistic tendency which led him to insist upon a biblical name for his followers.

He was individualistic. He insisted that he have the freedom to believe and advocate anything which he might think he found in the Scriptures, and at the same time remain in communion with the Baptists, no matter how far he might differ from them. Such a position is ecclesiastical anarchy. If every man should assert for himself the same freedom, harmony and co-operation would be impossible, and bedlam would reign where men held any cherished convictions. He asserted for himself the same freedom within a religious communion that the Baptists had claimed and suffered for in the state.

Moreover he attached his own peculiar meanings to such current religious terms as "faith," "regeneration," "remission"—meanings used by no other Christians whatsoever—making it well-nigh impossible for men of other communions to understand him. He was constantly and inevitably misunderstood, and had only himself to blame. Everett Gates goes so far as to say, "The whole controversy arose out of a change in the meaning of terms used" (*Early Relation and Separation*, p. 111). Even to this day it is almost impossible for a Baptist to understand a Disciple when discussing religious things, largely because of the peculiar vocabulary created by Mr. Campbell and perpetuated by his followers. Gates points out this fact as one of Mr. Campbell's greatest defects.

It is possible that the influence exerted by the Catholic and Episcopal churches over the Campbells through the father of Thomas explains the sacramental tendencies found among them. Thomas declared that no Christian worship was complete without the supper and insisted strenuously that it must be celebrated every Sunday. Alexander began to associate remission of sins with baptism as early as 1820, and by 1828 held that there was

no remission of sins, under ordinary circumstances, apart from baptism. He was conscious that his views were novel, lying midway between those of the Catholics and the Baptists, and regarded them as his greatest contribution to "the ancient order of things." In trying to stir between baptismal regeneration and the symbolical significance of baptism he essayed a very difficult task and was usually on the rocks, now on this side, now on that. Gates points out that he came gradually to his views, and that these views seemed to waver even to the end (*Early Relation*, p. 113). Passages can be found which alone could teach nothing but baptismal regeneration, while others deny that position.

These are some of the characteristics of Mr. Campbell as an interpreter, which led him into positions which differed from those of the Baptists so widely that harmony was impossible and separation the only Christian course. The most important of those differences of belief were his doctrine of baptismal remission of sins, his view of faith as the intellectual acceptance of a proposition, his denial of the action of the Holy Spirit in conversion except in giving the Word, and his silence about many important doctrines.

Differences in practice were weekly communion, requiring no religious experience but only the confession that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, acceptance of members without any vote of the church, and the administration of the ordinances by laymen.

During the eighty years of their separate existence both bodies have changed and they are now much nearer together in belief and practice than they were when they separated. What now hinders a union? They have changed, but many of the differences which originally caused the separation remain, at least in parts of the country, and hinder a union. If the two bodies could be forced into a union a speedy separation would inevitably follow as the only means of restoring some degree of peace. What are some of these hindrances to union at the present?

1. First of all there remains, in Kentucky and other sections where the Disciples existed before the separation, the memory of the bitterness of those early days. Mr. Campbell remained in communion with the Baptists when he knew himself to be out of harmony with them, and used their organization as the channel

of his propaganda. He felt himself justified in revolutionizing the Baptists in the interest of his "reformation." Baptist churches and associations were rent in twain and some were carried out of the Baptist fold altogether. The memory of such things does not soon die in those regions where they occurred.

2. The practical difficulty. Both bodies are congregational in church government, and hence, it would seem, could easily unite where the local churches found themselves in harmony. And so they could but for the fact that both bodies have extensive general tasks such as missions and education which must be supported. It would be difficult for the united church to determine what general benevolence it would support.

3. There seems to me to be a difference of spirit or atmosphere between the bodies as I know them in Kentucky, which is possibly the most important and fundamental of all the differences. It is elusive and difficult to define or describe and yet I think it exists. The Baptists still have a large element of the mystical or emotional in their preaching and worship which is almost wholly wanting among the Disciples. The Baptist feels himself in somewhat alien atmosphere when among the Disciples. The vocabulary of song and prayer and preaching is more or less strange to him. He recognizes the vigor, aggressiveness, and success of the Disciples and often wishes his own people could be stirred to a like activity. But their religious life, while intensely active, seems to him to lack depth and inwardness—in a word, spirituality. They still rationalize faith and religious experience, making them appear to him legalistic, logical, and external rather than vital; their assertions still stop short, in an agnostic way, where his own faith walks confidently in the midst of the unseen. It is an incontrovertible fact that there is in Kentucky usually less spiritual harmony between the Baptists and Disciples than between the Baptists and most other evangelical churches.

4. The great body of the Disciples in my section still holds to baptismal remission of sins, and this is the most obvious and objectionable peculiarity of the body from the Baptist standpoint. The essence of the Baptist contention has steadily been opposition to every form of sacramentalism, the advocacy of salvation by

faith in the Lord Jesus Christ alone, without the interposition of church or ordinance, and a purely spiritual church. They recognize the fact that the Disciples require repentance and faith before baptism, thus avoiding the worst evils of sacramentalism; but they feel assured that the doctrine of remission of sins only in baptism is both unscriptural and practically dangerous to the reality of a vital and living faith. Men are prone to rest their faith on ceremonies rather than upon the living Christ, as is evident from the fact that more than half the Christian world believe in baptismal regeneration. Such a statement as the following from McGarvey (*Tract on Baptism*, p. 19) seems to a Baptist to be a practical denial of evangelical Christianity and really to endanger the souls of men. He says, "As it [baptism] brings us into Christ, unto the forgiveness of our sins, it imparts to us the blessed hope that when we come to be laid in the grave, a strong arm will lift us out of it as we were lifted out of the burial in water." Garrison says in *The Story of a Century*, p. 211, "Baptism is the divinely ordained means by which the believing, penitent soul casts itself on the mercy of God, seeking salvation by grace." Now most Baptists feel that union with a body that holds such views would be a repudiation of our whole history and a blow at spiritual religion itself. Union would seem to be impossible until the Disciples modify their position on the design and place of baptism in the Christian system.

5. Strange to say, the attitude of the Disciples toward Christian union is one of the difficulties in the way of union. They are *the disciples*, Christians; all others are *sects*, upon whose poor heads the vials of wrath are poured out until the vocabulary of vituperation is exhausted. Careful distinction is made between "church union," which is advocated by "the sects," and "Christian union," which is advocated by themselves. The latter means the disintegration of "the sects" and their coming to be "simply Christians," that is, Disciples. For a century they have been advocating Christian union with vehemence, as the chief plank in their platform, and yet they have united with nobody except the followers of Barton W. Stone with whom they were in substantial agreement. Nobody takes them very seriously, for they have shown as little of the spirit of fraternity and conciliation as any of

the so-called sects. They have continued their predatory habits of proselytizing down to the present, and think of union on no other basis. They have rather divided and embittered than united and harmonized. Baptists could hardly accept the assumptions of the Disciples in this direction.

6. Their views of the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion and their conception of faith are unsatisfactory; likewise their insistence upon weekly communion, the character of the confession required of converts, the manner of receiving members into the church, and some other differences, but I have not time to speak of them now. I have touched upon the most important hindrances to union as they exist in my own state and section. I have spoken with the utmost kindness but with frankness. Union cannot be based upon sentiment, but must have a solid basis of large agreement in important matters. The agnosticism which holds important opinions in abeyance during the discussion of union becomes an aggressive gnosticism which destroys peace and fraternity after the union is consummated. Union must be preceded by a large measure of unity, else it is a calamity rather than a blessing. Union will come all the sooner, if it comes at all, by frankly looking the facts in the face, seeing things as they are. It is perilous to prophesy, but the signs of the times seem to me to indicate that union between the Baptists and the Disciples is a good way in the future in Kentucky and the South. And yet they both stand upon the bedrock of the sole authority of the Scriptures in matters of faith and practice, and it would seem that two bodies which are already so largely agreed and which maintain this fundamental basal principle ought ultimately to come into substantial agreement about all important matters. I sincerely hope and believe they will. The road to this as to all union is along the line of a careful exegesis of the Scriptures on broad and scientific principles. Where the two bodies find themselves in sufficient agreement let them unite if they so desire. Let the rest in both bodies seek more and more to know and put into practice the mind of Christ concerning his people, in the meantime endeavoring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and the oneness for which Christ prayed will finally come. (*Applause.*)

VICE-PRESIDENT ANTHONY: Our next speaker, whose card is before me, is Professor E. B. Pollard, of Crozer Seminary, Penn.

PROFESSOR E. B. POLLARD, PH.D.: This is a subject in which we are all deeply interested, and one of great importance, as was discovered long ago. It has been nineteen years since this Congress first took up the question. Dr. B. B. Tyler, of the Church of the Disciples, and others then presented it very ably before this body in Philadelphia, in 1892, in one of the sanest discussions (except that of this afternoon, of course) to which I have ever listened. It is pertinent to ask whether it is not time we take the matter out of the realm of discussion and put it into the realm of action. I have had the pleasure of residing in that part of the country from which Dr. McGlothlin comes, and I am sure it would be impossible to accomplish there anything worth while in the way of union. It is often said that we ought to emphasize the things upon which we agree and try to forget the things upon which we differ. Ordinarily this is an excellent rule. The question of this afternoon forbids that because it asks, "What are the hindrances to union?" We do have to face situations as they are. As I diagnose the case the greatest hindrances are ignorance, and its sister, prejudice. If all Baptists and all Disciples were as intelligent as they ought to be in the interpretation of Scripture and in understanding the history of religion, and the course of the Divine Spirit as He has been at work in human life, there would be little difficulty in our getting together to overcome the unreasonable prejudice that exists in some parts of the country.

But impatience may become a serious hindrance to the union of these two bodies. It is a mistake to press the matter unduly, for it would certainly bring about the presence of three denominations instead of two: Baptists and Disciples who are willing to unite, and besides there would be the Baptists who would not *budge*, and the Disciples who would dissent. So we would have not an improvement of the situation, but one more denomination. It requires patience, the cultivation of the spirit of Christ, and the education of both bodies in the larger light that the spirit of God

has been bringing to the world through all the educational forces that have been at work.

My good brother Ainslie has spoken of the decisive character of names. Both sides have said foolish things about denominational names. Some Baptists have rashly affirmed they would not give up the name for union with all the Disciples in the world. Some Disciples seem to hold that if sects should only give up the party names the problem would be solved. Names have not made the differences; differences have made the names. Should the ornithologist say, I will no longer use such names as sparrows, bluebirds, and thrushes, I will call them all birds, the result would not be unification, but confusion. We must first get rid of certain differences which ignorance and prejudice still let live, before we can get rid of the names. I speak only for myself when I say that if it should come simply to the question of name, I should be glad to surrender the name of Baptist for Christian or Disciple. Professor Newman calls attention to the fact that the early Baptists were called by their enemies, Anabaptists, Cata-baptists, Baptists, but they themselves preferred to be called Christians, Believers, Disciples of Christ, or Brethren. For my part, I should be glad (if the name Baptist were all that is in the way) to return to our old Baptist landmark and to be called a Disciple of Christ or simply a Christian. (*Applause.*)

REV. HERBERT L. WILLETT, PH.D., Chicago, Ill.: It is natural that after the years which have separated Baptists and Disciples since first they worked together with a semblance of unity, there should arise such an inquiry as that which is presented in this session. It is inevitable that the Baptists and Disciples should increasingly consider the problem of union, since in so many regards they are closely related. This relationship does not depend upon the mere incident of immersion as an item in the confession of both bodies. Rather is that relationship to be seen in the general body of truth to which each yields assent, in the common form of organization which is characteristic of both; and in the common field of activities in which for the most part the two denominations are placed.

In earlier days this very closeness of relationship led to contests which were envenomed by proximity. It was the intimacy

of religious beliefs and customs which made the few outstanding points of divergence questions of bitter discussion. Baptists and Disciples hated each other in those days with a bitterness which was wholly absent from the thought of either denomination regarding the rest of the Protestant world or even the Roman Catholic.

But today the old controversies are dead. And it would be difficult to arouse in the intelligent representatives of either denomination in this generation the spirit of debate over doctrines and usages that were once the subject of eager rivalry. In fact it is doubtful if either Baptists or Disciples of average intelligence have any acquaintance with the subjects that were once the themes of antagonism. Such controversies as those regarding the priority of faith and repentance, the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion, the relation of baptism to the remission of sins, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper would be impossible today, chiefly because neither denomination has maintained its dogmatic and controversial position regarding these questions. And in most instances the debates grew out of a failure to properly define the terms employed.

Probably the most outstanding contrast between Baptists and Disciples grew out of the fact that the former did not share that flaming enthusiasm with which the Disciples of the first generation threw themselves against the romanticism of current religious teaching, and appealed to the Scriptures as the sole norm of faith and conduct. It was the rejection of so much of the current teaching of that time in behalf of a literal interpretation of the Word of God which caused the Disciples to be interpreted as literalists and legalists, as over against the more emotional and ardent Christian experience of the older denominations, including the Baptists. If this tendency has persisted among the Disciples it is perhaps because of the strong bent of their beginnings as Protestants against the sway of emotion in the process of entrance upon the Christian life.

At the present time the centrifugal forces are spending themselves, and a return to closer unity is both desirable and inevitable. Whether or not we may wish it, Disciples and Baptists are drawing closer together, and in many communities are actu-

ally uniting. This is as it should be. It is truly anomalous that two bodies of people so closely related in history and beliefs should remain divided. In fact the differences between Baptists and Disciples are not greater than those seen between different congregations in both Baptist and Disciple ranks. In fact when both bodies are taken at their best, on the high levels of Christian intelligence and devotion, there is little perceptible difference.

Among the steps which may be taken to promote unity of sentiment, leaving the question of ultimate and incorporating unity to be decided by time, the following at least are timely and practicable:

The two bodies should co-operate most earnestly in all places where they have common existence. The old rivalries ought to be forgotten and a spirit of comradeship cultivated that would lead to such active co-operation as to make the spirit of brotherhood apparent.

In those fields in which the Baptists are strong and the Disciples weak or have no church organization, they should unite on the basis of a Baptist church, thus lending all possible support to the one organization. Similarly in those places where the Disciples are strong and the Baptists weak or without a church, a union should be effected which will prevent rivalry and loss.

Wherever Baptists and Disciples have churches, and there is not room for both, a union should be effected upon terms which will compromise the convictions of neither group. And this ought not to be difficult where Baptists and Disciples are really aware of the historic testimony of the two denominations.

The exchange of ministers by the two denominations would be a step in the direction of ultimate unity. There is no reason why Disciples should not welcome to their pulpits ministers from the Baptist denomination, nor why Baptists should not call to their pulpits ministers from among the Disciples. Such a practice would increasingly obliterate the present lines of separation.

Common gatherings for exchange of opinions, like the present Congress, to which both Baptists and Disciples are invited,

would promote the same spirit of friendliness and intelligent regard. And that without compromise of any denominational interest.

It would be a misfortune if eager efforts at union should be the cause of strife in any locality. In some instances undue haste has undoubtedly been manifested in the effort to unite congregations of Baptists and Disciples. Nothing can be accomplished in this way. In fact such efforts only retard the day of final union.

But by the cultivation of mutual regard, by the careful study of the problem of union by the two denominations, either in their national and official capacity or as individual congregations, the spirit of union may be fostered and the time hastened when these two peoples, historically and doctrinally so closely related, shall be one.

VICE-PRESIDENT ANTHONY: I am privileged to invite to the platform President Milton G. Evans, of Crozer Seminary.

PROFESSOR MILTON G. EVANS, D.D., Chester, Pa.: One of the hindrances to union of Baptists and Disciples is that we both know too much about the past. If we could burn, or prevent children reading some histories written by members of both denominations, union would be more readily effected. We must know each other as we are now, not as our fathers were.

Another hindrance is that both denominations are unfortunate in their conception of the New Testament as the *rule* of faith and practice. Professor McIntosh has pointed out how this conception makes us legalistic. Chillingworth's celebrated dictum, that Protestantism is the religion of a book, classifies Protestantism with Mohammedanism in its attitude toward its authority in religion. If we could eliminate the word "rule" from the statement of what is called a fundamental Baptist position, and speak of the new Testament as *the way* to faith and to the discovery of what practice ought to be, a decided advance toward union would result. When we can agree to allow everyone perfect freedom to approach Christ as the authority in Protestantism by way of the New Testament alone, the old antithesis between human creeds and the Bible will have no place in discussion. No one will judge

his brother. But inasmuch as Baptists are not at one as to the way the Bible should be conceived, it is too much to expect Baptists and Disciples to agree. Ultimately, however, we shall come to common understanding on the question of authority in religion.

Another hindrance to union is that laymen from the two denominations do not mingle often enough. There is not so great a difference of opinion among the educated ministers of both denominations, because they meet more frequently in religious gatherings, or have points of contact by reading other than strictly denominational journals. If in some way, without seeming to persecute, we could have the Postal Department make a ruling to forbid the transmission by mail of certain publications of the stricter sect, an annoying obstacle to union would be removed. (*Laughter.*) The trouble is that these publications are for the most part taken by readers that live in the era of controversy, and are kept there, waterlogged by denominational journalism. (*Laughter.*)

**THE VICE-PRESIDENT:** Bearing in mind the announcement of the evening session, beginning at eight o'clock, the Congress will adjourn after prayer by Dr. Rosselle, of Philadelphia.

Prayer was offered, and the meeting adjourned.

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SECOND DAY

*Evening Session*

Wednesday, November 15, 1911

8:00 P.M.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL** opened the evening session of the Congress by requesting Rev. Robert Hull, of Summit, N.J., to lead in prayer.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** The subject for discussion this evening is, "Immersionists and Church Union." The first paper will be presented by Rev. Dr. Salley, of Lewiston, Me.

**REV. A. T. SALLEY, D.D.** (Free Baptist), of Lewiston, Me., then read as follows:

## IMMERSIONISTS AND CHURCH UNION

The Christian church was born a unity with inherent capacities and tendencies to diversity. At first the church was homogeneous, a brotherhood united by simple faith in Him whom the Father had sent, and by the spirit of the second great command. With expansion came diversity. National traits, individual peculiarities, and acquired tastes asserted themselves and created diverse forms of worship, church organization, and religious activity. Theology also became amenable to the same influences and fructified into differing creeds with emphasis differently placed. This was as it should be. It was doubtless the divine order of church development. For a time there was unity in diversity. The church was like a tree whose branches, though unlike in shape and appearance and direction of growth, all spring out of the same trunk and bear the same kind of leaves and flowers and fruit.

But a change came. The church parted company with the divine plan. Diversity became dissimilarity, and dissimilarity passed into contrariety, and contrariety deepened into distrust and open hostility. Lines of cleavage appeared, dividing the brotherhood into discordant and sometimes warring sects. The branches of the tree whose root and trunk was Jesus Christ, instead of yielding the peaceable fruits of righteousness, covered the earth with the apples of discord. For centuries Christians aspersed one another, and resorted to calumny and persecution and war. The sky grew red with flames and the earth crimson with blood. Not the Shekinah but a war-cloud accompanied the cross through the lands, and all this was under the pleasing delusion that men were doing God's service. The multiplicity and hostility of sects destroyed unity and efficiency and scandalized religion.

But a new and diviner change has come. A breath of heaven has passed over the differing sects, diminishing friction, assuaging jealousies, and developing fraternalism. The church is now reversing the order of the first centuries. The battle-axe has given place to the wand of peace. Brotherly love is asserting itself. We are now coming together faster than those of the first century separated. A mighty trend toward union is sweeping through Christendom whose primal source is the heart of God.

The last few years have witnessed three wondrous miracles of grace. (1) There has developed among the Protestant denominations a sweet Christian fraternalism. (2) Gigantic movements have arisen like the Men and Religion Forward Movement that have compelled extensive co-operation among sects independently organized. (3) But the movement toward union has not stopped at fraternalism or co-operation. The beginnings of organic union among the denominations are seen here and there. The trend is decidedly toward a diminution of sects and a closer fellowship of those that remain. I am sure that this is of God. We are leaving our childhood behind with its jealousies and fears and over-emphasis on minor points, and are coming to our young manhood which is characterized of sanity and charity. But have we gone far enough in this direction? To all human appearance the current toward union is stronger and deeper and swifter now than at any previous time. It is no fad of the day but has all the earmarks of a movement divinely originated, guided, and impelled.

There is no need and no adequate apology for the existence of more than a hundred independent Protestant sects in our country. Oh the loss of it; Oh the shame of it! God was not in this splitting up of Christendom. This state of things is contrary to the genius of the Christian religion. Protestantism is weakened and scandalized by it. Let this union movement go on unstayed by the hand of timid, jealous man, until it shall reach those natural boundaries set in the constitution of nations and in the divergent types of civilization; unstayed, let us hope, until it results in a great lessening of kindred sects and in a fuller fellowship between those that are left. A few leading types of polity and doctrine and ritual, sufficient to satisfy the reasonable demands of men for diversity, will doubtless persist.

On two points I think the Protestant churches of America are pretty well agreed. First, that this get-together movement is of God; and second, that it has not yet gone far enough. If this trend is quickly stayed it will be because it encounters policies and customs and principles hoary with age in behalf of which affrighted men will rise up and say to the rising tide, "Thus far shalt thou come but no farther."

We are known the world over as Baptists or Immersionists,

and appropriately so, according to the custom of naming sects after some one distinguishing doctrine or rite or form of church government on which they have laid particular stress.

We are Baptists because we have always insisted on immersion in water as the form of confession precedent to church membership. And the nature and degree of this insistence will determine our attitude toward this greatest movement of the ages, and it will also determine the progress of the movement. On the one side is the pressure of the movement in which most of us think we feel the might of God. On the other side is the grip of a conviction that runs back through many centuries. We have always believed in union, but in union based on an acceptance by the other party to the union of our interpretation of the rites. Confession, immersion, church-membership, the Lord's Supper, this is the road that has led up to full Baptist fellowship. We have been (I say it reverently) a close corporation. We have insisted on carrying the Ark. If others were willing to help us transport the tents and poles and bars, we graciously assented; but they must not enter the courts of our Baptist sanctuary except they have first gone down to the Jordan. We settled this policy long ago, and have adhered to it with commendable consistency. But now we are compelled to review our primal conviction and age-long policy in the light of present-day conditions. The tidal wave of unionism is rapidly pressing up the shores of our conservatism with mighty—shall I say Almighty—force. Shall we stay it with a rite, with an interpretation made by our fathers, or shall we reconsider? In the past reconsideration has meant progress and history likes to repeat itself. Once we were predestinarians with all the strength of conviction of which we were capable. But we were caught in the current of a more liberal interpretation of the divine decrees and revised our theology to our own great credit and to the lasting benefit of the Kingdom of God. As a result, Free-Willers and Calvinists pulled down their flags, spiked their guns, leveled their fortifications, and now constitute one harmonious division of the great army of God. But it is always more dangerous because it is more fundamental, to change a dogma than a rite, but we have done it righteously and successfully.

But we are doing another thing with equal credit and profit. Formerly we fenced in the Lord's Table and only those could go in through the gate who had come up out of the baptismal waters. Now the fence is disappearing, in some cases it has quite vanished, and if any of the unimmersed chance to sit down with us uninvited we enter no protest, but are inwardly pleased. God grant that the time may speedily come when proclamation shall be made at every communion, "This is our Lord's feast; come all ye saints." These changes of base have worked well. They mark positive gains. They are broadening the brotherhood and increasing the peace of the world.

And now how shall we hold our Immersionist theory with respect to church union? Shall we abandon it? God forbid. Shall we say of sprinkling as a form of Baptism that it bears the stamp of Christ's approval? Again I say no. The question at issue is not what was the original form? That has been settled in favor of immersion; or shall we cease to immerse? We shall doubtless continue to do this as we have done it in the past. We are simply to consider whether we will hold the rite in a divisive way so as to check union and frustrate the prayers of Jesus for unity among his followers. Grant, as we must, that immersion was the form of confession given by Christ to his followers, how shall we treat divergences from this form? Just as God does if we can discover his attitude. Does he make discriminations against those who practice other forms of baptism? A few weeks ago, several hundred missionaries sailed away from Boston, New York, and San Francisco to preach and teach the gospel in heathen lands. Those were glorious days and made glorious because the best that the churches could offer were offering themselves in the spirit of self-abandonment, yea, even martyrdom, for the world's redemption. Were they all Baptists? God pardon me for asking a question that smacks of sectarianism and bigotry. But I must ask it, for I am trying to find out how God views matters, and what he thinks is only known by what he does. The spirit of God brooded over the church—over what church?—over the church to call forth out of it capable men and women who should build up the kingdom in other lands. Baptist young men and women, Presbyterian young men and women,

Episcopalian young men and women, consecrated, divinely called and sealed, and humanly approved, responded. Did God discriminate? Here is a group who are to go out to establish ritualistic Pedobaptist churches. Who called, commissioned, and sent them? Primarily God; secondarily the church. When perplexity, sickness, persecution, and death shall befall them, who will smooth their pathway, assuage the fierceness of the flames, and place martyr crowns upon their heads?

We can only judge by appearances, but so judging, it looks as though he who originated the rite of immersion and gave it its significance interprets it far more liberally than we have been wont to do. He takes no account of that which we make a hindrance to fellowship. Whom the Master receives into the closest possible fellowship, greatly honoring them by entrusting them with great enterprises in the founding and guidance of churches, we ought not exclude from our denominational organization. To be sure we stand and reach out our hands in loving esteem to Episcopalian and Congregationalist and Methodist, and say brother, brother, and yet there is a fence between us through which he cannot come except he has first been to the Jordan and returned, the like of which I cannot discern between him and his God. There is very great danger that we fall into inconsistency. We have eliminated two-thirds of the rite—for I have no doubt that the original form of baptism as given by Christ was triune—and now we disfellowship these whose only crime is that they have *gone us one better* by modifying the other third. It is a confessedly complicated and delicate situation.

Loyalty to conviction has, and should have, a tremendous grip upon us. We cannot sacrifice principle. We must not fail to give forth our message with no uncertain sound. On the other hand a mighty God-ordained movement toward union has set in. How shall we do?

1. We must be true to our conviction and continue to administer immersion in water as believers in baptism. We may preach it and explain its beautiful symbolism and urge it as a duty upon all penitents seeking admission to our churches, refusing to administer it in any other fashion. This will amply honor and dignify the rite. Our concern with the consciences and judgment of men

will then be at an end. God can be entrusted with the rest. This policy will in no way prevent co-operation in the matter of union.

2. But we should go a step farther. What shall we do with persons coming to us with accredited letters from Pedobaptist churches? "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, yet not for decision of scruples." Whom God fully accepts and greatly honors let us not reject. This would involve no forsaking of our principles or curtailing of our message or sanctioning of divergent forms of baptism. By it we should simply say, "For Christ's sake whose you are and for conscience' sake, not our own but yours, we fellowship you. . . ."

This position, if once accepted by the great Baptist body would give scope to the union movement in four different directions:

(1) It would lead to the free interchange of members among Christian bodies on the basis of letters.

(2) It would open the Lord's table to all lovers of our Lord.

(3) It would prepare the way for the building up in foreign fields of national, rather than sectarian churches.

(4) On such a basis organic union with bodies differing from us in the administration of baptism would be possible.

This would be simply the application on a broad scale of that principle of individual liberty in interpretation and action which has been our boast and our glory hitherto. We must not deny to others that which we claim for ourselves, viz., the right of private judgment, much less penalize them for exercising that right. Paul was right when he cried: "Let each man be fully persuaded in his own mind." He was equally right when he added: "Why doest thou judge thy brother? or thou again, why doest thou set at naught thy brother? Judge this rather that no man put a stumbling-block in his brother's way." It will be a crying shame if the Protestant sects of England and America shall insist on perpetuating in every heathen land the sectarian differences of the home field. That is not Christianity: that is sectarianism. By it we confuse the heathen mind, limit co-operation and delay the establishment of the kingdom of God in the ends of the earth. But the like of this is seen in the home land, in those numberless over-churched rural and village communities where denominationalism is another name for disunion

and weakness, and we along with others are parties to it. I have grave fears that the insistent Immersionists on immersion as an unailing prerequisite to church membership and fellowship are frustrating the purpose of God to unify his church.

While urging upon the Baptist brotherhood a policy of inter-denominational comity that shall reach even to the point of organic church union, I would strongly condemn the practice of forcing it as a divisive measure upon churches and associations unprepared for it. For by so doing union would become the occasion of bitterness and disunion.

My contention may be expressed in two words: (1) This movement toward co-operation and union among the Protestant sects is of God and should, therefore, be welcomed and strengthened. (2) We can be Baptists, consistently and aggressively Baptists, with a living mission and a burning message, and yet take the leadership in this coming-together movement in the great Christian brotherhood, the place providentially offered us by our members and our strength. In the presence of this mighty, divine tide of unionism let us stop and consider what is the voice of God to us out of it. Dare we say to God's movement: Stop at fraternalism and co-operation; proceed not to church union? Rather let us go along with God.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** The Chair desires to announce a change in program. In place of the paper by President Frederick D. Kerchner, we are to have a paper read by Rev. Luther E. Sellers (Disciple), pastor of the First Christian Church, Philadelphia.

**REV. LUTHER E. SELLERS (Disciple),** pastor of the First Christian Church of Philadelphia, Pa., then read the following paper:

### IMMERSIONISTS AND UNION

The subject of this paper lends itself to consideration along two lines:

*First,* Where is the meeting-point between Baptists and Disciples on immersion? What shall each need to yield in order that a practical unanimity of thought and belief may be realized?

Since both are agreed as to the form of baptism, how may they come to agree on the design?

*Second*, What shall be the explicit message of Baptists and Disciples, representing the Immersionists, to Pedobaptist bodies as to the place of baptism in the Christian union scheme? If baptism is an obstacle in the way of union, what can Immersionists do to remove the obstacle?

Taking up the consideration of the first division, namely, the differences between Baptists and Disciples, let it be said that in each body there are those who hold extreme views as to the design of baptism, which are not representative. Combative in temperament or drawn by sectarian bias it is but reasonable that some should hold such views. It is evidently not the belief of Baptists generally that baptism is merely a door into the visible church, or of Disciples generally that no one is saved who is not baptized. And yet, there are those in both bodies who hold to these respective views.

A truly representative definition of the position of each will show that after all the line of demarkation is not so broad and distinctive as we might suppose.

Disciples believe that the immersion in water of a penitent believer in Christ is a clear requirement of the Scriptures; that it is the consummating act in the process of conversion; that apart from faith it has no efficacy; that it is in fact an act of faith. In baptism, the believer assumes all the obligations of discipleship. The following terse quotation is adequate for our present purposes:

As an outward rite, baptism must be a type, or sign, of some religious truth, or spiritual fact, meant to be taught or enforced by its observance. And the form of the rite, the manner of its administration, must be such as properly to express its design and meaning. If the form be so changed that its symbolic force is lost, and its design no longer seen in its administration, then, manifestly, it is no longer baptism in form or fact; its teaching is not understood, and its chief purpose fails.

Now, it is not difficult to ascertain from the New Testament what was intended by baptism. It was clearly this: to show forth the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. And every candidate who receives the ordinance professes thereby faith in the merits of Christ's death as the ground of his own hope

and salvation, fellowship also with His sufferings, and a declaration of his own death to sin, and a rising to newness of life in Christ. It also typifies the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, and declares the candidate's hope of a resurrection from the dead, even as Christ, into the likeness of whose death he is buried, was raised up by the glory of the Father.

This statement embodies quite satisfactorily the belief of the Disciples. But the quotation is not from the pen of a Disciple at all, but is taken from Hiscox' *New Directory of Baptist Churches*, pp. 389, 425.

And it also exhibits the teaching of leading Baptists. Since the statement stands equally representative of both, it will be seen that there is substantial agreement upon the design of baptism between the two bodies.

Nor would a slight variation in terminology or diversity of opinion vitiate the vital unity of teaching as expressed above.

If Baptists, on the one side, shall here and there continue to regard baptism as simply an ordinance of induction into the visible church, and if Disciples here and there insist on making it the one distinctive note of their preaching, still advocates of unity will see beyond the apparent differences a vital and fundamental agreement. In the appeal to Scripture, the same proof texts are constantly used by both, and to both their great spiritual beauty and significance are alike apparent.

The recognition of this similarity offers an added possibility of union. It means the removal of one more rail from the fences that have separated us. Not only so, but it imposes the obligation upon Immersionists that they use the substantial agreement on this point to bring to pass harmony in other matters where division now exists. Quicken in the hearts of the two bodies the yearning for union and the task is well-nigh accomplished. They must minimize their differences and emphasize their agreements. From pulpit and press there should be silenced the note of sectarian bias and there should be sounded aloud the message that makes for peace. For union among Immersionists is not an end simply to be desired. It is something for which they must earnestly strive. Under God they are set to teach the Christian

world the possibility of a great host, once divided, coming to a working agreement looking to ultimate corporate unity.

This is the logical evolution of the unity program: first, comity among Immersionists; next, to the problems that relate to the other groups of the Protestant world. It would be rather embarrassing to turn to these with overtures so long as we do not make the most of every opportunity within our own ranks. The children of a common family should first be at peace among themselves before they can hope to be at peace with their neighbors.

If the whole question were one to be dealt with simply for its own sake, each party might fight its battle and retire reasonably certain of a decisive and ultimate victory.

But the baptismal question is not to be decided for its own sake. It is not an unrelated question. It is a question to be prayerfully considered by the molders of religious thought because it involves the larger problem of Christian Union. We cannot enjoy undisturbed doctrinal tranquillity and unity in Zion with a baptismal war in progress.

Granted now that the statement above is the common denominator between Immersionists, what should be their attitude toward Pedobaptist bodies on the question of immersion? If baptism is to be reckoned with in the union propaganda, what have the Immersionists to say, and what contribution shall they make to the final results? Here again are we met at the outset with expressions representing the whole range of sentiment and belief from entire repudiation of immersion by certain Pedobaptists to "no immersion, no salvation" by certain Immersionists. And as in the case of the latitude among Immersionists, the extreme views were not really vital to the question, so here it is not the extremists with whom we have to deal. As long as men think, there will be diversity of opinion. What we prize most is not so much opinion as germinal, vital truth; the deep soul-convictions for which men died and which live and abide forever. Not the remote territory, but the citadel, is the important thing. Ruskin's sweet reasonableness may be hard to discover in the baptismal controversy, but there is at center a fairly well-defined teaching of affusionist bodies on the subject. While holding to the validity of sprinkling and pouring, they also recognize the

validity of immersion. It constitutes one of the forms of baptism. It is true that it is sometimes discriminated against, disparaged, and reluctantly administered, still on the whole is respected and given equal rank with other forms. Voices are raised for immersion as a baptism divinely ordained and of a kind with sprinkling and pouring.

Such may be said to be the current and unofficial expression of the Pedobaptist world. But when the appeal is made to the church standards, the voice of councils and the declarations of authority, or to the venerable historic utterances of former militant days, it is found that uniformly the explicit and uncompromising voice of the church is and ever has been for immersion as the real and adequate baptism authorized in the New Testament. They all affirm that it answers admirably and beautifully every demand of the Scriptures and meets the exactions of etymology. And yet, just here is one of the most troublesome questions with which Unionists have to deal. The bequest of a trinity of baptismal forms from the remote past to the present, not only places the Pedobaptist world in a trying and delicate situation, but lays upon the whole Christian world one of the most stubborn of all the factors that enter into the Christian union situation. The unimportant procedure or the occasional practice of one age becomes the fixed law of the next.

We are creatures of custom. Tradition which, at first, is scarcely discernible in the heritage of a people, finally comes to be a well-nigh inviolable rule. We take much for granted as we take our places in human society.

We find many things in vogue in church and social life which we receive and about which we ask no questions, but for whose use or existence we could offer no real justification.

Such, may we charitably confess, is the Pedobaptist dilemma whose existence brings its share of embarrassment to Pedobaptist advocates of union as well as to all others.

Baptists and Pedobaptists alike believe in immersion. The consciousness of the church universal favors it.

It is accepted as valid wherever the name of Jesus is honored. Upon immersion as valid baptism there is no slightest shadow cast. It stands before no court asking justification nor at any

door seeking admission. And yet, strange paradox, it is one of the recognized barriers to Protestant unity.

Now how shall this barrier be removed, or at least over-ridden? How may the Immersionists go about the satisfactory solution of the matter? How may they assist in taking baptism entirely out of the union question?

And in passing it may be noted that not all the responsibility rests with the Immersionists. The difficulty was not created by them and theirs alone is not the task of adjusting it. Perhaps the time is at hand for Pedobaptists to come to the front and dispose of the whole matter either by convincing the conscience of Christendom of the validity of affusion or else by discontinuing its use everywhere.

But among Immersionists there are those who propose the following and which, if nothing more, suggest that faces are turned toward the dawn. They indicate the approach to unity and the influence that baptism exerts.

1. Let Immersionists adopt the practice of affusion. This would unify the forms of baptism the world over and would end the controversy. Baptism would with one stroke be eliminated from the unity problem. In reply to this, it is only necessary to say that the Immersionist conscience would regard it as a superb impossibility if not an unmatched absurdity.

2. Let Immersionist bodies establish an associate membership in their churches for such unimmersed as desire the blessings of congregational life. This might answer in certain and scattered individual cases, but really does not touch the question of union.

It is a personal convenience.

It is merely subtracting from one body to add to another, and contributes no distinct gain or advantage to the kingdom of God.

3. Stop debating it (baptism). We prolong bitterness between brethren by keeping alive the spirit of controversy. By unholy discussions and personal attacks, men otherwise cordial and fraternal are driven wide apart and co-operation and mutual helpfulness are made impossible.

We should discuss baptism as we do faith or hope or simply as the New Testament teaches with the personal element left out.

If we present a rose, let us first extract the thorn.

4. Let Immersionists encourage the spirit of co-operation and good fellowship with Pedobaptists in Christian work. There is so much that may be done today which not only challenges our faith, but fairly demands that we sink our personal bias and beliefs and join with our brethren of all faiths for its accomplishment. Baptism should not bulk too large and ominous when placed by the side of the all-challenging world problems. We are not called into the passion of our Lord to pour out our lives on the fields of verbal controversy, but for the purpose of joining with others of Christ's very own in the great tasks of human redemption. Neither baptism nor any other doctrines, however cherished, should prevent our doing this. If on anything on earth Jesus manifestly sets his seal of approval and promise, it is on such co-operative movements as seek the furtherance of the kingdom of God. And the world fairly shrieks into the ears of the church that her crushing woe, her piteous want, her tears and heartbreaks, and the bitterness of hopeless death must not continue while ecclesiastics sit in cloistered halls in soft raiment and discuss the merits of respective creeds.

By the blood tracks of the Son of God who supped with sinners and fellowshipped with traitors that he might aid God to get his work done, we are eternally challenged to suffer with him and to cease our bickerings as their crimson trail leads us to the fields of service and victory.

Such fraternal co-operation increases our appreciation of each other's views and is death to biased judgment, suspicion, and distrust.

Before the great naval battle of Trafalgar, Admiral Nelson called to his flagship Captain Collingwood and Captain Hardy who had been deadly enemies, and commanded them to shake hands as he pointed to the French fleet, and said: "Gentlemen, there's your enemy." In this battle-hour of the church we may see our Master with hands raised toward the hosts of Satan emboldened by the fact of a divided church, and hear him say with trumpet tones: "Brethren, there's your enemy." Yes, and we may see him point to the whitening harvest fields and hear him say: "There's your harvest. Together cast in your sickles,

for I have called you to labor together as brethren with me in its reaping." How aloofness chills the blood and paralyzes the sword arm! How changed is the whole sphere of service when we know that our brethren are not our enemies but are with us in the work of God!

Thus it is written in the Talmud: "Walking on the mountains one day I saw a form which I took to be a beast. Coming nearer I saw that it was a man. Approaching nearer still I found it was my brother."

5. Let Immersionist bodies receive the unimmersed without immersion, extending them the hand of fellowship and the full privileges of membership.

Those who urge full membership for the unimmersed tell us that the spiritual lives of the unimmersed not only certify their fellowship with God, being fruitful in every good work, but that they actually put to shame the professions of very many who have been immersed. If immersion, they say, is so vital and efficacious, there ought to be a distinctive sequence in the lives of the immersed. Why not at once recognize their fitness for fellowship and receive them as they are? And certainly no one would for a moment wish to discount the beauty and power in the lives of the godly unimmersed.

This spiritual enrichment, coupled with zeal for the interests of the kingdom of God, might easily cover a multitude of doctrinal shortcomings. But the fallacy of this reasoning lies in this: that any good man who has never been immersed becomes an argument against immersion. You cannot measure the efficacy of any ordinance by the spiritual attainment of its recipient, apart from other influences. Would sprinkling or pouring alone make a bad man spiritual? Baptism is not meant to make men spiritual, but to inaugurate the work of spiritual training in the lives of those who receive it, by placing them in the midst of great formative influences both human and divine.

To say that because some who have never been immersed are as spiritual as some who have, and, therefore, baptism is not essential to spiritual excellence, entirely perverts the purpose and import of the ordinance. Nor is this statement made without a measure of misgiving.

The writer's yearnings for union are among the most passionate that concern the kingdom. He would have union at whatever cost, were personal wishes alone to be considered. He would at once say: "Let us end our pitiful divisions and our jealous strife; let us unite and win the world for Christ; let us receive the unimmersed; let them receive us." In so far as baptism is a deterrent to union, let it be removed. Anything only that parties end and the glorious church, united and victorious, own her Lord. But up to this moment, the writer can do no other than declare for fidelity to conscience in the advocacy of even so sublime a theme as that of the union of the people of God.

For those who feel that the interests of Christian union warrant our extending fellowship and membership to the unimmersed, let it be said that there ought to be no incongruity between our earnest advocacy of baptism as we understand it and our plea for Christian union. Our teaching must be consistent with itself. The ordinance is involved in union and union is involved in the ordinance. We can no more teach the scriptural basis of union without baptism than we can teach the scriptural basis of baptism without union. The gospel is divine and it includes both. One is weakened without the other. We further the interests of union by faithfulness to New Testament teachings.

Nor does this mean in a spirit of *ex cathedra* assurance and bigotry. Rather, that union is to be the flower of New Testament teaching as applied to the conscience and the conduct of the universal church. Any program of Christian union that shall commend itself to the favor of God or the serious consideration of men must be not so much one of legislation, as interpretation, in church and individual life, of divine ideals. It must be well balanced. It must not run to sentiment on the one side, or to reckless compromise on the other.

The heart that pulsates in its yearning for union and in love for the furtherance of the kingdom, must pulsate also in its loyalty to Christ and fidelity to his divine word. Forever must there ring clear and true, and with compelling power, those final words of the Master: "All authority is mine. Go, make disciples, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of

the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you all the days." In these wonderful words, surcharged with regal power and containing the last will and testament of the Lord of the church is the *motif* of all procedure in advancing the cause of our blessed Redeemer.

Everything in Christianity stands upon these words. Certainly the authority of Jesus, as final and supreme, is there; the vision of the far-flung battle line of God, whose peaceful messages bring joy to the ends of the earth, is there; loving obedience by everyone who names the name of Christ is there; union is there; and there at its center and inspiration is the assurance of the divine presence. And it is only by loving conformity to the divine inclusiveness of this high note that unity today may be real and permanent.

With loyalty to Christ that esteems his will more precious than life, let us pray for a larger vision. Some things must wait on God. In faith unity, in opinions liberty, in all things charity, we must be keenly alert to interpret Christ as we understand him to the men of this day.

This may not be the ultimate attitude of the Immersionist hosts. In the ongoings of time, that shall bring to the church a larger interpretation of the genius of the kingdom and a finer appreciation of the spirit of the Lord of the kingdom, this attitude may seem narrow and inadequate. God has yet more truth to break forth from his word. And for the present our task is to apply to the healing of the factions of the church the sweetest, sanest, divinest message of our Lord as we understand him.

PRESIDENT MERRILL: We are to have a third paper presented by Rev. Robert T. Jones, D.D., of Ithaca, N.Y.

REV. ROBERT T. JONES, D.D., of Ithaca, N.Y., then presented the following paper:

### IMMERSIONISTS AND CHURCH UNION

When we speak of church union it is understood, of course, that we mean by that term something more than merely sympathetic union. Such a union we have already to a larger degree than ever before.

But in this discussion, I take it, we mean by church union something more than this; not merely sympathetic union, in which, while we labor together in many important regards, we still maintain strong barriers against each other; but actual church union: union wherein we shall, each and all, share the church life and fellowship of the other, without consciousness of the sacrifice of anything essential to our faith.

When we achieve this, we shall have actual church union; for it is just the impossibility of sharing each other's church life and fellowship that now separates us. It is the barriers in belief and polity raised just here that create the divisions of which we are so conscious. Remove these, and the great Christian bodies will come together in a union both real and actual, and in which, as not before, the great prayer of the Master will be realized, "that they also may be one, as we are one." In other words, we shall have come to regard the great common ground of love for God and for his son Jesus Christ as a sufficient basis for fellowshiping all believers, and for receiving them into our individual communions, regardless of other differences; leaving such differences as questions of opinion, with liberty to differ. Such a union would not mean, necessarily, the giving up of all divergences between denominations; but that such divergences would not inherently become sources of division. There would be liberty to enjoy each other's fellowship upon the ground of common love for God and for Jesus Christ, and, best of all, in actual church organization and association.

But it will be objected, I know, that such a conception, while beautiful in spirit, loses sight of the fact that the divisions within the church have arisen because of unavoidable differences upon Christian doctrine; and that these differences are matters of principle, not lightly overcome. But I assure you I am not unmindful of this. On the contrary, I recognize fully how honestly the different branches of Christ's church have felt that the things for which they have stood were the things of God; and how sincerely they have believed many of the doctrines and practices of their brethren of other communions to be wrong. I am not contending that these differences can be arbitrarily abolished, but only that the great basic facts of our religious life—love for

God and for Jesus Christ—be regarded as sufficient ground for our union in every possible form of fellowship, and that all other matters be left to individual judgment. And we think it not improper to maintain this, seeing that so many differences once vigorously contested for are now contested for no longer. And if this is the case, have we not the right to hope that it may go on still farther, until at last no barrier will remain between the families of God's church that need not be there?

And so the duty comes, among others, to the bodies of Christians known as Immersionists, to see to it that, in emphasizing immersion as they do, they do not unnecessarily and unadvisedly foster occasion of division in the great Christian body, and by so much defer that deeper union of Christendom for which we all pray.

It is the belief of the writer (though himself an administrator of immersion throughout a ministry of thirty-six years) that too great emphasis has been laid upon this rite, and that it has been, and is now, unnecessarily a cause of separation in the churches. It does not seem to him that the fact that Jesus was himself immersed, and that he apparently recognized immersion, constitutes a ground for the rigid adherence to it which now marks, at least, American Immersionists. To assume that this absolutely settles the question is the veriest literalism; and it is upon this literalism that the present rigid adherence to immersion is based. If we are to be blind followers of just the outward circumstances of Jesus' life, then debate is at an end; and we have only to take our place among the most unyielding of Immersionists. But we do not believe this does settle it. We hold rather that such literalism is destructive of all true interpretation of the Master. We believe we have to interpret Jesus through the spirit of his life and the intent of his commands, and that to ignore these is to miss the meaning of both.

Now as regards the spirit of his life, it is evident that he laid emphasis not on formal acts of any sort; but upon motive and state of heart. He valued men for what they really were. He cared little for outward forms and shows of goodness, apart from this. He even ran the risk of misjudgment by the Pharisees, because he cared for it so little, and he often fellowshipped

men and women whom the Pharisees condemned, because he judged them in this way.

It is hard to think of such a man elevating any outward form to a place where specific and literal observance of it would become a test of loyalty to him. It is hard to believe that such a soul (valuing simply things that were vital) would establish any outward act in such a way that obedience or disobedience to him would be measured by the exactness with which it was executed.

It may be objected just here that Jesus' own baptism in the Jordan at the hands of John, and the statement that he was thus fulfilling all righteousness, is evidence that he attached significance to the form itself. We do not think so; we think it is entirely taken for granted that the form through which John registered the professions of his converts had any significance to Jesus at all. We believe he would have registered his faith with John by whatever method that rough prophet was employing. It was not immersion that he wished to honor in his baptism in the Jordan; but John's movement itself. He wished to ally himself with this, because John alone, in that day of empty form and ceremony, stood for real righteousness. John's movement was in the direction of spirit and life; and Jesus would have accepted at his hands any form or method of acknowledging it which John might have been using. That he would not have gone to John had he been sprinkling his converts, or doing something else than immersing them, is absurd on the face of it.

In view, then, of the general spirit of his life the interpretation of his own immersion is, that it was an accommodation to the situation in which he found himself. John's movement was in the same direction as his own—in the direction of spirit and life. It was really the opening word of his own message. It would have been strange, therefore, beyond measure, if he had not associated himself with it. It was becoming that he should honor the man and his method, just as he found it, and in this sense it was a real fulfilling of righteousness.

That this was actually the case, a detailed study of the gospels easily shows. As we read the earliest gospels, especially the Gospel of Mark, we are astounded to find so little reference to

immersion. The emphasis is everywhere, not on how a man should proclaim his faith; but that he should have faith, and, as a corollary, that he should proclaim it. Immersion is nowhere prominent. Indeed, if we had only the three Synoptics, we actually would not know that anyone connected with the life of Jesus had been immersed. It comes in more as a reverberation of the ministry of John than as a new and definite institution of Jesus.

In John's ministry, however, it is just the reverse. There, immersion is conspicuous; it was the sign-manual of the wilderness prophet; it was the outward stamp he put upon each of his converts, and that he publicly demanded of each. He was known as John the Baptizer. It was the method he publicly proclaimed and practiced, by which to seal the profession of his disciples. They were all obliged to submit to it, and thus come out into the company of repentant ones.

But nowhere does Jesus give immersion such prominence. His first public utterance was, "Repent and believe the gospel." He came to induce a new method of life. He came to change men's hearts; how such change should be registered, did not seem to concern him. The "Sermon on the Mount" has no reference to baptism. His talk with the woman of Samaria has nothing concerning it. None of the parables even suggest it. His immediate directions to those who believed on him, in no single instance, either command or imply it. There is no mention that the man with the unclean spirit in Capernaum was baptized; or that the leper whom he healed was; or that the man sick with the palsy was; or that the Twelve, when he sent them out to preach, were to administer it; or any statement in their report, when they returned, that they had done so. There is no account of the possessed man at Gadara being baptized; or that the Syro-Phoenician woman was; or that he told the rich young man to be; or that blind Bartimaeus was. And when the learned scribe asked him which was the greatest commandment, his answer made no reference to it. There is no mention of it in connection with the statement that "multitudes" here and there, in city and country, believed on him. In fact, in the entire earliest gospel, not a single mention is made of baptism, after the ac-

count of Jesus' own baptism, till the closing verses in the 16th chapter, which are bracketed in the Canterbury Version as of doubtful authority. In that earliest and most graphic account of his ministry of teaching, healing, and wonder working not a word is said of immersion till we get to this disputed conclusion in the last chapter.

In Matthew's Gospel, also, not a reference to the rite is to be found (after the account of Jesus' baptism) until we reach the last two verses of the book—not a single mention, directly or indirectly, in any way whatever. The whole wonderful story of Jesus' ministry is told, and of conversions to him on every hand, without immersion being mentioned—until we get to these last two verses; and these are admittedly open to serious question. They contain a distinctly theological reference, belonging undoubtedly to a later period of the church, most unlikely to have come from the pen of the simple narrator of the preceding chapters.

In the Gospel of Luke it is even more marked; for in that splendid story of the Master there is not a single word about baptism, or reference to it in any way, directly or indirectly, in the whole Gospel, as far as His own ministry is concerned, after the account of Jesus' own baptism at the hands of John.

The only reference to the employment of baptism by Jesus to be found in the gospels (apart from the instances already referred to) are to be found in the Gospel of John, where there are three passages; one, where it is said the Pharisees were representing that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John, though (it is added) that Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples; the instance where it is said that Jesus and his disciples came into the land of Judea, and tarried there and baptized; and the instance of the conversation with Nicodemus, where he said that "except a man be born of water and the spirit, he could not enter into the kingdom of God." It is only just to say that these passages distinctly represent Jesus and his disciples as employing baptism; and furthermore, of many people (even more than came to John) receiving it at their hands. And the implication in these passages is undoubtedly that it was the custom of his ministry so to use it in all places, and at all times, and

that he associated it in a sort of necessary way with the inward spiritual change.

If we found such passages as these in the earlier gospels, we should not hesitate to say that Jesus gave to this rite especial emphasis, and attached to it even a very profound spiritual significance. But inasmuch as no references to it are found in the Synoptic Gospels (as we have shown), except those open to undoubted dispute; and inasmuch as the Gospel of John was admittedly written later than the other gospels, and certainly after the theological period began (as the very first chapter shows), we believe there is good ground for thinking that Jesus did not give immersion the prominence which these passages would imply. Unsupported by the Synoptics we believe that such a contention is valid.

That it had a place in his ministry, we do not doubt; but that it had the imperative place which Immersionists give it we think is incapable of proof. That it was an act designed in any way to test obedience or loyalty to him we think there is every reason to doubt. We should judge that it frequently followed profession of faith in him; but that it was thought absolutely necessary to administer it in all cases where people believed on him, we think there is no evidence. He was constantly moving from place to place, from town to town, and from village to village, and people believed on him in multitudes as he went along. He apparently did not attempt to organize them, or do more than give to them his great message. There are no baptismal scenes recorded along the way, or anything to imply that he or his disciples stopped in each case of belief in him to administer immersion as a necessary accompaniment of faith.

But after his death and resurrection a new situation appears. Immersion then got to have the prominence of an initiatory rite, and from that time on we see it occupying a prominent place in the apostolic program. The command then became definite and clear, "To believe and be baptized every one of you." The necessities of the organization now demanded the outward testimony. The apostolic company had become an *ecclesia*, a church, adding to itself daily of such as should be saved. Baptism now became customary as the necessary accompaniment of faith, and it was

but natural that Paul should see in it the beautiful symbolism contained in Rom. 6:4. But that Jesus saw in it any such symbolism, or gave it any such place in his ministry, is seriously open to question. He simply went about doing good, preaching and teaching and healing, regardless of numbers, and nowhere "adding" anybody to anything except to himself, as their spiritual guide and master.

Thus far we have tried to show from an examination of the baptism of Jesus by John, and from the gospels themselves, that immersion had no such imperative place in the thought and ministry of Jesus as Immersionists now give it; that it was employed by him, but in no necessary way; that if anything else had been in use for the same purpose, he would as readily have adopted it. There is no evidence that he laid emphasis on this particular way, or would have been disturbed if some other took its place. To make its exact observance, therefore, a test of loyalty to him, and a prohibitory condition of membership in his church, seems to us to be an elevation of it to a place never contemplated by him, and not justified by an examination of his ministry.

But this is not all. We believe that too unyielding an emphasis is laid upon this rite by Immersionists, not only because of what we have just shown concerning its place in Jesus' own ministry, but because of what we think he would do if he came among us now.

Would his attitude in this matter be the same as that of present-day Immersionists? Would he take up the insistent contention that the word *baptizo* means immersion, and nothing else? Would he say that only by so interpreting it do believers make proper confession of him—that, only then do they express what the ordainer of the ceremony meant it to express, and that when we take those into our fellowship who have not thus conformed to it (however pious or beloved they may be as Christians) we break our fealty to him?

Could we imagine such a great spiritual soul as Jesus taking such ground. Would he contend for any mechanical act in this way, reminding us that a certain word has a particular meaning, and has no other? Would he hinge our spiritual fealty to him upon the literalness and exactness with which we performed such

an act? Would he feel we were discrediting him if we took into our fellowship holy men and women (many of whom had sealed their faith in him with their blood) because, forsooth, they had acknowledged him in one mechanical way rather than in another?

To the writer, at least, any such conclusion is so impossible, so unlike the world's deepest conception of the Christ, that it seems like profanation to suggest it. Jesus would fall from his great place as the spiritual interpreter and deliverer of men's souls if we had to think of him defending the mechanism of a form, or qualifying his commendation of his most devout followers, because they were inexact in their observance of it. To the writer all this is pettifogging, and he is free to say that if he were obliged to think of Jesus in this way, it would be impossible for him to value him as he now does. The Divine Prophet would become a Priest; and the heart's most profound interpreter, an overseer of quantities and a critic of performances. If Jesus appeared among us now, we can only imagine him welcoming the confession of every loyal soul, absolutely indifferent to the way in which he made it.

And then, again, we think that too great emphasis is laid upon immersion for two other reasons: first, the difficulty which immersion presents to many sincere inquirers; and second, the losses which it brings to Immersionist churches.

We would not raise these questions if we felt that Jesus actually and imperatively commanded immersion as the only divine way of confessing him. If this were so, we should be obliged to insist upon it. The question of expediency could not be even mentioned. We should simply have to do as he said. But not believing this to be the case, we think the considerations just spoken of are valid ones for relaxing the emphasis now put upon it by Immersionists.

That immersion does present great difficulties to many sincere converts is well understood by all Immersionist pastors. While some converts receive it gladly, and see in it the symbolic significance spoken of by Paul, a great many others do not. They shrink from it with dread and fear, especially women, and go through it only because they think they must in order to obey

Christ, and with all the religious significance, for the time, utterly lost sight of because of fear. This occurs especially where people have a natural horror of water, or are exceedingly timid, or associate a feeling of indelicacy with it, or are not well, or where, at heart, they really question its necessity.

And the same is true with regard to the losses to Immersionist churches, by this method. Many persons, who become the truest followers of Christ, refuse to submit to the ceremony at all. Feeling that it is not demanded of them, and that the intention of Jesus can be met in some other way more consonant with the conditions of modern life, they refuse to sacrifice their feelings upon the altar of what they consider formalism and ecclesiasticism, and seek a home in other religious communions. And that an increasingly large number of persons are doing this (especially among the educated and refined classes) is known to us all. But this is only a part of the loss. Within Immersionist churches themselves, intelligent and valuable people are often found, upon one pretext or another, slipping away into other religious connections which do not require a rite which has ceased to be to them either an obligation or a joy. And even where the parents remain firm, the children upon going to college, or marrying, or settling in a different city, often make the change an opportunity to slip away into other religious fellowships. Every Immersionist pastor knows how very real is this "leak from the top."

On these accounts, then, first, that immersion does not hold the imperative place in the ministry of Jesus which Immersionists have assigned to it; second, that he would not give it such a place if he came among us today; and third, that such insistence upon it is a source of difficulty to many inquirers, and a cause of continual loss to Immersionist churches, we maintain, that the emphasis put upon immersion by Immersionists is uncalled for upon the ground of both scriptural demand and denominational expediency.

Now if this is the case, then this emphasis is manifestly an unnecessary hindrance to the unity and fellowship of the church at large, which brings us back to the topic of this paper.

Feeling that any fellowshiping of those whom they regard as

unimmersed believers is an act of disloyalty to Christ, and refusing to receive such persons into their churches (however undoubted their faith and character), they erect a barrier to the unity of the church at large, which is seriously obstructive of its work and spirit. Such a disfellowshipping of the entire Christian world, outside of Immersionists, is a painful hindrance to the "unity of spirit in the bond of peace," of which the apostle speaks. In many cases of course this is actually lost sight of (the hearts of men being always bigger than their creeds); but it comes up as a barrier when their association in churches is suggested, or when effort is called for with other Christians, which demands the overlooking of such differences.

Now let no one gather from this paper that the writer has had any thought or purpose in its preparation to discredit immersion. This has been farthest from his thought. He has tried simply to express his own view of the matter frankly and honestly, and with all possible courtesy to the opinion of noble men who may differ from him. He fully recognizes that many believers see in it the command of Christ and, as well, the symbolism suggested by St. Paul, and that they feel it obligatory upon them to confess their faith by this means and by no other. His contention is not that immersion should be discredited; but only that its observance should not be made an imperative demand. He believes it might well be taught as the method of confession especially honored in Christian history. But when this is done, the question should be left entirely to the option of each and every believer. To those who see in immersion an imperative command of Jesus, it should be administered in accordance with their convictions; and facilities for such administration should be provided in all churches. But for those who prefer some other of the recognized ways of making their Christian acknowledgment, such a way should be provided, and no insinuation should be cast upon their fealty to their Master, because they adopt it, or upon any minister of Christ because he becomes an administrator to such, be he Baptist or otherwise. And further, in the case of anyone giving undoubted evidence of faith, but who thinks it unnecessary to register his confession by the use of baptism in any form, such a one should be received into

the church on the same footing as the others, with the fullest honor, upon the simple declaration of his faith.

This then is the contention of this paper. The writer believes that such a program would be in harmony with the will of the great Head of the church; that it would better express the gospel he came to bring to mankind, and that it would conduce, in a larger way than any other, to the unity of his church on earth for which we all pray.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** There is only one appointed speaker for this topic, President Milton G. Evans, of Crozer Theological Seminary.

**PRESIDENT M. G. EVANS, D.D., LL.D.,** then spoke as follows:

### IMMERSIONISTS AND CHURCH UNION

Regular Baptists, both North and South, immerse. Mormons immerse. As far as I know, it has not been suggested that identity of baptismal rite is a sufficient reason for the union of these religious bodies.

The Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists immerse. The great constituency of the Regular Baptists, hitherto known as Freewill Baptists, immerse. Calculate the chances that these will form an organic union on the basis of identity in an external ceremony.

The Christadelphians immerse. Seventh-Day Baptists immerse. If by chance members of these two organizations should meet and compare views, what is the probability that they would consider likeness in a single ceremonial practice a rational basis for union?

Greek Catholics practice immersion. To be sure it is triune immersion, but immersion nevertheless, and the topic of discussion demands that they be included in the review. The River Brethren practice triune immersion also. But unless human action should become suddenly lawless, Greek Catholics and River Brethren will not vote for organic union, even though the identity of their baptismal ceremony is peculiarly marked. These instances prove that similarity of ordinances does not indicate

such an identity of religious philosophy as can guarantee permanent union. For example, all Baptists agree that (1) only those that profess personal faith in Christ as Savior are proper subjects of baptism; and that (2) the only scriptural mode of baptism is immersion; yet Baptists have not been held together by these beliefs. To illustrate: Some years ago a Congregationalist changed his views on the question of baptism and was immersed. He became a Baptist. As a Baptist, he saw fit to express his opinions of the generally accepted theological tenets held in his section of the country. The brethren with whom he was brought into fellowship by immersion disfellowshipped him. That is, in 1779, immersion did not guarantee fellowship of Christians that believed differently on such subjects as election, extent of atonement, and final perseverance of the saints. In 1911, the children of those that withdrew the hand of fellowship from Benjamin Randall repent of the mistaken judgment of their fathers and ask his children according to the faith to join them in fellowship and service. In the closing years of the eighteenth century immersion did not prevent Baptists from becoming two strong and independent organizations. In the opening years of the twentieth century the practice of immersion did not of itself bring them together. Lessening emphasis on purely speculative questions in theology, a more sympathetic view of human nature, and an increasing enthusiasm of all evangelical Christians in every denomination in missionary endeavor both at home and abroad effected the union. In this instance, identity of mode of baptism simply offered one less obstacle for these co-operating forces to overcome.

Permit another incident from ecclesiastical history as an illustration that immersion has relatively little value in effecting the formation of religious bodies. Early in the nineteenth century a Presbyterian changed his views on baptism, and became a Baptist. He was a man of striking personality and unsurpassed in *ad hominem* dialectics. He vigorously preached views that were out of harmony with the thoughts and feelings of many Christians in all denominations in his community. His newly found Baptist brethren obliged him to leave one association. He found fellowship with Baptists in another association. The new

alliance was not made because of identity of views on mode of baptism, but because of identity of views and feelings on other doctrines and practices. To be sure, identity of rite facilitated the new fellowship, but it neither caused it nor occasioned it. That other considerations than immersion were dominant motives may be inferred from the fact that when the Mahoning Baptist Association disbanded and its constituent churches formed the nucleus of the strong and influential denomination known as Disciples, not only Baptists, but Presbyterians and Methodists, in large numbers joined the new body. Alexander Campbell and his followers practiced immersion, but this was not a bond of union sufficiently strong to keep them within the Baptist body. Presbyterians and Methodists had been accustomed to another mode of baptism, but they abandoned this mode and accepted immersion, not for the sake of the rite, but for the sake of a wider body of beliefs of which the mode of baptism was but one, and no doubt to many relatively subordinate.

What it was that occasioned the rapid spread of Campbell's "reform" is tersely stated by the Baptist historian, A. H. Newman:

If the Baptists of the Southwest had been in the third decade of the century what Baptists are today, and if they had been more intelligent and had possessed an educated ministry, if they had laid as little stress on confessions of faith as Baptists do at present, if they had taught as evangelical a form of doctrine as that taught by the mass of the denomination of today, if the missionary spirit had been as active then as now, it would have been impossible for such a movement as that led by Campbell to have arisen or to have gained such a following as it did (*The American Church History Series*, Vol. II, pp. 491, 492).

In fact, the whole movement that resulted in the formation of the organizations known as the Christians and the Disciples of Christ was a protest against a conception of Christianity that issued in sects and in ecclesiastical tyranny in both polity and doctrine. It is not an accident that at about the same period of American history a Virginia Methodist presiding elder, dissatisfied with Episcopal authority, declared the Bible to be the sole and sufficient guide in faith and practice; that several Kentucky Presbyterian preachers, repudiating the Calvinistic doctrine of the

Westminster Confession, accepted the Bible as their only authority; and that a Vermont Baptist layman, already accepting the Bible as his only guide, became "disturbed 'in regard to sectarian names and human creeds.'" For these individuals represented three distinct movements that culminated in a Christian body that is congregational in polity, regards the Bible only as authority, allows every member to interpret it for himself, rejects infant baptism, and practices immersion, although it does not make immersion a condition of church membership.

Nor was it an accident that a Presbyterian "seceder," desiring to restore the unity of believers by returning to the religion of the New Testament, should seek fellowship in a denomination that had congregational church government, that held theoretically that the Bible is the sole authority in belief, and that therefore believers' immersion alone has scriptural warrant. Nor is it strange that this Presbyterian "seceder" and his followers, in accepting the New Testament as authority, rejected human creeds, and, as far as possible, limited necessary doctrinal statement to the language of the apostles. In 1827, then, the followers of O'Kelly and of Stone and of Campbell agreed with Baptists in their doctrine that the Bible, not man-made creeds, was the sole authority in faith. But Baptist associations repudiated the new doctrines because they were not in conformity with the Philadelphia Confession, the recognized standard of orthodoxy of the day. The motto of the Disciples was, "When the Scriptures speak, we speak; when they are silent, we are silent."

The controversy weakened the Baptist denomination numerically, but spread two of its vital doctrines, namely, the sole and sufficient authority of the New Testament, and believers' baptism by immersion, so that the Baptist position has really been strengthened by the disaffection.

The controversy showed also that the practice of immersion is not the essential fact in Baptist history, but only a concrete illustration of how a believer shows his attitude toward his accepted authority in religious life. In the progress of religious discussions in England, the insertion of the note, "The word *baptizo* signifies to dip or plunge," in the Confession of Faith of 1644, served to preserve what had been gained, and thus acted as

a ratchet to prevent Baptists from slipping back to the more or less amorphous position of the Anabaptists. The insistence upon an act in exact accordance with Scripture language guaranteed the perpetuity of the acceptance of the Bible, in contrast to Pope and tradition, as the only authority in matters of religion. But it may be asked, Is conformity to religious ceremony the only test of sincerity? May not the rejection of "man-made creeds" be such a test? In effect, Campbell and his followers so claimed; and today Baptists are not so exacting in credal statement as in 1827. In other words, now the Bible is more really an authority for believers than at any period in Christian history. This does not mean simply that Immersionists are gaining rapidly in numbers, and will continue to gain more rapidly in the future, although such is the fact, but that everywhere there is a growing disposition to insist that all who would see Jesus must be free, unhindered by any authority whatever, to seek him by way of the New Testament, and that all stand or fall to him whom it discloses, not to their fellow-seekers in the same open thoroughfare. Unity, then, cannot come on the basis of immersion merely, but on the narrower basis of conformity to the spiritual values of the New Testament. To seek union as an end is too low an ideal, and history shows that when this is the objective, separation and not union is the result. But to seek the mind of Christ, that is, "doing nothing through party spirit or vain glory, but in humility each esteeming others better than himself; regarding not each one his own things, but each one also the things of others," will result in a union that may fitly be described as the body of Christ. When all Immersionists will have learned "the gentle art of living together," there will be no need of discussing such a topic as "Immersionists and Church Union."

PRESIDENT MERRILL: I have before me the card of Rev. John R. Brown, of Bridgeport, Conn.

REV. JOHN R. BROWN, D.D., Bridgeport, Conn.: *Mr. Chairman and Brethren:* In a sense, I suppose we are all descendants of Roger Williams, but Roger Williams was a Baptist just one month in his stormy career, and after that experience called himself throughout the rest of his long life a "seeker." The

discussion tonight makes me think we will soon have to call ourselves by this same appellation. The fathers would not recognize some of the sentiments here expressed as baptistic. I believe that it is the custom out in California, when an artesian well is opened, to let the water run freely for a number of days, that the strength of the water may be tested and certain hollows on the lower levels may be filled. If we will allow certain tendencies among ourselves to follow their own courses for a while, perhaps this discussion will seem to be needless. There are tendencies which make the denominational problem a little more easy.

In Pedobaptist churches the complaint has come that children are not presented for baptism at the proper time, and oftentimes earnest appeals are made from the pulpit to bring children to the sanctuary for the ordinance. Strange to say, as we Baptists have come to victory, so far as the interpretation of the rite is concerned, we have found among ourselves a strange reticence with regard to its necessity. Having won our victory we are a little afraid of a triumph. Nevertheless, the entire discussion tonight has seemed to omit one important psychological fact—in every kind of sociological life there must be adequate symbolism. If the symbolism does not take a proper authoritative form it will take unusual, strange, and sometimes repulsive forms. As we lose the habit of symbolism in the Christian church it gains in other quarters. The men in the street are going into lodges and other institutions, where symbolism is growing apace. There is an exact psychology of symbolism which we must not overlook. If symbolism is a habit of man, why not think of immersion as the only form of the rite for the Christian church? If scholarship has granted that immersion is the only form of baptism, have we not reached the point where the symbolism of the rite ought to be insisted upon in its purity?

Confession of faith may mean something or it may mean nothing. The Baptists of England are a free body, so far as the particular form of the rite is concerned, because of the peculiar conditions of Nonconformist life in England. The Nonconformists have had to fight together or fall together, and if

the Baptists of England had come to some of the positions we occupy they would have been a decisive force in English Christian life.

Our different strata of population in years gone suffered from the difficulties of communication. Now with these difficulties of communication entirely ended, with a general level of intelligence that seems to be heightening all the time, we shall soon be in the same position as the Baptists of England—and that tendency has manifested itself in the papers which have been read to us tonight. It seems to me we are never going to lose the value of a symbol in the church of Jesus Christ, and whatever the authority for the symbol of baptism may be in the example and words of Jesus Christ, certainly the long tendency of the Christian church and the uses of the rite of baptism in days gone by will compel continuance of that rite. We are going to settle it, I believe, at the point of a believer's baptism, whether that baptism is one by immersion, by affusion, or by sprinkling. We are going to recognize in a modified form the English Baptist position largely because of the growth of the common intelligence in this country which deals with the more practical things. The denominations are being brought together in a union for service as they have never been brought together in a union for a creed. We cannot escape these inevitable conclusions for daily life and for ecclesiastical integrity. As I look at the matter, the time is very near at hand when this large liberty will be granted all on the basis of the confession of the believer; and then the further ideal that the symbol must represent something adequate, habitual, and true will compel the church more and more to recognize immersion as the only form of baptism. But as that form of baptism has to be based on the voluntary principle, and as it represents in the first place an adequate faith, we need not trouble ourselves over extensively with what the result will be. We need not help God very much in trying to bring about a result that is inevitable if we allow the tendency to take its own course. We find it will enter the deep stream of history and we will not have to make courses for it. We will wonder why we did not recognize the tendency and appreciate the fact of the large providence of God in this discussion. (*Applause.*)

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** I have before me the card of Professor Pollard, of Crozer Seminary.

**PROF. E. B. POLLARD, PH.D.,** Chester, Pa.: With me the question at last resolves itself into this: Are the Baptists, after all, worth while? But I hasten to explain that I am not a ritualist nor a sacramentarian, in my firm stand for immersion. Christian union is a good thing. The question is whether the world needs Christian union more than it needs what we Baptists can contribute to the religious welfare of men. If the world needs union more than it needs what we can give, we ought to fall in on behalf of Christian union at all hazards. I believe the Baptists have a contribution to make, a testimony to bear, to the world; and because of this, we ought to place ourselves in the very best position to give equivocally that testimony. There are influences still at work, even in the Christian world today, which ought to be overcome, and which can be conquered only by Baptists giving their testimony in an unmistakable way. The first of these influences came from Greek mysticism, producing a sacramentarian conception of the ordinances; the next from Roman imperialism, introducing spiritual tyranny, the hierarchy, and priest craft into the church. The third class of errors came through Judaism, which sent over into Christianity the fallacy that the family is the Christian unit, rather than the individual, resulting in religion by proxy, infant baptism, and the like. The errors that came from these sources still exist in the Christian world, and so long as they remain the Baptists will have a mission; and a vigorous denominational loyalty is essential to a successful witnessing to the truth as Baptists see it. Immersion is not the essential in the Baptist position, yet it is necessary for the most vigorous and manifest testimony to the truth that we have for the world. This in itself would be reason enough for being an Immersionist. We should hold to it for that for which it stands; that which it represents in the world of spirit. Just as the American flag, with its stars and stripes, portrays the genius of our nation, many states in one union, so immersion sets forth the genius of our denominational life, and assists in keeping our testimony before the world.

I should hold to immersion for the sake of the witness the Baptists can give to the backward races of the world. To a very large degree our contribution has been made to America. We have here won our fight in good measure, but we have a mission to the heathen world. They are today feeling after the spiritual democracy which characterizes Baptists. In proportion to the men and money employed Baptists have been the most successful workers in foreign fields. Our viewpoint appeals. Besides, even should Baptists cease to be Immersionists, if the Bible continues to be the guide to faith and life Baptists of the immersion type would sooner or later spring up again out of the ground in foreign lands. No people can have an open Bible without sometime finding immersion. True, as one speaker has said, "It is a shame for us to perpetuate our denominational differences in foreign countries," but an open Bible and a free mind will perpetuate immersion. The democratizing tendency in Continental Europe and in the Orient today is favorable to Baptist opportunity, and I think it would be a pity for us to weaken our denominational integrity by yielding in the matter of baptism, which is such a fine emblem of that for which we stand in spirit—a voluntary and complete submergence into the life and loyalty of Jesus Christ. (*Applause.*)

PRESIDENT MERRILL: I have the card of Professor J. P. Lichtenberger, of Philadelphia, who will now speak to you.

PROFESSOR J. P. LICHTENBERGER, PH.D.: *Mr. Chairman, Members of the Congress:* I understand that this platform of the Congress is a free one; an open parliament for the expression of one's personal convictions. It occurred to me therefore that perhaps it might not be amiss for a sociologist to speak on this subject since there were some things passing through my mind during the discussion that seemed pertinent, and which had not been given emphasis. I do not represent the Disciples of Christ in the opinions which I desire to express. They are simply my own.

It does not seem to me that the discussion of the form of baptism, or any technical point of doctrine that might be raised,

is really worthy of the place which in these discussions it has assumed.

The speakers have referred to the fact that when the missionary spirit has been dominant, when work for humanity has been the program, denominational differences have been relegated to a somewhat inferior position. It seems to me that the whole denominational controversy in the church has in a most unfortunate way diverted it, to a very great extent, from its real purpose, and aim, and mission. It was, perhaps, inevitable that Christianity should come to be expressed in credal form, when we understand the influence of the Greek mind upon its interpretation, or that it should become a new source of power and a new organization in the hand of the Roman, or that it should come to be a matter of faith, that is, a matter of thinking, in the mediaeval period. Perhaps these things were inevitable, but just to the extent that the attention of the church is centered in doing the will of God on earth as it is done in heaven, in doing the things which Jesus came to do in the world, these technical questions take a position that is not the one that they have occupied in the period of doctrinal controversy.

When different denominations come into the same community and friction arises because of denominational antagonisms, it is only inevitable from the fact that these different representatives of different churches go into the communities primarily to establish a church and preach doctrines which are not preached; to lay emphasis on principles sacred to the denomination which holds them. These are the things that cause friction, but in no instance where a representative of any denomination has gone into a community for the purpose of eliminating human distress, of doing away with child labor, of diminishing the causes of poverty, in other words, of going into a community for the purpose of bringing in the kingdom of God rather than establishing a church, is there any record of friction.

The most unfortunate thing that has happened to modern Christianity—the thing which has resulted in the divisions of Christendom—is that the church has been side-tracked from its main issue, that of doing the will of God on earth, of lowering

the death-rate, of making human life more sacred. It has been bent on establishing doctrines, upon establishing creeds, and these things have been elevated out of all proportion to their significance.

The paper which set forth especially tonight the position that Jesus did not come to establish a form of doctrine of any kind, but to render service to humanity, struck the keynote of the discussion. To the extent to which the church turns its attention to doing the things which Jesus came to do, not to the building up of a creed, but to the lifting up of the lives of men; to the extent which the church gives itself to a social mission and establishes his kingdom here by alleviating human distress, to that extent these doctrinal differences sink into insignificance. They are not worthy the place they have occupied in modern times.

If I might add a word to the discussion of the afternoon session I would suggest that if the Baptists and Disciples desire union, the thing by which it may be secured is to adopt social programs by which they may jointly enter upon the work of helping men and women, of doing something. I speak particularly of the alleviation of distress. If the church shall busy itself in the elimination of poverty as a program, these doctrinal differences will be so insignificant that they will not stand in the way at all. If the church shall set itself at the practical task for which I believe Jesus came, to lift up human life, to make it more sacred, to alleviate distress, to open the eyes of the blind, to heal the sick, to cleanse the unclean, to do all those acts of ministry to man, then these problems which have cost us bitter strife, all these things will be relegated to their proper position of relative unimportance, and we shall wonder why we have spent so much time in wrangling over these things, rather than in doing the things which Jesus came to do. (*Applause.*)

PRESIDENT MERRILL: Rev. William H. Bawden, of Perth Amboy, N.J., will now speak.

MR. BAWDEN: *Mr. President:* It seems to me that we are beating a little around the bush tonight. We have been reminded

that we have won the battle of exegesis, of etymology. Nobody today questions the meaning of *baptizo*. But if immersion stands in the way of union with other Christian bodies, why not meet them halfway? We all depend upon the Scriptures, taking our authority from them. Why not come out flat-footed, and say that sprinkling or affusion is just as truly scriptural baptism as immersion? We can hardly believe that Jesus would tie himself up to any specific form, and hold that the doing accordingly was necessary to be acceptable unto him. And we may profitably turn away from the letter that killeth to the spirit that maketh alive.

There is no need that we should give up our practice or teaching of immersion, for it truly symbolizes baptism. But apart from its symbolism, what is the meaning of baptism? Is it not that public act by which a man comes before the world and professes his faith in Jesus as Lord, and gives his allegiance to Him as such? If this is the meaning of baptism, then by whatsoever form or rite accompanied, or even by none at all, like the practice of the Quakers, the spirit of the teachings of Jesus are conserved, and one may be said to be scripturally baptized. As has been well said, we have discovered members of these other Christian bodies to be just as truly Christian as ourselves. If any man shall declare himself publicly to be a follower of the Lord Jesus Christ, no matter by what rite, shall we deny him a place in the army of the Lord with us?

Our Pedobaptist friends do not ask us to give up immersion; they acknowledge the literal interpretation of the Scriptures at that point. But they do ask for our recognition of what they believe to be baptism. The moment we admit the validity of sprinkling and affusion or any other form, provided the spirit and meaning of baptism is in it, the profession of faith in and the giving of allegiance to the Christ, we have gone a great way toward a greater union with these others. We shall then march together with them more unitedly for the salvation of the world. We shall not allow a mere matter of form to divide us, seeing we are at one in the spirit of the matter. Granting this, we may still continue teaching the beauty of the symbolism of immersion, according to the teachings of Paul. And we may

well believe that many will voluntarily wish, having been convinced that we are in the right, also to set forth in symbol what has already taken place in their lives. Let us grasp them by the hand as brothers until they are willing to do this, thus proclaiming to them and to the whole world that we are really one in the eyes of Christ, all having been baptized according to the spirit of the teachings of the Book to which we all subscribe. (*Applause.*)

PRESIDENT MERRILL: We will close this session of the congress by prayer from Rev. Dr. John Brown, of Bridgeport.

*Adjourned*

## THIRD DAY

### *Morning Session*

Thursday, November 16, 1911

10:00 A.M.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** We will open the morning session by prayer from Rev. Rivington D. Lord, D.D., Brooklyn.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** We have before us this morning a subject which is presenting a mighty challenge to the Christian church—"Pauperism, Its Causes and Cure." The first paper will be read by Rev. Dr. Addison Moore, of New York.

**REV. ADDISON MOORE, D.D.,** of New York, then presented the following paper:

### PAUPERISM, ITS CAUSES AND CURE

Rich and poor are relative terms usually used in regard to material possessions; but pauperism rightly defined is a condition of life which is relative, not to material considerations, but to character.

Briefly described, pauperism is best portrayed as a state of life in which efficiency is impossible because the means of nourishing life are insufficient.

It has been found by scientific investigation that a proportion approximating one-tenth of the population is existing in pauperism. In New York City the proportion has been ascertained to be about 14 per cent. It has become customary to write and speak of these unfortunates as "the submerged tenth."

The reason for the existence of this inefficient body of people of inadequate means has occasioned much study on the part of social investigators and reformers, as well as no little bewilderment on the part of legislative committees and well-meaning societies organized to discover and apply remedies that would really relieve existing distress.

It has been supposed that certain qualities of personal life, such as shiftlessness and ignorance and intemperance, have been to blame for pauperism, and only recently has it been seen that these qualities may be effects instead of causes.

It has been held that if employment could be found for the victims of pauperism their condition would be improved; but out of forty men taken from the "bread line" on a certain night thirty-nine of them proved to be unemployable. Lack of proper nourishment had so impoverished the physical, mental, and moral organism that the ability to take advantage of an opportunity to work was altogether wanting.

Attempts to better the condition of poverty-pinched people by seeking to reclaim them through the administration of good-intentioned but unwise charities have been about as effective as would be the efforts put forth to purify the water in a well by painting the shed that covers it.

The great difficulty in the way of providing a remedy for pauperism has been the ignorance in the minds of those who have not understood the difference between its causes and its effects. This ignorance and the cure for it was suggested by Mr. Robert Treat Paine, of Boston, when he said that what was needed was not alms but a friend. And his suggestion has had ample illustration of its wisdom in the recent declaration of earnest students of the problem who state that pauperism has but two causes.

The first cause is the exploitation of labor by the greed for gain at the expense of human life, and finds one of its effects in children deprived of the privilege of having a playtime and made prematurely old by the drudgery of mines and mills and factories where child-labor is employed. The result of child-labor is evidenced in undeveloped bodies and minds and in lives unfitted for the duties of maturity.

The second cause is the lack of proper governmental interest in the welfare of citizens. This does not mean paternalism, but refers to the duties of states as administrators of the rights of the people. It means that when men are incapacitated for work by conditions of life that render them unfit for labor, or that rob them of the desire to work, it is the business of the state

to investigate and remedy those conditions. For pauperism is a preventable disease which will yield to treatment when the disease is not only diagnosed, but attacked at its source.

To effect a cure has been the desire of all dreamers of a better day who, like Edward Bellamy in his *Looking Backward*, and More in his *Utopia*, have imagined a time when every individual would get his full share of good things; and have then busied themselves deciding whether it would be best to have the good things delivered by automobile or by airship.

The cure has been attempted by the Socialists. Their hopes have been fixed upon the good that would come to all from having the power to benefit the public proceed from a centralized authority strong enough to impose a desire for the good of all upon mankind. But it has been demonstrated that a continued imposition of power and direction from outside tends to reduce the creative strength of the individual. And the one thing necessary to remedy the conditions that produce pauperism is that such creative strength, which is only another name for the power of initiative, shall be not diminished, but intensified.

The cure proposed by the anarchist is also ineffective. For while the anarchist would destroy pauperism he would also destroy wealth and all things else besides. So that following the successful operation of the program of the anarchist, mankind would have to begin all over again, and could only reproduce a civilization which would again have to be overthrown. And while organizations have been busy fighting intemperance and idleness and immorality, and while doctrinaires have been contending over the value of their several remedies, they have one and all been encouraged in their ineffective assaults upon the manifestations of the disease by the attitude of the churches toward the disease itself.

A saying of Jesus has been taken from its context and made to sound as though he had declared that pauperism was a necessary condition of life for a portion of mankind. "The poor," said Jesus, "you have with you always; and whensoever you will you may do them good." But what he said in those words, and what it has been held that he said, are as opposite as the poles. He was not justifying the existence of pauperism; but

was rebuking his disciples with an irony which has seemingly been too subtle for the Christian centuries to feel.

The disciples of Jesus were murmuring because Mary had poured precious ointment upon him. Judas became their spokesman and said that the ointment could have been sold and the money given to the poor. "This he said not because he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief"; and as he carried the common purse he wanted to have whatever benefit he could get from controlling all the money on which he could lay his hands. Jesus, knowing his heart, rebuked him and all who are of his spirit.

What Jesus said was that criticism was uncalled for so far as the deed of Mary was concerned, because if there was any real desire to help the poor there was every opportunity to do so. The sudden awakening to their needs on the part of Judas was brought about by his cupidity, which Jesus sought to put to shame. But the words have been torn from their setting and made to serve as a dogmatic declaration that pauperism is ordained of God as a permanent, component part of society.

There have been times when the churches have openly encouraged pauperism as a condition peculiarly pleasing to God, and the poor have been told that pauperism was to develop faith and test loyalty. Today, however, we are becoming ashamed so to misrepresent the God and Father of Jesus Christ; for we have come to see that pauperism is not only not desirable and not inevitable, but that it is entirely unnatural and altogether intolerable. We have gone behind the external expressions of the disease and have learned its causes. And they are removable. The remedies for the disease are known and wherever they have been applied the results obtained in lives redeemed from unhappiness and uselessness have justified the utmost faith in their efficiency. Every man who is willing to give himself to the service of men may have a share in abolishing pauperism. He must remember that character is the foundation of prosperity and that the lack of it lets the building of life sink into the mire of pauperism.

The very poor believe that the world is against them and that no individual effort can change that apparent fact. They

lack proper food and suitable clothing. They are forced by their condition to congregate in congested districts and are not properly housed. The lack of these material necessities weakens the physical life and creates the desire for inhibitions produced by intoxicants and excitements. It weakens the ambition and makes sluggish the will to create better conditions.

The problem that confronted Booker Washington when he attempted to befriend the Negro is the problem that abides wherever pauperism abounds. It is the problem of awakening right desires in people whose desires are all wrong. Such wrong desires are latent in us all, as is evidenced by our childhood evasion of duty in the interest of what seems more agreeable at the moment; as when the boy proposes to help mother wipe the dishes by the kitchen stove, when he ought to be out in the cold woodshed splitting kindlings for the morning fire.

Even so the victim of pauperism prefers to spend the pennies he has begged for the drink that may help him to forget for the moment the hardships of the life he endures; while what he needs is to know that there is a lasting relief from misery, and that relief lies in having a desire to save his pennies. The trouble is that such a desire is beyond his will power. The pleasure of prudence has been denied him for so long a time that he has lost the power to desire it. He only desires pity and idleness, and sinks easily into the crimes for which his weakness makes him a willing tool.

The remedy lies in the hands of the more fortunate portions of the population as they speak through the state. For the state has long taught the three R's in the public schools, and more recently attempts have been made to train the hands as well as the heads of the pupils. But the state must also teach by means of Postal Saving Banks, and Provident Loan Banks, and Co-operative Building Associations.

Wherever organizations and institutions and churches have gone to work along these lines, as has the Salvation Army and as have several well-known churches in New York and other cities, the results have encouraged the workers to believe in the ability of proper educational methods to abolish pauperism.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** The second speaker or writer upon

the subject will be Professor J. P. Lichtenberger, Ph.D., of the University of Pennsylvania.

PROFESSOR J. P. LICHTENBERGER, PH.D. (Disciple), then presented the following paper:

## PAUPERISM, ITS CAUSES AND CURE

### CAUSES

Clear thinking requires that the terms used in any discussion should be defined accurately.

Pauperism is the state of dependence in which the individual who is either unable or unwilling to support himself receives aid either from public or from private sources.

Its immediate cause is the social and economic condition of persons who have not sufficient income to maintain the minimum standard of living necessary for health and efficiency.

Those who fall below this minimum standard are "the poor." Those who receive aid to maintain this standard are "paupers."

Poverty is, then, relatively much more extensive than pauperism, since multitudes who hover about the poverty line receive no assistance. Robert Hunter has estimated that the number of persons living below the poverty line in the United States in years of normal prosperity aggregates approximately 10,000,000. The Census Report of 1904 showed that 500,000 persons were receiving indoor relief, i.e., were dependents in institutions. While the number receiving outdoor relief, i.e., receiving aid from public and private sources outside of institutions, can only be estimated, it is assumed to be about 5 per cent of our total population, or approximately 4,000,000.

Any study of the causes of pauperism, therefore, must concern itself with an investigation of the causes of poverty which consigns the individual to the pauper class. At the very outset it will be of advantage to perceive clearly that we are dealing with a phenomenon of a free population. Poverty is one of the incidents or costs of social progress. It does not exist in a condition of slavery where the relation of master and slave is inclusive and no individual is unprovided for. Some slaves may be better provided for than others, but Negro poverty or

pauperism was not a problem before the Civil War. Poverty is not a problem of feudal society where lords and tenants comprise the group. It is only when the slave is freed, and where the tenant loses his status as a ward of his over-lord, where each man is independent and must provide for his own subsistence, that the unsuccessful group fails of self-support and the poverty class is created.

It is clear then that poverty is a product of the individual struggle for existence in a free competitive society, and without individual and social altruism the unsuccessful would simply be eliminated through disease incident to malnutrition, through degeneration and starvation. What now are the causes of this maladjustment which produces this unsuccessful group? Successful cure must rest upon accurate diagnosis.

It is an achievement of sociological science worthy to be classed with the greatest discoveries of mankind, that we have been led to perceive social causation in human society; that effects are attributable to causes adequate to produce them in the sphere of social life as they are in every other department of human experience.

The complexity of the phenomena does not permit of its organization in simple categories. It is not surprising, therefore, that students who have pursued inductive methods in the study of poverty have arranged their materials differently, but there is this essential unity, that cause and effect has been traced in every instance and light has broken upon this dark subject.

It is my purpose to present the outline analysis of several studies typical of the modern scientific method, which have revealed clearly the causes of poverty and pauperism and established the basis for its intelligent treatment.

Professor Edward T. Devine, of Columbia University, in his book entitled *Misery and Its Causes*, has made one of the finest contributions to the elucidation of the modern point of view to be found in the literature of the subject. Without attempting a classification of causes he proceeds simply to show that human misery, and especially such part of it as produces poverty,

is a product of natural causes. He attacks the "charitable tradition" that misery is moral rather than economic. He says:

In contrast with the idea that misery is moral, the inexorable visitation of punishment for immoral actions and the inevitable outcome of depraved character, I wish to present the idea that it is economic, the result of mal-adjustment, that defective personality is only a half-way explanation which itself results directly from conditions which society may largely control.

The question which I raise is whether the wretched poor, the poor who suffer in their poverty, are poor because they are shiftless, because they are undisciplined, because they drink, because they steal, because they have superfluous children, because of personal depravity, personal inclination, and natural preference; or whether they are shiftless and undisciplined and drink and steal and are unable to care for their too numerous children because our social institutions and economic arrangements are at fault. I hold that personal depravity is as foreign to any sound theory of the hardships of our modern poor as witchcraft or demoniacal possession; that these hardships are economic, social, transitional, measurable, manageable. Misery, as we say of tuberculosis, is communicable, curable, and preventable. It lies not in the unalterable nature of things, but in our particular institutions, our social arrangements, our tenements and streets and subways, our laws and courts and jails, our religion, our education, our philanthropy, our politics, our industry, and our business.<sup>1</sup>

In order to obviate the criticism that Dr. Devine has not considered adequately the individual factor of wrongdoing, some further paragraphs are presented. He continues:

No doubt we do encounter instances in which, in this life, individuals who suffer are but paying penalties of their own misdeeds. Passion and indolence do have their consequences. I have no quarrel with those who seek through education in the family, in church, in school, or in neighborly relations, to instil in young and old a wholesome fear of consequences. Nature teaches us in lessons written large in human experience that certain habits will eventually prove injurious and other habits salutary. We are fully warranted in taking these lessons to heart and in passing them on to such as are not fools, and therefore do not insist on learning in the dearest of all schools, that of experience.

It is the reverse of this position that it is not tenable. Evil passions and indolence produce misery, but it does not follow that misery, all misery, or most misery, is to be attributed to indolence or evil passions. The position which I suggest for your consideration is merely that there is no presumption of wrongdoing in the misery of the poor, that it may not be

<sup>1</sup> *Misery and Its Causes*, pp. 11-12.

disciplinary, that it may not be punishment, that it may not be the working out of moral character. It may indeed be any of these things in a given instance, but the burden of proof is upon those who allege it, and no charitable society is justified, no public relief agency or institution is justified, in basing its policies upon the assumption that because these men before us are afflicted in mind or body, therefore either they or their parents have sinned.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Charles A. Ellwood, of the University of Missouri, has given us a valuable classification on the basis of the objective and subjective causes of poverty.<sup>2</sup>

#### I. OBJECTIVE CAUSES

1. *Economic causes.*—Those due to defective industrial organization; to unemployment not due to the employee; to changes in methods of production which displace large numbers of workingmen; to systems of land tenure which deprive men of the use of land; to employment of women and children in factories; to unhealthful and dangerous occupation; to seasonal trades; to industrial injuries, etc. These and similar causes often in conjunction with physical or mental defects of the individual, Professor Ellwood believes, operate in from 50 to 80 per cent of all cases of poverty.

2. *Insanitary conditions of living.*—The causes here are: inadequate and insanitary housing of the poor; lack of light and ventilation; overcrowding. These are prolific causes of sickness and premature death which increase destitution.

3. *Defects in our educational system.*—Ignorance and illiteracy contribute directly or indirectly to poverty. Lack of industrial or vocational training in our public schools is a grave fault in adjusting children to our complex industrial organization.

4. *Defects in government.*—Corruption in politics vitiates governmental control of sanitary and other conditions. Failure to regulate properly the social and industrial order causes economic distress.

5. *Corruption in social customs and institutions.*—Social drinking; unwise and indiscriminate charity, etc., are contributory causes.

6. *Unrestricted immigration.*—This is especially true in our eastern cities and states where cheap labor crowds occupations and reduces wages.

#### II. SUBJECTIVE CAUSES

1. *Sickness* causing temporary or permanent disability; feeble-mindedness, insanity, epilepsy; deafness, blindness, etc. The physically or mentally handicapped are likely to be forced into poverty.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13 and 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, chap. xii.

2. *Intemperance*.—Here again there may be collateral cause for inebriety, but the percentage of cases in which intemperance is a direct or indirect cause is large.

3. *Sexual vice*.—Immorality lessens vitality and when it is accompanied by venereal diseases, partial or complete incapacity for work may be the result. This is especially true in those forms of venereal disease which frequently culminate in locomotor ataxia and paresis.

4. *Shiftlessness and laziness*.—This may be due to inherent worthlessness or to undervitalized physical condition. In either event it is an efficient cause.

5. *Old age*.—The decline of physical and mental vitality due to old age is an unavoidable cause.

6. *Neglect and desertion by relatives*.—Deserted wives, abandoned children, and neglected old people may be put down as one of the important causes of dependence.

7. *Death of bread-winner*.—Widows and orphans constitute a large proportion of the poverty group.

8. *Crime, dishonesty, ignorance, etc.*

This is an admirable summary of the causes for poverty. It is, however, a question how far such a division of causes into objective and subjective is valuable, because subjective causes may have their roots in objective conditions. For example, physical and mental defects, intemperance, vice, shiftlessness, helpless old age, desertion, and premature death may severally or collectively be the direct result of bad economic and social conditions. There are aspects of these causes, however, as Professor Ellwood points out, which cannot be reduced to objective influences but lie imbedded in biological and psychological conditions. In the same economic environment one family is thrifty and another destitute. One man under the most adverse circumstances is still able to secure an adequate income, while another in the midst of favorable conditions remains poor. Subjective causes cannot, therefore, be wholly eliminated.

Another method of great value in the investigation of the causes of poverty is the case method. This consists in a classification of actual cases of pauperism dealt with by relief agencies on the basis of causes producing such dependency. An excellent example of such study is presented by Warner.<sup>1</sup> The survey covers the following cases: Baltimore, 1,385 (1890-92);

<sup>1</sup> *American Charities*, rev. ed., pp. 50 and 51.

Boston, 2,083 (1890-92); Buffalo, 8,235 (1878-92); Cincinnati, 4,844 (1891); New York, 1,412 (1891); Stepney, Eng., 634 (1892); St. Pancras, a London district, 736 (1892); 76 German cities, 95,845 (1886). The cases were taken from the records of the organized charities in the American cities, from the work of Booth in England, and of Böhmert in Germany.

The causes were classified as follows:

I. THOSE DUE TO MISCONDUCT.....	23.2 per cent
Drink, 11.6 per cent.	
Immorality.	
Shiftlessness and inefficiency, 9.2 per cent.	
Crime and dishonesty.	
Roving disposition.	
II. THOSE DUE TO MISFORTUNE.....	71 per cent
1. No normal support, 8.5 per cent.	
Imprisonment of breadwinner.	
Orphans and abandoned children.	
Neglect by relatives.	
No male support.	
2. Employment, 20.8 per cent.	
Lack of employment.	
Insufficient employment.	
Poorly paid employment.	
Unhealthful and dangerous employment.	
3. Personal incapacity, 43.1 per cent.	
Ignorance of English.	
Accident.	
Sickness or death in family, 24.4 per cent.	
Physical defects.	
Insanity.	
Old age.	
III. UNCLASSIFIED OR UNKNOWN.....	6.8
Only the average for the principal groups are given here.	
	Percentage
Total cases due to misconduct.....	23.2
Total cases due to misfortune.....	71.0
In the sub-groups under misfortune:	
No normal support.....	8.5
Employment.....	20.8
Personal incapacity.....	43.1

Of causes classed under misconduct:

Drink is responsible for 11.6 per cent.

Shiftlessness and inefficiency for 9.2 per cent.

Of cases classed under misfortune, sickness and death is the largest item, 24.4 per cent.

Another valuable and illuminating classification of causes of poverty is presented by Professor Carl Kelsey, of the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

#### CAUSES OF POVERTY

##### I. ENVIRONMENTAL.

- A. Adverse physical environment: polar regions, tropics, deserts, swamps.
- B. Disaster: flood, earthquake, fire, famine.

##### II. PERSONAL:

- A. Physical defects: feeble-mindedness, insanity, deafness, blindness, etc.
- B. Moral defects: dishonesty, laziness, shiftlessness, etc.
- C. Intemperance.
- D. Licentiousness.
- E. Sickness.
- F. Accident.

##### III. SOCIAL:

- A. Industrial changes affecting the worker: change of location, of trade, inventions, strikes, etc.
- B. Exploitation.
- C. Race prejudice.
- D. Sickness, death, desertion, crime of natural supporter.
- E. Defective sanitation.
- F. Defective educational system.
- G. Bad social environment.
- H. War.
- I. Unwise philanthropy.

The preceding analyses have been presented in order to demonstrate the modern scientific method of approach to the study of the the causes of poverty. Several propositions may now be made as legitimate deductions from this survey.

1. Poverty is a product; a necessary result from a group of causes.

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished lectures.

2. It is a complicated phenomenon and any attempt to attribute poverty in general to a single cause must be regarded as inadequate.

3. Any attempt at eradication must proceed upon the basis of elimination of its causes.

4. Since these causes are inherent in our social situation nothing less than a constructive social program can prove efficient.

#### CURE

We have now the point of view from which to consider the cure of this social disease we call poverty. It presents a problem precisely analogous to that of physical disease. Were it not for the fact that Poor Relief occupies so large a place in the popular mind as the most conspicuous method of dealing with poverty we might omit it altogether as having only a casual relation to our subject. It is nothing more than a social anaesthetic for the easing of the pain of poverty and bears the same relation to the cure of poverty that the anaesthetic does to the cure of disease. The Good Samaritan did the only thing to be done after the wayfarer had fallen among thieves, but his treatment of the case added absolutely nothing to the cure of robbery in Palestine. If enough Good Samaritans could have been found to have cared for all their victims, robbers could then have proceeded with their business with one less element of remorse for injury done. Relief of distress is no cure for the disease, and the indiscriminate giver of charity will hardly take comfort from the case of Dives who allowed Lazarus' distress to be relieved from the crumbs which fell from his table. Just so long as enough thoughtless though charitable people can be found to supply the crumbs necessary to feed the poor and keep them from starvation will the consciences of the rich be salved and the predatory classes feel free to pursue their programs of exploitation with no concern for their product. An awakened and intelligent social conscience must inevitably come to regard relief as an unfortunate necessity; a mere palliative, to be used simply to alleviate distress while the real cause of misery is being removed. Constructive programs of prevention then must be relied upon to effect the cure of poverty. The

causes must be attacked and eliminated. Robbery along the Jericho road must be stopped. If robbers cannot at once be eliminated, then the road must be policed and lighted and made safe. Lazarus must be cured of his disease and enabled to provide his own subsistence.

For the cure of poverty then we turn to preventive treatment. No disease is cured until its causes have been removed, and the victory is half attained when the causes are known with certainty.

On the clearly objective and environmental side the program seems clear. Childhood must be protected from exploitation. Working hours for men and especially women must be reduced. Over physical and nervous strain must be eliminated. A living wage must be secured. Dangerous machinery must be guarded and industrial injuries prevented. Working conditions must be made safe and sanitary. Waste and loss of men as well as material in economic production must be made a charge against the industry. Insurance against sickness, injury, old age, and death must be provided.

Home and family life must be protected. Overcrowding must be stopped. Sanitation, light, fresh air must be provided. All contagious and preventable diseases must be eliminated. Pure food and milk and pure water must be secured. Public health must be guarded as carefully as public property.

Illiteracy must be removed. Industrial and vocational training must be provided for children and trade schools for adults.

Policies of this sort will eliminate much poverty by removing its objective causes, but they will do more. They will diminish effectively the product of subjective factors; at least of such subjective factors as have their source in objective conditions. In order to deal adequately with such factors as inhere in physiology and psychological defects not due to environment but to heredity, segregation in celibate communities or sterilization must be employed in order to terminate with the present generation their degenerate type.

At the conclusion of a discussion like this it is hardly necessary to say that the problem of poverty and pauperism is a social problem; that individual methods are as inadequate to solve

as they are to create the problem; that church and state and school and all forms of voluntary associations for social amelioration and all relief agencies public and private should be co-ordinated in a comprehensive scheme of collective endeavor to solve the problem.

Such a procedure has already been entered upon. I have not suggested a single measure that is not somewhere being tried. Every community is being agitated by a new optimism. But the task is great. The forces opposed are indifference, ignorance, selfishness, and greed. It should be the clear duty of every minister, every student, every philanthropist, every humanitarian, to advertise, foster, encourage, and support to the extent of his ability such a comprehensive and constructive program in order that so much of poverty as is curable and preventable may speedily be done away with.

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** The first of our appointed speakers is Mr. Mornay Williams, of New York, whom I take pleasure in introducing to you.

**MORNAY WILLIAMS, ESQ., New York:** *Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:* Speaking on this topic, one is reminded of that young student who took for his graduating essay, "The Past, the Present, and the Future," and also of the one who followed with "Finites, Infinites, and Infinitesimals." To treat in twenty minutes the causes and cure of pauperism would seem a task beyond the limits of the time that this whole conference lasted. It has been the subject for discussion for many years. Some of the causes have been recited in the papers we have listened to. To find any single cause is absolutely impossible; to find any single cure is merely to suggest a nostrum.

As I shall have to take issue with one or two of the propositions enunciated, I may be pardoned for a word or two as to my personal experience. I have been associated in an active manner with many of the attempts which have been made to touch only the fringe of pauperism, in New York City. I am chairman of the New York Child Labor Committee, a member of the Havens Relief Fund, and of the New York Prison Association, and have been from time to time associated both with Dr.

Devine and Dr. Kelsey, and yet with a good many of their propositions I do not agree at all.

The causes of pauperism can be grouped or divided as has been said, along several different lines, economic and moral; springing out of environment and out of heredity. I should hardly care to assent to the proposition that pauperism is entirely the disease of modern industrial civilization, because that does not seem to fit the facts in such states as the later Roman Empire, where there were slaves, and yet there was also pauperism in the sense that there was a large dependent class. Pauperism, the term, is itself a little vague. Strictly speaking it means those who receive aid from the public treasury, but it is now taken as including the class which receives aid from any source, public or private.

There is no doubt that our present competitive system largely contributes to present pauperism, but it is a grave doubt in my mind whether it is the sole cause; it is one cause, undoubtedly, a cause which must be kept constantly in mind in treating pauperism and riches. On the side of social and economic cause pauperism is the shadow cast by great accumulations of wealth, but that definition does not touch the moral cause. That cause is partly hereditary, partly environmental. I have made, for instance, a pretty considerable study of the question of childhood in relation to pauperism and crime. When I was on the Board of the Juvenile Asylum we had at one time 1,100 children; we have now over 500 boys. Some of these figures which have been quoted are from just such a tabulation as that we made with a thousand children. What did we find? We found this, that the children of criminals sent to an institution for reformation had been made criminals largely by environment and became themselves criminal. We found on the physical side (as touching the question of physical fitness to meet conditions) that if you took children under fourteen—largely of criminal parents, always of destitute parents—and gave them a thorough examination, including head measurements, development of the brain casket, facial characteristics, and so forth, 7 per cent were absolutely normal; that where more than five abnormalities were shown after this careful examination, including vital organs

and head measurements, in about 70 per cent of the cases the physical abnormalities arose from bad habits, malnutrition, overcrowding, and other preventable causes. All of which means that when you put (or leave) a child long enough in a bad environment you help the moral bent the wrong way, and you have to overcome a moral bent as well as the causes of pauperism existing merely because of bad physical conditions.

I took the pains while coming over here to look hurriedly through some of the reports of the Havens Relief Fund Society which distributes about \$40,000 a year. Here let me interrupt the discussion to say that the swing of the pendulum now is in favor of prevention as against relief, but you must have relief as long as you have poverty. Prevention if it is to be successful must strike just as much at the sources of wealth as at the increase of poverty. The gentlemen who support the theories of the Charity Organization Society do not believe in that and do not act on it. The reports of 176 cases which I have glanced over show \$1,900 expended; 39 were helped with rent; 23 with food; 4 with medicine; 23 with clothing; 1 with tuition (to a girl to enable her to learn stenography); 4 with coal; 25 loans were made to be returned; 4 were given fares to obtain work; 7 scholarships were awarded to children through a branch of the New York Child Labor Committee in families where the labor of children under school age was necessary to their support; 3 were given bedding; 4 vacations; 29 money relief; miscellaneous, 9. I have not had time further to analyze all the cases, but the three first almoners treated 39 cases; and of these 12 were widows, 10 single women, 5 deserted wives, 8 married couples, 1, a single man out of work and sick; 1, a widower, same causes; 2 were women where the details of the report are not sufficiently full to arrive at any classification. I want to point out to you first, in how many of these cases the loss of the bread-winner is evidently the cause of the distress, and second, the fact that these are all cases of the worthy poor. The funds of this particular society are supposed to be given only to worthy people, that being the provision of the testator in his will creating the fund.

You may be interested to hear the report of a well-known

woman, whose name if I were to mention it you would recognize as that of an earnest Christian woman, who reports the case of a minister, of another communion than ours, a gentleman and a scholar, who tried to get work in the Sanskrit section of the New York Public Library, who writes and speaks Bohemian, Hungarian, Spanish, and other languages, but who has for years been a recipient of relief. His wife is a brave, noble-hearted woman, and the man is a thoroughly good man, but as a child he had scarlet fever, which left him with serious physical infirmities. I know him; he is a queer genius who does not fit into the scheme of society, and yet he is an earnest Christian man, and a rather extraordinary scholar, but he cannot earn his own living, and his wife cannot earn it for him. From cases like these the first proposition to be deduced is that you cannot lay down one rule that will fit all cases. It cannot be done. As has been pointed out by the writers of both papers, the words of our Lord, "The poor ye have always with you," have been absolutely twisted from the context, in the ordinary use made of them. The words do not present our Lord's view of what society ought to be, but his view of what society is; they are the assertion of a social fact: the poor ye have with you.

What are you going to do about it? The necessity of the prevention of pauperism has been called to our attention, and there is much to be done. One of the things we must do is to lift the burden from childhood; another is to lift the burden from the wage earners. As long as you have wages at the scale of the department stores, you will find people pressed down to the level of crime, and as long as you have them pressed down to the level of crime, you are going to have their children criminal, or if not criminal, at least pressed into the pauper class. Will socialism cure that? I trow not.

I think there is hardly a plank in the socialistic platform for which I am not trying to work, but I am not a Socialist. Because, socialism omits the personal equation, and the wonder of the gospel of Jesus Christ is that his own incarnation is the testimony for individualism. When God wanted to save the world, he incarnated truth in a man, because most men follow principles illustrated in life by living men. If you would put

an end to pauperism, you must have a society consisting of men and women who have reached the level of thinking and living of Jesus Christ. Even in the case of economic causes of pauperism, economic remedies are not in themselves sufficient. Take one cause for instance, which has been very slightly alluded to, yet which in the judgment of so excellent an authority as Charles Booth, author of that wonderful work on the *Life and Labor of the People* in 17 volumes, is considered as affecting the earning power of the worker one of the chief causes of pauperism, the coming on of old age. Old age is bound to come to everyone, but unless society has been so constituted that we realize in advance the causes that are going to operate, and try to provide against them in advance, and when the need does come provide for the particular need—the need for human love and care as well as the need for support, unless we have this recognition of both sides of the problem, as in the gospel of Jesus Christ, we shall not have anything which adequately meets the situation. What can I say more? I know no better word to sum up the situation than this of Victor Hugo in touching on one phase of it, the degradation of womanhood, “The holy law of Jesus Christ governs our civilization, but does not yet permeate it.” That is perfectly true. Until we have made that law an atmosphere and not a rule, we shall have the poor with us, poor from various causes, and we shall not have eliminated the disease of pauperism. Work with every ounce of power you have for the reconstruction of society on lawful lines, and remember that you cannot attack the economic source of poverty without attacking the economic source of great wealth, and remember, too, that the men who contribute of their great wealth to the funds of your society will be found, like a man whose name I will not mention today, fighting in the halls of Congress against the measures of his own committee because his interest in the boys on the coal breakers cannot outweigh his larger interests in coal. The battle will carry us out of the range of poverty into the range of wealth. Remember that human nature, as well as human society, is so constituted that the impressionability to crime under the stress of physical necessity is such that in the

individual case you cannot always draw a clear line between the worthy poor and the unworthy poor. One of these societies (not the New York City Charity Organization Society) sent to me a letter, when I had referred to them a case, stating that the facts as to need were true, the man, just out of the hospital, needed relief and the woman, his wife, was anaemic and unable to make a living, but because the man had refused work at their hands a year before, they could not now give him relief. That sort of charity won't work. It produces a reaction.

If you go down among the people who need relief, you will find no more hated word than charity, because we have forgotten that for relief as well as prevention personality must enshrine the work. The great cause of pauperism is lack of brotherliness. When I am in need, and my brother gives me his hand and helps me out, it does not make me a pauper, but when I go for relief to an organized charity, I go with a sense of grievance that makes it easy for me to turn my real need and real sorrow into a bitter self-assertiveness, and an angry repetition of the saying that the world owes me a living, which it does not. Brotherliness is the only cure that I know of for the disease of pauperism, and brotherliness never becomes possible except through the religion of Jesus Christ. We much need to touch neighbor with neighbor before we begin to dream of our Finites, Infinites, and Infinitesimals. There is only one power that takes them all in, the power that—

Wields the world with never varying love,  
Sustains it from beneath and blesses it above—

the power, that enshrined itself in the life of a poor man who emptied himself not only of glory but of riches, that by so doing he might give the example to all time of the life of the Son of God on earth, the life of the man who set a little child in the midst of his followers and said, Unless ye become as little children ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. That does not mean that little children are always docile and teachable, for as a matter of fact we know that they are not, but it does mean that little children learn by imagination fired by love—that

is why little children, boys as well as girls, love dolls and attribute the doings of those whom they love and respect but do not understand, to the imaginary little people they play with. That is why the little girl attributes marriage, sickness, baptism, and all the rest of it to her doll. "The Son can do nothing of himself but what he seeth the Father do"; and "Whatsoever I speak, therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak." When we have learned to imitate, through imagination fired by love, the Heavenly Father, revealed in the face of Jesus Christ, we will have found the solution for pauperism that Jesus Christ assured. (*Applause.*)

PRESIDENT MERRILL: We will now hear from Rev. W. Quay Rosselle, Ph.D., of Philadelphia.

DR. ROSSELLE: It is difficult to ascertain what are the ultimate causes of pauperism because each cause is the result of some other cause. We may say that intemperance is a cause, but what is the cause of intemperance? Holy Scripture says, "Be not drunk with wine wherein is excess, but be ye filled with the Spirit." I suspect if a man is filled with joy and hope and peace and courage and all the other elements which constitute spirituality, he will have no temptation to be intemperate. Intoxication is an attempt to produce by artificial means the condition of spirituality, for in its earlier stages intoxication is much like spirituality. Investigations have shown that intemperance is the direct cause of a much smaller proportion of pauperism than we have supposed. Some say laziness is a cause of pauperism. But what causes laziness? It is a disease and one that cannot always be cured by the infliction of punishment. In the South it was found that the hookworm is responsible for the laziness of the people. One of our millionaires has given a large sum of money for the purpose of hooking these worms out of the people. Disease is of course a cause of pauperism, but there are a good many things which cause disease. Pauperism itself is a prolific cause of disease. The two continually react upon each other, and it is indeed hard to tell which is the cause and which the effect in a multitude of cases.

I suppose that the immediate causes of pauperism may be

expressed in two words and its cure in one. The cause is defective personality and the cure is Christianity. Jesus, in the synagogue at Nazareth, announced the program of Christianity in a quotation from an old prophet which he appropriated to himself. This is the program: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath appointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

The first article in this program is that Christianity has a message of good news for the poor. Much of our preaching is not that. If I were preaching to a company of poor people and the burden of my sermon were to beware of the Disciples for maintaining that immersion is essential to salvation, I am afraid that there would be no good news in the address for my auditors. Surely the religion of Christ has a message for the poor that is really good news. The program of Christianity is so broad and so varied that no single human interest can lie outside its scope. There is no human problem, social, industrial, or personal, to which Christianity does not bring a sure solution. But we have not been adjusting our life to this program. Socially and industrially we have not been Christian at all. Our social and industrial conditions have been degrading humanity into a condition of animalism and thus opening the springs of human misery and pauperism. Do you wish a picture of humanity as it is perverted by the play upon it of the forces which spring out of materialistic conceptions of life? We have such a picture in Markham's celebrated poem:

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans  
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,  
The emptiness of ages in his face,  
And on his back the burden of the world.  
Who made him dead to rapture and despair,  
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,  
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?  
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?  
Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow?  
Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?

Is this the thing the Lord God made and gave  
 To have dominion over sea and land;  
 To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;  
 To feel the passion of eternity?  
 Is this the dream He dreamed who shaped the suns  
 And pillared the blue firmament with light?  
 Down all the stretch of Hell to its last gulf  
 There is no shape more terrible than this—  
 More tongued with censure of the world's blind greed—  
 More filled with signs and portents for the soul—  
 More fraught with menace to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim!  
 Slave of the wheel of labor, what to him  
 Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades?  
 What the long reaches of the peaks of song,  
 The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose?  
 Through this dread shape the suffering ages look;  
 Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop;  
 Through this dread shape humanity betrayed,  
 Plundered, profaned and disinherited,  
 Cries protest to the Judges of the World,  
 A protest that is also prophecy.

O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,  
 Is this the handiwork you give to God,  
 This monstrous thing, distorted and soul quenched?  
 How will you ever straighten up this shape;  
 Touch it again with immortality;  
 Give back the upward looking and the light;  
 Rebuild in it the music and the dream;  
 Make right the immemorial infamies,  
 Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes?

O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,  
 How will the future reckon with this man?  
 How answer his brute question in that hour  
 When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?  
 How will it be with kingdoms and with kings—  
 With those who shaped him to the thing he is—  
 When this dumb Terror shall reply to God,  
 After the silence of the centuries?

That is a composite picture made up by at least a couple of millions of the population of this land of wide extent, colossal resources, and comparatively small population.

There is a sickening thought in this, for the Savior said that moral judgment proceeds upon the principle of our attitude toward humanity. In the Judgment Day, the Son of God will point to The Man with the Hoe and say, "I was an hungered and ye fed me not, sick and in prison and ye came not unto me. . . . Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these ye did it not unto me; depart from me, ye cursed." Standing before our age the Master of men points to the brutalized millions and says, "Behold what ye have made of me." Lowell's parable pictures the coming again of Christ to the world. The people make ready to welcome him. They spread carpets of gold wherever his feet shall tread. In their churches they place his images high over all, and then call the Master's attention to their presence there.

Then Christ sought out an artisan,  
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,  
And a motherless girl whose fingers thin  
Brushed from her faintly, want and sin.

These he set in the midst of them,  
And, as they drew back their garment hem  
For fear of defilement, "Lo here," said He,  
"The images ye have made of me."

We think the crucifixion of Christ on Calvary's cross was a monstrous crime, but if the Son of God has identified himself with the weakest of human kind, it may be that we are committing a greater crime. They took away his physical life; we destroy his soul as well. Jesus arose in triumph from the death to which they crucified him; whether he can rise from this brutalization or not God only knows.

What is the cause of these conditions which impair our manhood? Materialistic conceptions of life. Let me give you two pictures from the New Testament. The first picture: Jesus is surrounded by a group of men whom he had invited to go with him. He says to them, "I am going to reconstruct the social

fabric. I propose to reorganize society upon a new principle. This principle is a subtle thing. I cannot explain it to you; you must stay close by me and hear my words. Thus you will catch the spirit and apprehend my meaning." The deepest secrets of the Christian life can never be preached. Real religion cannot be taught, it must be caught.

The second picture: An old well and the Master sitting alone by it. A woman comes out of the adjacent city and he unfolds to her some of the deepest and richest truths of his whole revelation. But where are the Twelve whom he asked to stay close by him that they might not miss his marvelous words? They were in the city buying meat! If you bid me not to be hard upon these men upon the plea that the practical work of life must be done, the answer to your objection is twofold. It did not require all twelve of these men to buy the few groceries that the little group needed. In the second place, when they brought the meat to Jesus he did not want it. Unless we have become so absorbed in the interests of the spirit that we, at times at least, forget the claims of the flesh, I suspect that we have not even begun to live the truly human life, which is also the divine life.

Now then, what is the cause of pauperism? The meat market. And what is its cure? The Well and the Master. Jesus came into Gadara and found a poor fellow living in the caverns where they buried the dead, because he was thought to be full of devils and no one would give him a house to live in. Jesus healed him, but it cost the destruction of a herd of pigs. The owners of the swine gathered about Christ and vehemently besought him to depart out of their country. The Master said, "Why would you drive me away? See your old neighbor clothed and in his right mind. Are you not rejoiced to see him thus?" They said, "That is all very well, but look at the loss of meat!" Really the cause of pauperism is the putting of the pigs above the man, in being absorbed in the purchase of meat and forgetting the inspiration of the Well.

Christ is seeking now to drive the devils out of men. He inspires great movements for the amelioration of the conditions which make for poverty on a large scale, but immediately the

meat buyers get busy in the powerful lobby in the legislature, and in every other way open to them, so that every reform that looks to the relief of the distress of the people is hindered and blocked by the men who put the herd above humanity. Surely we live in Gadara!

Christianity works in two ways. It works first upon man for the improvement of his character and that automatically improves his environment. The Master working upon men according to the program announced at Nazareth is able to touch him again with immortality. He can straighten up his bent and battered shape. He can build again the music and the dream. This is good news. This is the work of the preacher. The social worker may have the most perfect machinery for his work, but it must be energized to be efficient. The preachers must furnish the energy. It is not gotten from the meat market, but from the Well. Only those who are in union with the Lord God Almighty can furnish the energy by which the machinery for the amelioration of social conditions can be made to move.

But at the same time Christianity works for the correction of environment. Corrupt character degrades environment and degraded environment corrupts character. The environment in which people are obliged to live is corrupting character faster than the Well is curing it. Pauperism is thus increasing faster than all the streams of inspiration and charity flowing in upon it can relieve it.

But Christ will find a way. He furnishes the energy, and science will discover the way. All over our land we have keen-minded men teaching in our universities, editing our journals, and preaching in our churches who are diligently seeking the way to success in this fight against poverty. Practical science has won some fairly notable victories already. Look what it is doing for disease. Many dreadful diseases have been banished. It is only a matter of time until they will all be conquered. The other day a Philadelphia surgeon planted another man's kidney in one of his patients. Other organs can be transplanted from one to another. We are going to stop burying sound organs with the dead. They will be taken out and saved for the living

who need them. Science is attacking successfully such enemies as industrial inefficiency and ignorance. In like manner science will solve the problems of pauperism. Such men as these who have brought these great utterances into this discussion are finding the ways to solve the problem and they will succeed. (*Applause.*)

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** We will now be addressed by Rev. William C. Little, of Atlantic City, N. J.

**REV. WILLIAM C. LITTLE:** Some years ago while I was engaged in mission work in New York City we undertook to feed fifty to a hundred hungry men every night in our mission, giving them a substantial meal, and we received a remonstrance from the Society for Relieving the Condition of the Worthy Poor, informing us that we were making paupers. I don't believe that we were. We were not dealing with the worthy poor but with the unworthy. I believe that something we must take into account when we are handling this question of pauperism is that many are unworthy—the great bulk of them are unworthy—but that is often our blame, not theirs. I have observed several things that bring about this condition of unworthiness. One is a lack of opportunity. This is brought about by a crowded curriculum in our public schools, especially in the state of Pennsylvania. As soon as we come to the point where we can give industrial education in our schools, we shall largely solve the problem.

Another thing is the lack of tact by those who are administering to the unworthy. A few years ago I entered a home in New York City, and I found that everything that could be pawned had been pawned long before. There had been illness in the family and some drunkenness. I found that the woman regretted very much that she had been obliged to pawn a certain vase. The ticket was produced, and although the time had expired, over a year had gone by, I was able to redeem the vase and brought it to her. Later I purchased for her at a second-hand shop two very fair pictures at the ridiculous price of twenty-five cents apiece, and she hung them in her room. Later a worker

from a charitable organization told her that she had no right to have such ornaments; they should be pawned for food.

Another thing that is conducive to pauperism is the pawnshop. In not one, but in a score of instances in New York, I found that I could not effect any remedy of the condition of the family until I had gone to the pawnshop and had redeemed tools for the man to work with. If we could have a law passed in all the states prohibiting pawnbrokers from advancing money upon workmen's tools, we would go a long way toward enabling men who are down to regain what they have already lost. But after all the real cure is the cure given by the speakers who preceded me. David long ago said, "Once I was young and now I am old, yet have I never seen the righteous forsaken or his seed begging bread." (*Applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT: We will now be addressed by Rev. William H. Bawden, of Perth Amboy, N. J.

MR. BAWDEN: If at this late hour I may trespass once again upon your time, Mr. President, I should like to direct attention to a book published recently, *Social Solutions*, by Professor Thomas C. Hall, of Union Seminary. I have not seen this anywhere adequately reviewed, and even while here have sought in vain for an appreciation of it.

Professor Hall first analyzes our present social order, and then brings to the solution of the problem the various propositions offered by the socialists and others, such as Karl Marx. Then he gives what he believes to be the social program of the teachings of Jesus, as offering the only true and adequate solution. In his analysis of our present social order he finds that competition is its genius, the competition that means the exclusion of a competitor as a competitor, which is war; the goal to be obtained is the possession of all natural resources and also of the means of manufacturing them into articles of commerce; the stimulus is the hope of gain, of profits. Over against these Jesus gave unto the world the ideal of the family, wherein all are brothers; the goal that of stewardship, a regarding all that we have as belonging to God, to be used by us for the advance

of his kingdom; and the stimulus is service, every man willing to serve his fellow.

Now if I might give a little different twist to those words of Jesus several times quoted this morning, placing the emphasis on the pronoun, it would read: "The poor *ye* have always with you"—ye have them with you because of your social order. The problem is how to bring about that social order for which Christ pleaded, which he came to earth to establish under the name of the kingdom, while we are living in a social order so at variance therewith. It seems to me that so long as we continue with our present order of things, with its genius of competition, its stimulus of profits, and its goal of possession, we shall continue to have pauperism with us also.

PRESIDENT MERRILL: We will hear from Professor Starratt.

PROFESSOR FRANK AUBREY STARRATT, Hamilton, N. Y.: I do not speak to you because I have something to say as an expert as to the causes and cure of pauperism. I accept the consensus of opinion that has been expressed on this platform, that fundamentally the cure of pauperism is Christianity. I wish to say just a word as to the application of this cure. Suppose this to be true, that Christianity is the cure for pauperism, what are we doing in the way of applying the cure? I believe the heart of man is open to religion. I believe the religion of Jesus Christ is adapted to man, that the two things have the same origin, and that they fit together as the hand fits the glove. We cannot get the hand into the glove—that is the trouble.

Two things, it seems to me, stand in the way of getting at men with religion. The first, is the vernacular of Christianity, the technical language that has attached itself to the gospel, that the world does not know and has to pass through a long training to acquire. One who has been reared in a Christian home, has had training in a Sunday school and church, may be able to appreciate to some extent the meaning that lies back of the phrases into which we have put the truths of Christianity. But the man on the street, who has not had that training, does not

get the message of the gospel because it is tied up in phrases that are strange to him.

Another thing that hinders the work of getting at men with the gospel is the institution in which it is embodied, the church. During the discussions of the various questions of Christian union, I have been impressed with the fact that the chief difficulty lies in the fact that Christianity has been too completely institutionalized. By what authority has this been done? Is there anything in Christianity itself that demands intellectual unanimity? By what authority do we connect baptism with church membership? Christianity and church are practically synonymous in the minds of the mass of people. Should it be so? Does the church as an institution truthfully express the gospel of Christ to one who looks at it from the outside? Is it not too rigid, too definite, too hard and fast, to express the rich, full life of Christianity which permits of so great variety of intellectual interpretation while pervaded by the same spirit?

It is well worth while to consider whether the church, as now organized, is not an obstacle in the way of reaching the outside masses with the gospel of Jesus Christ.

PRESIDENT MERRILL: We will close this session with prayer offered by Professor Anthony.

*Adjourned*

Close of Morning Session, November 16, 1911.

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THIRD DAY

*Afternoon Session*

Thursday, November 16, 1911

2:30 P.M.

PRESIDENT MERRILL opened this session of the Congress by asking Professor Frank Aubrey Starratt, Hamilton, N. Y., to offer prayer.

PRESIDENT MERRILL: The subject for discussion this afternoon is "The Mystical Element in Christianity. What Is It

and What Is Its Value?" The first paper will be read by Rev. D. H. Clare, D.D., of East Orange, N. J.

REV. DR. D. H. CLARE then read as follows:

### THE MYSTICAL ELEMENT IN CHRISTIANITY. WHAT IS IT? WHAT IS ITS VALUE?

It is well to ask at the beginning what the mystical element in Christianity is. The expression has been used to apply to every sort of sentimentality, hallucination, ecstasy, and abnormal psychic state. It has been regarded as the element which cannot be reconciled with reason, and which glories in its defiance of it. It is associated in many minds almost exclusively with its manifestations in the raptures of the mediaeval saints, the quietism of Madame Guyon, the rhapsodies of the early Methodist exhorter, or the type of piety cultivated by the followers of the Keswick movement. A truth which does not appeal at once to the practical common-sense is called mystical. As to its value the man in the street is inclined to think that the mystical element as he understands it is the one element of Christianity which can be most easily dispensed with. There are good men who feel that it has had its day, and is now a sort of "vestigial survival."

The mystical element of Christianity is that element which deals with the soul's consciousness of God, not as an object of knowledge, but as an experience through immediate awareness of union with him. Without this element there would be no religion in any true sense. For as an inspiration it is religion's source, because it is the panting of the soul for God, and as an achievement it is religion's goal, for it is the assurance of having found him. In Christianity we test the reality of the experience by Christ. It is genuine if the God with whom the soul feels joined is the Father he has revealed. We know the root by the quality of the fruit. The mystical element is therefore the heart and core of our religion. It is personal religion in its most intense form. It is not contrary to reason; it furnishes reason with a new fact which reason needs, to secure the unity it craves. If it is rejected it will still persist while the

system of thought which rejects it will "have its day, and cease to be," for this element is the life of the spirit, indestructible, eternal. When accepted, as accepted it must be, then "mind and soul, according well, will make one music as before, but vaster."

In the early church it was the presence of their invisible Lord, the consciousness of their fellowship with him, which united the hearts of the believers. The joyous assurance that he had vanished from their faces that he might return unto their hearts to abide forever, unloosed the floodgates of spiritual energy, filled them with a vivid consciousness of God, took the sting from death, and brought eternal life into the midst of time. It was a mystical fellowship. It ceased to be mystical when the bond changed from the vital invisible one of sharing the same consciousness of the unseen presence, and became an external union through assent to doctrines which had no reality in experience.

For the mystical element in the New Testament our thoughts turn to the Fourth Gospel and to the letters of John. Here we find the Christian experience interpreted in terms of union. Religion is not a system handed down, it is God in the soul; the divine spirit imparting himself to the human spirit, bearing his own witness. God is light, he is life and love. This must be experienced in order to know the significance of the symbols used to convey the suggestion of the reality. But while the simple language and tender spirit of this gospel have led us to feel that this is the treasure-house of the mystical element, when we turn to Paul we find it in what is perhaps a purer form. For while John turns to one who was made flesh, whose words were words of life, Paul's gospel came to him through an overwhelming inner experience. "It pleased God to reveal his son in me." God in Christ was, therefore, the one great fact of his life. He was surer of it than of any other fact in all the world. Possessed by the Spirit, filled by the Spirit, indwelt by the Spirit, are terms he loves to use. There is no doubt in him, no fear. He knows. The Spirit itself beareth witness with his spirit that he is a son of God. His hunger for union was so great that he counted all things but loss that he

might win Christ; and the experience of union was so vivid that he would cry, "For me to live is Christ." The experience was so precious that for his loved Galatians he yearned as with birth pangs for them until Christ be formed in them. The bliss of it all, the glorious reality of it all made music in his heart like angel's songs. Rejoice! rejoice! and again I say rejoice. If this is the mystical experience it is worth going round the wide world to obtain. The intellectual framework in the terms of which he was compelled to interpret his experience may perish with the centuries, for it was the creation of his age; but the mystical element in his faith is eternal.

The search for this experience has been a perilous one in the course of human history. It has led men into pitfalls of pantheism and antinomianism. They have tried by self-delusion and morbid introspection to secure that which is possible only by moral effort. They have followed the vagaries of their own minds, and have called their own imaginings communion with the highest. They have ascribed objective existence to the subjective creations of their own faculties. The type of piety produced by it has often shown a lack of virility, and to many has seemed stamped with artificiality so that the odor of sanctity has been an offense in the nostrils. But those who have approached religion through its mystical element have been the great pioneers in the spiritual world. They are the prophets. When truth has hardened into dogma, and the Christian life has been interpreted in terms of intellectual propositions, when ecclesiasticism has held the hearts of men in bondage, these men have cried out for the living God; they have swept past book and creed and priest and church; with hunger-bitten spirits they have torn away every barrier with a divine frenzy, and have satisfied their souls at the very heart of God. They have been despised and rejected of men, their testimony has often been marred by the superstitions and aberrations and intellectual conceptions of their age, but they said they knew God, not by the hearing of the ear, but by evidence stronger than any evidence the bodily senses can furnish, and they have been willing to hold that truth against the world. "They all speak the same language," one of them has said, "and all come from the same country."

With our knowledge of psychology we can understand as never before many of the visions and ecstasies and abnormal mental states which many of them misinterpreted, for they were children of their age. But they represent in its most acute and dramatic form the hunger of the soul for God. And when we question the reality of their highest and purest communion they all join hands across the centuries, and with eternity in their hearts, stand up like men in wrath, and answer, "We have felt."

The mystical element may be joined with material from every man's faith. Each generation has its own emphasis, and each man has his own spiritual constitution. The great prophets and seers are the spiritual geniuses of the race. They are the flaming torches by whose light we see light; we, the religiously ungifted with our dimmer vision and our sluggish hearts. But each must see with the eyes of his own spirit. Here is his certitude, without which his speech will be an echo, not a voice. The mystical element in our faith is not a citadel in which we take refuge when driven by the merciless assaults of reason; where we sink we shrink with trembling lest faith be slain. It is our fortress out of which we march with flying banners, shouting in triumph as we go, "This is the victory that overcomes the world—our faith."

The mystical element may be joined with material from philosophies and theologies far from Christian as men have sought after God, but for the Christian heart it is safeguarded from individual caprice by the consciousness of Jesus. This is to be a Christian mystic. Men are crying, "Back to Christ," and they think they have reached him when they hear him preach the Sermon on the Mount, and see him perform his deeds of mercy and love. They have only touched the hem of his garment. We speak of sinners as being "out of Christ," and we call them to "come to Christ," and even while we call, we ourselves are out of Christ if we think we have come to him when we accept at his hands certain ethical principles. A man is "in Christ" when he shares his spiritual consciousness. This is eternal life. We must have the certitude in the soul of his Father's presence, we must open our hearts to receive him, we must live in the

strength and peace and joy of that communion. This is to abide in Christ. "Abide in me, and I in you." "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me." The secret of our fruitlessness is our second-hand religion—the absence of the mystical element from our faith.

This is the need of men. "We want," says an English writer, "we want neither edifying lessons drawn from the wanderings of Israel, or the book of Joshua; no brilliant word painting of some of the scenes of the Bible with a more up-to-date eloquence, nor the exposition of the machinery of schemes of salvation once real, from which the life has departed, but some message concerning the things of the spirit, delivered in simplicity and humility and sincerity to men who would fain be simple, humble, and sincere."

We need to catch the vision of the mystical aspect of the kingdom of God to complete our thought of it or we shall miss the reality of it. In our churches we are talking all the time about efficiency. We are trying to point out to men the mind of Christ in the realm of social service. We are putting Christian activities in terms of modern industry. But the response is not the spontaneous answer of the soul. We use the driving power of organization, and by external compulsion we arouse temporary enthusiasm. But we do not impart spiritual passion. We try to interest men in the kingdom, and alas! neither we nor they are living in the invisible country we so eloquently describe. We teach them to sing:

Where cross the crowded ways of life,  
Where sound the cries of race and clan,  
Above the noise of selfish strife  
We hear thy voice, O Son of Man.

In haunts of wretchedness and need,  
On shadowed thresholds dark with fears,  
In paths where lurk the lures of greed,  
We catch the vision of thy tears.

They catch the vision of his tears, but they do not catch the vision of his soul. In order to see that they must be able to sing this:

O Love that wilt not let me go,  
I rest my weary soul on Thee;  
I give Thee back the life I owe  
That in thine ocean depths its flow  
May richer, fuller be.

O cross that liftest up my head,  
I dare not ask to fly from thee;  
I lay in dust life's glory dead,  
And from the ground there blossoms red  
Life that shall endless be.

For let men engage in the task of social betterment, tear down rotting tenements, seek for the toiler in factory and mine shorter hours of labor, demand for them a living wage, insist upon social justice, seek to banish poverty and alleviate pain—in short apply the social principles of Jesus. Blessed, holy ministry! But suppose all these things were realized. The evolution of society under economic necessity would ultimately produce many of the external changes for which we strive. Suppose in ten thousand years it were all realized to such an extent that there was scarcely a sphere for the manifestation of the spirit of sacrifice which we regard as the essence of the Christ spirit, and that opportunity for the development of character were largely closed. Suppose that state of society lasted a million years. The end must come at last. In the process of time geologic or astronomic changes will come, making the struggle for existence hard and stern once more. It is all over at last and everyone has gone to heaven! No! these things are not the kingdom; they are part of the external expression of the will of God being done on earth. Men might have all these and have no sense of eternal life in the midst of time. The enjoyment of them would make death all the more terrible. This ideal state of society would be but the shadow of the substance, an inevitable expression and symbol of the reality. The thought of Jesus is such a consciousness of God in the human soul in all stages of the development of human society that for the soul, even amid pain and tears, heaven would be on the earth—a life over which death would have no power. This is the holy city coming down out of heaven from God, wherein

dwellleth righteousness, where there is no temple because the Lord God is the temple thereof.

It will be the mystical element in our faith which will lead to its triumph in that great Eastern world. Where those teeming millions dwell the very atmosphere palpitates with mystical feeling which with our dim vision we have ignored, treating it as if it were the idle wind instead of the evidence of that brooding spirit in which we all live and move and have our being. Animated by the ideals of Jesus we build hospitals and schools and churches. But unless we make it clear that these are the concrete and visible symbols of the presence of the reality they are groping for if haply they might find him, they will take these gifts gratefully from our hands, and use them to sharpen their intellects and to heal their bodies while they themselves sink deeper into sin. If we approach them with our theological formulas, they will be to them as an unknown tongue. But when we speak the language of the soul, and interpret that mystical feeling in terms of the consciousness of Jesus, the people who now sit in darkness and the shadow of death will see a great light.

We need the mystical element in our faith to restore our joy. It is vain to attempt to restore the past. The new day must have a glory of its own. But what mean these triumphant strains of holy joy sounding from the upper room, and ringing through the pages of the New Testament—now hushed, now breaking forth again, now dying away, and once again pealing forth? Was the world fairer then? Were there no such things as care and pain and tears? These notes come forth from dungeon and arena, from abodes of poverty, and from beds of pain. "It is not fitting, when one is in God's service, to have a gloomy face or a chilling look," said Francis of Assisi to a novice. "Before me and before my brothers here, always show a face shining with holy joy." Where is our joy? We have laughter and jest, but where is our joy burning like an altar flame, not in sudden leaps of ecstasy, but steadily and bright—joy not in ignoring the world's suffering, but in the vicarious sharing of its woes. We have done violence to a sacred part of our nature, and have starved our souls. When we know how easily we

may be led astray by our emotional life we need to be on our guard. But we have grown so afraid of being self-deceived that we cannot have our hearts stirred without talking of "social contagion," "suggestion," and "sentimentalism." There is no longer any danger of thinking that pious feeling will take the place of service. Full well we know that obedience is the true test of discipleship, not in feeling happy. We have learned by sad experience that we shall miss our joy if we spend our time in searching for it. But the fruit of the Spirit is joy. What can be more inconceivable than that the spirit of the living God and the spirit of his child should meet without joy? The things our Master was speaking about when he said, "These things have I spoken to you that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full," were the truths concerning abiding in him. If Paul were to come into our Christian assemblies today, the absence of joy would betray us. He would find us oppressed with care, doing the daily duty with a grim determination, no light in our faces, but pervaded with a vague restlessness and dissatisfaction. He would find it in the man in the pulpit as well as in the man in the pew. With a tone of mingled rebuke and pity and pained surprise he would say, "Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?" And looking up with yearning and trembling hope we should have to say with faltering lips, "Nay, we did not so much as hear whether the Holy Ghost was given."

What power lies slumbering in the timeless truths! Men handle them reverently, they take them upon their lips without dreaming of the transforming energy stored within them. "God is Love." "God is a spirit." We release their power by realizing them in our consciousness. I speak not lightly of creeds and formulas. When recognized as external things, they render essential service. They have been through the centuries the lamps wrought by trembling human hands to keep the sacred flame of personal religion from being extinguished amid the blasts of a sinful world. It is only when they are mistaken for the flame itself that they work harm in the soul. But in the realm of the spirit they melt away. If one enters that realm with his faith bound up with creed his soul cannot breath. When

one's lungs receive its air, that moment he is free; he enters that country and his fetters fall. Here is the unity of the spirit, deeper than co-operation, richer than a common purpose. It applies to the stern Puritan in his mystical mood and the theologian of the twentieth century, and all who have caught the vision. Every barrier is down. While they use their intellects over their theologies they misunderstand, and their conflicting opinions divide. But when they speak the language of the soul their eyes shine with the same holy light, and their lives are all hid with Christ in God.

Need I say in closing that we need the mystical element in our faith for prayer? Without it there can be no prayer. Now we enter the holy of holies, filled with the glory of the Lord. Our petitions are not wafted to the throne, the King is within.

Speak to Him thou, for He hears, and Spirit with Spirit can meet.  
Closer is He than breathing, nearer than hands and feet.

This now shall be our prayer that he would grant us, according to the riches of his glory, that we may be strengthened with power through his spirit in the inward man; that Christ may dwell in our hearts through faith; to the end that we, being rooted and grounded in love, may be strong to apprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that we may be filled unto all the fulness of God.

"Mysticism," it has been said, "is the love of God."

PRESIDENT MERRILL: The second paper on this subject will be presented by Professor Alfred W. Anthony, D.D., Lewiston, Me.

PROFESSOR ALFRED W. ANTHONY, D.D. (Professor Anthony spoke without notes.): We have heard of the man who for the first time listened to a definition and description of prose, and then awakened to the realization that he had been speaking prose all his life. If I were not confident that mysticism has a deeper hold upon the church of Jesus Christ and upon you, my hearers, than most of us realize, I should approach this subject with a hesitancy that would scarcely allow me to touch it.

Let us take for its atmosphere a quotation from one of our poets (our poets are nearly all mystics) this single stanza from that simple New England Quaker poet, Whittier, in his "Prayer of Aggassiz":

As, in life's best hours, we hear  
 With the spirit's finer ear  
 His low voice within us, thus  
 The All-Father heareth us;  
 And His holy ear we pain  
 With our noisy words and vain.  
 Not for Him our violence  
 Storming at the gates of sense,  
 His the primal language, His  
 The eternal silences.

In this brief stanza are four definitions of mysticism—poetic definitions: "the Spirit's finer ear," "his low voice within us," "the primal language," "the eternal silences."

It is easy to find other definitions. Professor Adam Seth, in speaking of mysticism, characterized it as passive, effeminate, sensuous, over against masculine, independent, virile. In another place he says, "when religions begin to ossify into formulas and ceremonies, then their vitalization and rejuvenation come through the introduction of the mystical element, giving them heart again."

There are those who have spoken of mysticism as that power of self, the conscious self, to "apprehend the beyond"; that power of the conscious self "to push its outer fringe into the unknown." It has been spoken of, also, as that inherent, dormant faculty, like unto the sixth sense, belonging to the evolutionary process about to unfold into fuller function; it has been called "the voice of God within us."

My own definition of mysticism is this: the direct cognition of spiritual verities without the intervention of the senses on the one hand and without the ordinary processes of intellectual reasoning on the other hand—a direct, immediate contact of the soul with spiritual verity. Is this possible?

On the side of science there is a vindication—perchance we had better call it a quasi-vindication; or it may be directions in which

vindication later will be found. Here are the four directions: (1) In the direction of the understanding of the sub-conscious self, that larger, that fuller, richer self, which, while so little understood, really so fully contains and expresses us. (2) There may be scientific vindication of mysticism in the direction of that functioning power of the soul by which, through immediate intuitions, it grasps axiomatic truth. (3) There may be scientific vindication in the direction of psychic waves, or telepathic influences, some as yet unknown power (recognized even by the populace) of spirit to touch and influence and even control spirit. (4) There may be scientific vindication in the direction, which modern philosophy seems so generously and generally to have taken, toward a form of universal monism, a philosophy which accounts for all manifestations in the terms of one universal mind.

But we are not busied primarily this afternoon with this scientific vindication. While we recognize that such vindication may be possible, and later may be demonstrated, let us turn to Scripture for the Biblical vindication of the mystical element in Christianity. One cannot read Scripture without realizing that it is not merely shot through with mysticism, but is in essence mystical. What were the teachings of Jesus Christ? Mystical. Hear him when he speaks to his disciples relative to conduct. What cares he for the outer act? He is no casuist. Rules of life with him have little or no value. It is the condition of the heart at which he looks; it is the motive, rather than motion; it is the intent, more than action. Thus he judges, thus he seeks to have his followers follow him—in spirit. See him when he speaks of revelation of truth. Is it by physical demonstration or by the ordinary rational process? "Father, I thank thee that thou has concealed, hid these things from the wise and prudent—those who by ordinary processes of reasoning accept and understand and apprehend truth; and hast revealed them unto babes—those who by direct cognition apprehend and assent, if at all."

See him when he tests, illustrates, and judges discipleship. Two sisters are before him, one busied in the household cares, busied with those things of matter and sense, essential, indis-

putably praiseworthy, yet those things which tend to transform unto themselves the persons who are busied with them. And there sat at his feet a sister in holy contemplation, her soul going forth unto him, her heart receiving the impress of his spirit's image; and, "Mary," he said, "hath chosen the better part."

See him, when he speaks of his own undisturbed perpetual presence in the midst of his disciples; still in the church though crucifixion is before him and his final, physical departure. "Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst," "I will be with you as ye go forth preaching my gospel, to all men, through all the days." He means a mystical union, mystical relations, mystical fellowship.

In these few illustrations of our Master's teachings I have not turned once to the Fourth Gospel, characterized as the great mystical gospel. I have taken these few incidents only from the first three gospels, and yet these are typical of all the Master's teachings.

All great reformers have been mystics. I need not name them. Let me turn to but one, that one, who, of all others, has been trusted by the divine spirit as a channel of divine grace for humanity, unto the spread of the gospel, to teach the right of private judgment, to emancipate the church and the disciples of Christ from the bondage of ritualism and form—Martin Luther. Look at his picture and you say at once, there are no characteristics of the mystic about those broad shoulders, that thick neck, that mighty, bulky frame; he has the characteristic of the beast, the bull, with his fearless, indomitable energy. It took courage in Martin Luther to stand as he did and say, "Here I stand, though every tile upon the roof were a devil, here stand I, God help me, I can naught else." But Martin Luther was essentially a mystic.

Test him in the direction of his critical canons, for he was a critic, a biblical, and historical, and higher critic. Of the Epistle of James he said, "A right strawey epistle." He had examined all the external evidences, but the internal were to him convincing. The epistle spoke not to his soul of his Christ, and he put it aside.

Test him in the direction of his fellowship. Word was brought to him once that one of his associates had donned the cassock, a mark of papal subserviency. We can hear Luther snorting, "Let him wear two cassocks!" The man's heart, he knew, was with him; and the external form, two or three or any number of cassocks, mattered not.

Test him in prayer, his soul's communion with God. Martin Luther, when the whole church seemed to hang upon his neck, and he claimed that the chairs and desks and stools and settees and mantels were all piled with letters needing his attention, yet spent two and three hours a day in prayer, communing with God. This was his motto: *Fleissig gebetet ist über die Hälfte studieret*—"To have prayed industriously is to have studied more than half." One man once said to him that the great elector, Frederick of Saxony, would be his protector. "No! I will protect him rather than he me, by prayer," was the reply.

Look at him in his great fundamental teaching, that the just shall live, by no external act, no penance done by the body, no pilgrimages to Rome, no offerings or sacrifices, no ceremonies or rituals, no sacramentarian creeds or deeds, but the just shall live by that inner conformity, by spiritual fellowship, by *faith*. By "faith" he meant mystical union.

Martin Luther, great bulky, fleshy man, unlike the pale mystic of our imagination, was, from crown to foot, a mystic.

Mysticism has its perils. We have seen the perils exemplified, and, therefore, some of us draw back. It runs into vagaries, idiosyncrasies; it verges upon, it plunges into hallucinations. But these need not discredit mysticism. Every virtue has its corresponding vice. The remedy for this peril is for the individual mystic to socialize his mysticism. In the foreign field, the man who oftentimes is the hardest to work with and the most dangerous for missionary enterprise is the individual who is listening only to the guidance of the Spirit. Such a one needs to realize that the Spirit speaks also through his associates, and his fellows; and a mystic, while tending toward extreme individualism, must remember that the same God, who speaks in his soul, speaks also in the souls of his brethren; and then if he will listen not alone to the voice of God, but also to the

voice of God interpreted through the lips and lives of others, his own mystical individualism may be brought in harmony with the spiritual intent of the great Father through his communications to all his children.

There is the peril of mysticism that it deny fact, and insist upon purely subjective convictions rather than external, demonstrated, scientific conclusions. Then must we say that mysticism should never be regarded as an authority by itself; it is not the only prophet. Mysticism should never be substituted for any other kind of teacher, for experience, science, or philosophy—not substituted for, but used supplementary to, as a complement and addition. There is need today that science itself be transformed by the infused illumination of the mystic. Henry Drummond at one time seemed to have undertaken this task, writing that book *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. Now one should come and write a book entitled *Spiritual Law in the Natural World*. It may be that even before the church, or any of the members, turn to this task, the great scientists themselves will have given us a definition of the universe and of matter in the terms of spirit. They are getting very close to it in their talk about electrons, ions, as the ultimate form of matter, back of molecules and atoms—centers of force, of power, subject to law. They are getting very near it, very near to interpreting all matter by the terms of Spirit.

Mysticism has its danger also—that its devotee shall deny experience, think only of internal conceptions, and fail to realize, by processes of self-hypnotizing, external fact of which he is a part and to which he is subject. The remedy is to cultivate volitional poise, to weigh, to test, to judge.

We plead this afternoon, if we plead at all, not for the mystic element to exclude the rational, to supersede the volitional, but to accompany the intellect and the volition and go with them hand in hand. This is a day of materialism. Matter holds sway. Men talk and think of things and stuff. The church is dealing too much with matter and external form. This mystical element needs to come back into our lives, into the church. We should be mystics to recognize with "the spirit's finer ear" "his low voice," "the primal language," "the eternal silences." Where

my brother who preceded me paused, there come I. How can we pray unless it be in communion with God? "With our noisy words and vain," "his holy ear we pain." How can we talk with him unless we know him?

Need I ask where is God? St. Paul was a great mystic on Mars Hill, when he said, "God is not far from every one of you; in him we live, and move, and have our being." Has inspiration ceased? Do we speak of it in the past tense? Yes, if we have lost out of our lives this mystical element and no longer have fellowship with a living, present God and Savior who speaks to us in the day's experiences with a message for the day's life and task; unless we have a holy fellowship in this mystical sense. Are things becoming secular? The Jew thought of one place as holy, and one day as holy, and one-tenth of his possessions as consecrated. Are we even Jewish when we should be Christian? The secular will rise to the holy plane when we realize the holy presence and have fellowship and mystical union with Him whose we are; and all days and all tasks will then be holy and all places become holy. The church today, submerged in the commercial and materialistic spirit, is thinking of matter. Oh, for vision! Oh, for sight to see Him who is invisible, and the inner experience, to entertain him in fellowship!

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** We have now come to the time when we are to say the closing words of this Congress.

When the occupant of this position was informed that he was to preside here, he was also told that he was the first of his profession to occupy this position. The chairman is not only grateful for the honor which has come to him, but to the Young Men's Christian Association which he represents. He was also informed that he is the only president who has not had a varied string of letters and titles after his name. It is quite true that we do not expect association secretaries to be great scholars. They have been trained for the position of executives and have little time for the study of books. They are dealing with young life and they are consecrated to the problems and temptations of the living boys. So we cannot take our position as

great scholars, but those of us who occupy positions like the one in which I have tried to serve you do our best to look both learned and wise.

My attention has been called to the fact that probably I am the youngest man to preside at a Baptist Congress. If I could venture an opinion on some of the discussions, it would be that undoubtedly some of these questions are of greater concern to your generation than they will be to my generation. I wish I could look forward and believe that when my generation comes to the front and takes command of affairs, there will be no more difficult problems before them than that of theology and church government, but we are confronted by the fact that your generation and generations before have so skilfully practiced the art of social injustice, that we are to have great economic problems to solve and not theological problems. We are to be concerned about church government tomorrow, it is true, but more profoundly concerned about municipal government, and the demand tomorrow will be for the theologian who is also the social engineer. It is these problems which are concerning our young men and will be the feature of debate in your future congresses.

Undoubtedly church union will come about, as proposed by some of the previous speakers, but through a co-operative promotion of social programs. Perhaps the only reason why there should be church union is that thereby social programs might more effectively be carried out and economic justice reign and the kingdom brought about.

Many problems will be solved only by the liberal use of time. Today, about an hour ago, we looked up in the heavens and saw the sun shining; in another direction the moon was seen and, apparently, not far from the moon, a bright star was shining. That was an unusual order of things. How it came about we do not know, and so it will be with many of these problems, you have discussed; things which baffle you in your generation, the next generation will look at and find them solved.

I remember not long ago attending a conference of Young Men's Christian Association secretaries. When we had spent

two or three days together considering some of the vital problems relating to our work, the presiding officer called on one or two men who had been there during the entire session to summarize what had gone before. He asked them to speak on "What It All Means." The chairman is now going to call on one or two men to summarize what has gone before and give to you the final impressions of the Congress. The first speaker to be called on is one who will represent the General Committee, Dr. Russell H. Conwell. (*Applause.*)

RUSSELL H. CONWELL, LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.: *Mr. Chairman, Members of the Congress:* Feeling myself unfit for any task of this kind, both by my physical weakness and by my inability to attend all the debates of this Congress, I nevertheless feel as though I would like to leave one parting thought with the brethren who have been interested in these wonderful discussions.

It is a study in sociology to account to one's own satisfaction for the production of such excellent literature, and the aggregation of so much information and the presence of such distinguished men and so few people to hear them. For never, in this Congress, in the years past when it was my privilege to attend, did I ever hear anything more convincing, and more carefully guarded essays than those that have been presented here. But it is not for me, but for the chairman, to review these, further than to give the reason why I make this suggestion.

You stood upon the shore yesterday and the waves came to your feet and you saw one drop of water glistening on a grain of sand, and you realized that a man could spend a lifetime with his microscope and with chemistry examining that one drop, and still find that volumes are unwritten.

You look out and see a few acres of the ocean; it is full of interest, vital with some mysterious power. Where the wide-spreading oceans go, you cannot go and your mind cannot go, but you believe there is something else somewhere beyond what you can see.

Once I used to travel as a newspaper man over the face of the earth, and often in later years have prided myself, unconsciously, it is true, on the fact that I had seen many countries,

many cities, and many peoples, and then I woke up in my age, at the end of life, to find there are a hundred and twenty languages I never spoke and more than a thousand tribes I never saw, and mountains higher, that there are rivers deeper than any on which my boat did go, and there are shores rolling on islands and continents I have never seen, but I believe they are there.

I have gathered books through years, and I go in my library and look down my shelves and I see hundreds of books, the titles of which I had forgotten, which I had purchased on some sudden impulse, thinking some day I would read them, but there they are. When they shall take my form away to the cemetery from my library, there are thousands of volumes probably gathered through the house I have never opened, I shall never read, but the information is there. Some man may read some part of that and someone may, perhaps, have read them all, but I shall not know it in this life, not until I awake in His likeness.

I have heard discussions here in this Congress that were very wise, but they dealt with the least things, they dealt with the drop upon the grain of sand, they dealt with a single book in an immense library of information, they dealt with the near things, with the microscope more than with the telescope, and consequently, when they ask of me my impression of the Congress it is not one of dissatisfaction, but one of great admiration for the genius, for the science, for the metaphysical dissertations presented to us in a most unique and forceful manner in the last few years. It seems, however, that in these last hours we are getting nearer to the vital things about which we need to study most.

We are all mystics; of course we are, we must be, cannot be otherwise. We stand on the shore, we see but a little. There is much beyond, which we must believe, and consequently we must have faith; and if I were to be asked what I considered the most important thing in life to teach, I would say faith. We live by faith. No business can be transacted without faith; no railroads run, nor steamers ply the ocean without faith. No man reads a book without faith. No man purchases

a garment without faith. No man takes a mouthful without faith, or if he does he has the dyspepsia as a certain consequence of it. Faith is our vital breath—faith. We are all the time doing things and saying things, as I undertook this speech, without knowing what will be its result. It is all faith. I thought I should have something to say, I trust myself in the pulpit in this way hundreds of times—I must do it; every preacher must do it. Usually the best things that come are spontaneous through faith.

The reputation this Congress has obtained among the lesser lights of this denomination is that it juggles more with the gospel verities rather than in assurance. We wish to find some new light and we wish to venture on untried ways. It has had somewhat of this tendency. But I thought in the discussion last night about our denominational baptism, that the Baptist faith is the Christian faith. If I did not I would not be a Baptist. If this is the doctrine of Christ I cannot abandon it for nominal, outward union with others. If Christ be not in my belief I should change it immediately, but I do believe that the Baptists are right. I have faith that there will be Baptists in all the world in the time to come. I do not think we will need to forsake any essential truth to find union by and by, and that union will be in the Baptist creed, if we call it such. If I did not believe it I would be a Catholic, or anything else that appeared to be nearer the truth than what I find this to be. Because the more true we are to the Baptist denomination, the more true we are to the Catholic, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian. Show me a man untrue to his wife and I will show you one that will be untrue to all womanhood. I am afraid that the great union that we talk so much about, and which is so desirable, and which we ought to pray for and work for, is not to be secured along the lines we are traveling.

You find a man that drifts around to all kinds of churches and gives nothing to anyone. He is in favor of union. It is the man who has friends and shows himself friendly, the man who hath convictions and is a Baptist while he is a Baptist, that will respect and honor any other man for belief in any community where his conscience is concerned. He will be the

strongest and most trusted friend of the Methodist or the Jew. Be true to something and then we know you will be true anywhere. A man not true anywhere cannot be trusted.

As the church seems to be losing its hold on the masses of the people for the time, it is a day of great danger when this talk of union shall release people from their obligations who are in a critical transitional relation to the church.

Those essays of last evening were excellent, they will do good. We need to think and we need to think carefully, and examine the basis of our faith, and these discussions are excellent; but they never should drive us from our belief in one thing until we are convinced that there is something better beyond. Do not take away our faith. I am near the end of life's journey, I am conscious of it every day, and I want faith. I want to know that when the summons comes I am believing something that is sure. I want faith more than anything else. Faith! I want to go to my dying bed with a sense of peace and rest and with a trust grounded on something everlastingly true. When you close your congresses in the future, never close them without leaving an impression of stronger faith on the things you know are so. Don't disturb the eternal verities in the minds of people by anything that is of lesser use. Christ and God and heaven are all true. They are real. I know it in my soul. You know it in yours. Don't doubt it, and don't encourage other people to doubt it. Let every congress close with prayer, with humble confession and feeling that God is God, and right is right, that after all our faith is sure, that one thing remains eternal—that "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin." (*Applause.*)

PRESIDENT MERRILL: The next speaker representing the local church and local committee, will be the pastor of this church, Dr. Hudson.

REV. BIRNEY S. HUDSON, D.D., Atlantic City, N.J.: *Mr. Chairman, Members of the Congress:* There are times when it is well for students of affairs to separate themselves from the daily and close contact with the things which must necessarily occupy their minds, and devote themselves to a discussion and

conference that will give them a new outlook, lend them comfort, and reveal to them a hope that will make it possible for them to have courage and vision when they return again to their fields of operation.

When one has spent several days on the wide sea and has made his acquaintances with that small group of people traveling with him, he almost feels that that body, so isolated and insulated from the rest of the world, are sole occupants of our planet. Unless we meet each other occasionally and come into contact with different tides of thought, there is danger that we will be isolated from things in the larger sense. Our gathering suggests a council of physicians, perhaps, who have examined a very critical case and have retired to an apartment by themselves, that they may deliberate upon the conditions they find.

I am not sure but that it is well that our numbers are not large in these gatherings. The larger audience awaits the printed proceedings. Here we seek to clear the air, we calm ourselves for deliberate study, we take time to think. It seems to me that this is a place where we can profitably take account of the progress of thought historically, where we can take into consideration present problems in the technical realm, in critical affairs, and in the sociological life of men, reach some conclusion, at least tentatively, as to what we must do to handle the stupendous problems before us. If there are any changes necessary, if any progressive steps are possible, we can turn the kaleidoscope of reality for a new view of our world, we shall be profited by such contemplation. This is a clearing-house in which the truth may possibly be illumined, or movements started which will eliminate unnecessary things in our social and religious institutions. We may find it good to cling to some things old. Our purpose is not to be destructive. But elimination of unnecessary impediments is always desirable. To discover and state essential truth is always pertinent. To clarify the ideals of the church and unify her practices, is to clear the way for the church's part in the work of the social and spiritual kingdom. We seek that we may be able to attack successfully, scientifically, feelingly, the things which hinder the well-being of men physically and spiritually.

As pastor of this church I rejoice that we have had opportunity to hear specialists in certain lines of human endeavor, to come into contact with their thinking, to discover the mental processes of those who are serious and intent upon knowing the truth, and as intent upon declaring the truth. I believe we shall think more clearly, more accurately. We shall be more accurate. We shall be able to shift ourselves a little more easily in the shell in which we have been living, and conscientiously close it again if we think best, or entirely emerge from it if necessary, that we may dwell in still larger habitation.

It has been a privilege to meet those who feel the impact of great problems, but who also believe in a possible solution of them; that in their solution we shall find a social order and a united church in which God's sufficiency and man's willingness have been fully demonstrated. (*Applause.*)

PRESIDENT MERRILL: The next speaker representing the Executive Committee will be Dr. Gessler.

THEODORE A. K. GESSLER, D.D., Landing, N.J.: *Mr. President:* The hour is late and I must be brief.

On yonder table at the rear end of this room are some red-edged books. They are the Revised Version of the Bible, corrected according to the suggestions of the American revisers. At the time of the beginning of my ministry there were deacons of Baptist churches who would have secured the exclusion of any member proposing to introduce a book like that into a Baptist church, and who would certainly have sought the decapitation of any minister who would have dared to preach from a text in its language. Now we accept this change without a moment's question. That is all right. What we are still afraid of is the higher critics, whoever they are, and the higher criticism, whatever that may be.

When I was down in the island of Jamaica last winter I listened to an address by a colored brother, who was not always grammatical in his speech, and who was not remarkably profound in scholarship, who warned the brethren that he was speaking against the perils of the higher criticism. I presume he knew

what he was talking about as much as many of our brethren in our own country know who are thus warning their brethren.

The world moves. Religious truth is being approached from an entirely different angle from that from which men saw it when I was a young man. I am sure Dr. Conwell has heard in this Congress this year a line of expression which is entirely different from the old approaches to theological thought. Let us not forget that the denomination that is in the line of progress, ready to receive the truth that is ready to fall to it, is most in the line of God's blessing. For behind all this progress is He who is moving the world and the stars. It is from his hand that we have this revised Bible and possibly—probably, his hand may also strike out from that same version of the Bible some things we today still revere.

We are learning, we are moving on. The Baptist denomination is fortunate in not being tied' down by any procrustean creeds, so that it lacks facilities of adaptation to whatever truth God may give to it in the coming days. You know there are great denominations which will have to abandon all of the rights they possess on this mundane sphere if they dare to move away from the creed written by men who perished ages ago, and in some of these churches, the people believe a creed that is absolutely contrary to the written formularies on which their existence hangs. They are tied to a lying declaration in order to hold their earthly possessions.

We are exceedingly fortunate in the liberty we enjoy. We ought to turn our faces to the light. I do not want to believe anything I am afraid to discuss, and all the highest and best things the world holds today are things that have come to it by a process of struggle and pain and strife. The best things we get, we obtain because we have to climb after them. They do not fall like ripe apples at our feet.

I am glad we have come to Atlantic City. We have had a good quiet time here among ourselves. We are thankful, if I may speak for the Executive Committee, to this church for its hospitality; and to its excellent pastor for his painstaking kindness and his earnest effort to contribute to the success of this Congress. We are thankful to the managers of the Hotel

Chalfonte for their generous and kind reception of us all. We shall go away with pleasant recollections of these fraternal sessions and anticipate with hopeful yearning the probable meeting at Ithaca next year. (*Applause.*)

**PRESIDENT MERRILL:** Before we arise and are dismissed with the closing prayer, may the president, on behalf of the citizens of the city, wish you a safe and pleasant journey to your homes and also an early return to our city.

Will President Evans close with prayer?

**PRAYER**

Lord and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ whose we are and whom we serve, we thank thee for our existence in the world. Accept thou the offerings of our hands, the praises of our lips, and the aspirations of our hearts. Lead thou us in the paths of righteousness for thy name's sake. Accompany each to his home. Grant length of days for service and grant that the service be rendered unto thee and our fellow-men in great joy. In Christ's name we ask it. Amen.



# Baptist Congress

Report of Treasurer, William B. Matteson, October 1,  
1910, to September 30, 1911

## Receipts

Balance from last year . . . . .	\$ 86.15	
From General Committee . . . . .	\$650.10	
From Annual Members . . . . .	256.50	906.60
Sales of Proceedings . . . . .		94.09
Personal Donations . . . . .		176.00
Churches . . . . .		25.00
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		\$1,287.84

## Expenses

Traveling Expenses . . . . .	661.46	
Stationery and Printing . . . . .	64.90	
Proceedings . . . . .	401.30	
Miscellaneous . . . . .	132.19	1,259.85
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Balance		\$ 27.99

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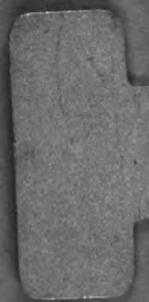




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